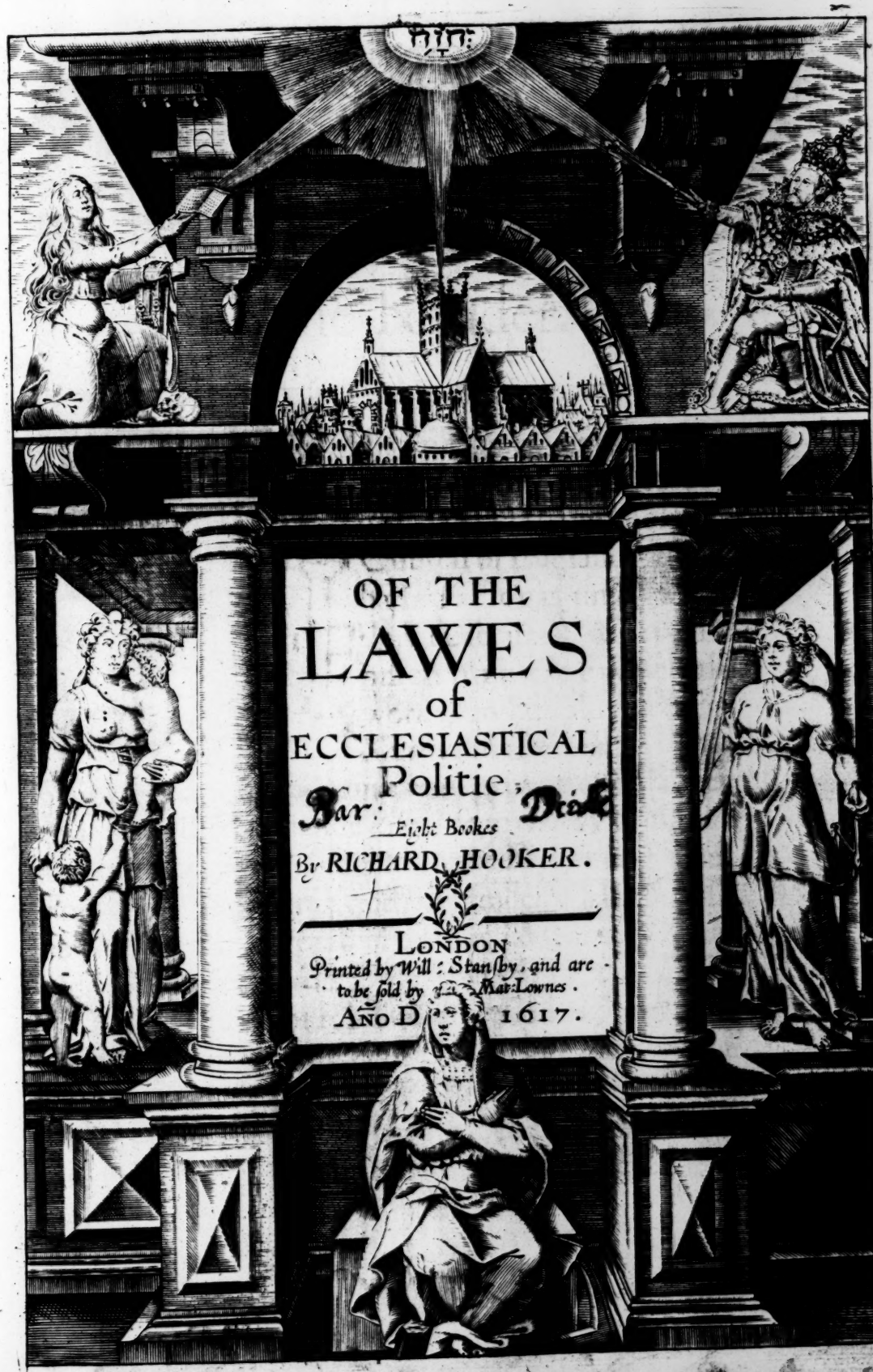
Arct. 86


יהוה
OF THE
LAWES
of
ECCLESIASTICAL
Politie,
Eight Bookes
By RICHARD HOOKER.
LONDON
Printed by Will: Stansby, and are
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ANO D 1617.



To the Reader.



THis vnhappie Controuerſie, about the receiued Ceremonies and Diſcipline of the Church of England, which hath ſo long time withdrawne ſo many of her Miniſters from their principall worke, and imployed their Studies in contentious Oppoſitions: hath by the vnnaturall growth and dangerous fruits thereof, made knowne to the World, that it neuer receiued bleſsing from the Father of Peace. For whoſe experience doth not finde, what confuſion of Order, and breach of the Sacred Bond of Loue hath ſprung from this Diſſention; how it hath rent the body of the Church into diuers parts, and diuided her people into diuers Sects; how it hath taught the Sheepe to deſpiſe their Paſtors, and alienated the Paſtors from the loue of their Flockes: how it hath ſtrengthened the Irreligious in their Impieties, and

hath raiſed the hopes of the ſacrilegious deuourers of the remaines of Chriſts Patrimonie; and giuen way to the common Aduerſarie of Gods Truth, and our proſperitie, to grow great in our Land without reſiſtance; who ſeeth not how it hath diſtracted the minds of the multitude, and ſhaken their faith, and ſcandalized their weakeneſſe, and hath generally killed the very heart of true Pietie, and religious Deuotion, by changing our zeale towards Chriſts glorie, into the fire of Enuie and Malice, and Heart-burning, and zeale to euery mans priuate cauſe? This is the ſumme of all the gaines which the tedious contentions of ſo many yeeres haue brought in, by the ruin of Chriſts Kingdome, the encreaſe of Satans, partly in Superſtition, and partly in Impietie. So much better were it in theſe our dwellings of Peace, to endure any inconuenience whatſoeuer in the outward frame, then in deſire of alteration, thus to ſet the whole houſe on fire. Which mooued the Religious heart of this Learned Writer, in zeale of Gods Truth, and in compaſsion to his Church, the Mother of vs all, which gaue vs both the firſt breath of Spirituall Life, and from her Breſts hath fed vs vnto this whatſoeuer meaſure of growth we haue in Chriſt, to ſtand vp and take vpon him a generall defence both of her ſelfe, and of her eſtabliſhed Lawes; and by force of demonſtration, ſo farre as the nature of the preſent matter could beare, to make knowne to the World, and theſe Oppugners of her, that all thoſe bitter accuſations laid to her charge, are not the faults of her Lawes and Orders,

but

but either their owne miſtakes in the miſ-vnderſtanding, or the abuſes of men in the ill execution of them. A Work ſubiect to manifold reprehenſions, and oppoſitions, and not ſutable to his ſoft and mild diſpoſition, deſirous of a quiet priuate life, wherein he might bring forth the fruits of Peace in Peace. But the loue of God and of his Countrie, whoſe greateſt danger grew from this Diuiſion, made his heart hot within him, and at length the fire kindled, and amongſt manie other moſt Reuerend and Learned men, hee alſo preſumed to ſpeake with his Pen. And the rather, becauſe hee ſaw that none of theſe ordinarie obiections of partialities could eleuate the authoritie of his Writing, who alwaies affected a priuate State, and neither enioyed, nor expected any the leaſt Dignitie in our Church. What admirable height of Learning, and depth of Iudgement dwelled within the lowly mind of this true humble Man, great in all wiſe mens eyes, except his owne; with what Grauitie and Maieſtie of ſpeech his Tongue and Pen vttered heauenly Myſteries, whoſe eyes in the humilitie of his heart were alwayes caſt downe to the ground, how all things that proceeded from him were breathed, as from the Spirit of Loue, as if He like the Bird of the Holy Ghoſt, the Doue, had wanted Gall, let them that knew him not in his perſon, iudge by theſe liuing Images of his Soule, his Writings. For out of theſe, euen thoſe who otherwiſe agree not with him in Opinion, doe affoord him the teſtimonie of a milde and a louing Spirit: and of his Learning, what greater proofe can we

haue

haue then this, that his VVritings are moſt admired by thoſe who themſelues doe moſt excell in iudicious Learning, and by them the more often they are read, the more highly they are extolled & deſired? VVhich is the cauſe of this fourth Edition of his former bookes, and that without any addition or diminution whatſoeuer. For who will put a Pencile to ſuch a VVorke, from which ſuch a VVorkman hath taken his? There is a purpoſe of ſetting foorth the three laſt Bookes alſo, their Fathers *Poſthumi*. For as in the great declining of his bodie, ſpent out with ſtudie, it was his ordinarie Petition to Almightie God, that if hee might liue to ſee the finiſhing of theſe Bookes, then *Lord let thy ſeruant depart in peace* (to vſe his owne words) ſo it pleaſed God to graunt him his deſire: For he liued till hee ſaw them perfected, and though like *Rachel* he died as it were in the trauell of them and haſtened death vpon himſelfe, by haſtening to giue them life: yet hee held out to behold with his eyes, theſe *partus ingenij*, theſe *Beniamins*, Sonnes of his right hand, though to him they were *Benonies*, Sonnes of Paine and Sorrow. But ſome euill diſpoſed minds, whether of Malice, or Couetouſneſſe, or wicked blind Zeale, it is vncertaine, as if they had beene Egyptian Mid-wiues, aſſoone as they were borne, and their Father dead, ſmothered them, and by conueying away the perfect Copies, left vnto vs nothing but certaine old vnperfect and mangled Draughts, diſmembred into pieces, and ſcattered like *Medeas Abſyrtus*, no fauour, no grace, not the ſhadowes of themſelues almoſt remaining in them. Had

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the Father liued to ſee them brought foorth thus defaced, he might rightfully haue named them *Benonies*, the Sonnes of Sorrow.

But ſeeing the importunities of many great and worthy perſons will not ſuffer them quietly to die and to bee buried, it is intended that they ſhall ſee them as they are. The Learned and Iudicious eye will yet perhaps delight it ſelfe in beholding the goodly Lineaments of their well ſet Bodies, and in finding out ſome ſhadowes and reſemblances of their Fathers face. God graunt that as they were with their Brethren dedicated to the Church for Meſſengers of Peace: ſo in the ſtrength of that little breath of life that remaineth in them, they may proſper in their worke; and by ſatisfying the doubts of ſuch as are willing to learne, may helpe to giue an end to the calamities of theſe our Ciuill

WARRES.

I. S.

A PREFACE

To them that ſeeke (as they tearme it) the Reformation of Lawes and orders Eccleſiaſticall, in the Church of ENGLAND.

THough for no other cauſe, yet for this; that poſteritie may know, we haue not looſely through ſilence ſuffered things to paſſe away as in a dreame, there ſhall be for mens information extant thus much concerning the preſent ſtate of the Church of God eſtabliſhed amongſt vs, and their carefull endeauour which would haue vpheld the ſame. At your hands beloued in our Lord and Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt (for in him the loue which we beare vnto all that would but ſeeme to be borne of him, it is not the ſea of your gall and bitterneſſe that ſhall euer drowne) I haue no great cauſe to looke for other then the ſelfe-ſame portion and lot, which your manner hath beene hitherto to lay on them that concurre not in opinion and ſentence with you. But our hope is, that the God of peace ſhall (notwithſtanding mans nature too impatient of contumelious malediction) inable vs quietly, and euen gladly to ſuffer all things, for that worke ſake which we couet to performe. The wonderfull zeale and feruour wherewith yee haue withſtood the receiued orders of this Church,

The cauſe and occaſion of handling theſe things: and what might be wiſhed in them, for whoſe ſakes ſo much paine is taken.

was

was the first thing which caused me to enter into consideration, whether (as all our published Bookes and Writings peremptorily maintaine) euery Christian man fearing God, stand bound to ioyne with you for the furtherance of that which ye terme the Lords Discipline. *Wherein I must plainly confesse vnto you, that before I examined your sundry declarations in that behalfe, it could not settle in my head to thinke, but that vndoubtedly such numbers of otherwise right well affected and most religiously enclined minds, had some maruellous reasonable inducements which led them with so great earnestnesse that way. But when once, as neere as my slender ability would serue, I had with trauell & care performed that part of the Apostles aduise and counsell in such cases, whereby he willeth to* try all things; *and was come at the length so farre, that there remained onely the other clause to be satisfied, wherein he concludeth that* what good is must be held: *there was in my poore vnderstanding no remedie but to set downe this as my finall resolute perswasion,* Surely the present forme of Church gouernment which the Lawes of this Land haue established, is such, as no Law of God, nor reason of man hath hitherto beene alleadged, of force sufficient to prooue they doe ill, who to the vttermost of their power withstand the alteration thereof: *Contrariwise*, The other which in stead of it wee are required to accept, is only by errour and misconceipt named the ordinance of Iesus Christ, no one proofe as yet brought forth, whereby it may cleerely appeare to bee so in very deede. *The explication of which two things I haue here thought good to offer into your owne hands: heartily beseeching you euen by the meeknesse of Iesus Christ, whom I trust ye loue; that, as ye tender the peace and quietnesse of this Church, if there bee in you that gracious humility which hath euer beene the Crowne and glory of a Christianly disposed minde, if your owne soules, hearts and consciences, (the sound integritie whereof can but hardly stand with the refusall of truth in personall respects) be, as I doubt not but they are, things most deare and precious vnto you,* Let not the faith
Iam. 2. 1. which ye haue in our Lord Iesus Christ, be blemished with partialities, *regard not who it is which speaketh, but weigh only what is spoken. Thinke not that yee read the words of one, who bendeth himselfe as an Aduersary against the Truth, which ye haue alreadie imbraced; but the words of one, who desireth euen to imbrace together with you the selfe same truth, if it be the truth, and for that cause (for no other God hee knoweth) hath vndertaken the burthensome labour of this painfull kind of conference. For the playner accesse whereunto, let it bee lawfull for me to*

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rip vp to the very bottome how and by whom your Diſcipline was planted, at ſuch time as this age we liue in began to make firſt triall thereof.

The firſt eſtabliſhmēt of new Diſcipline by Mr. *Caluines* induſtrie, in the Church of *Geneua*: and the beginning of ſtrife about it amongſt our ſelues.

2. A founder it had, whom, for mine owne part, I thinke incomparably the wiſeſt man that euer the French Church did enioy, ſince the houre it enioyed him. His bringing vp was in the ſtudie of the Ciuill Law. Diuine knowledge he gathered not by hearing or reading ſo much, as by teaching others. For though thouſands were debters to him, as touching knowledge in that kind; yet he to none but only to God, the author of that moſt bleſſed Fountayne the Booke of Life, and of the admirable dexteritie of wit, together with the helps of other learning which were his guides: till being occaſioned to leaue France, he fell at the length vpon Geneua: Which Citie, the Biſhop and Clergie thereof had a little before (as ſome doe affirme) forſaken, being of likelihood frighted with the peoples ſudden attempt for aboliſhment of Popiſh Religion: the euent of which enterprize they thought it not ſafe for themſelues to wait for in that place. At the comming of Caluine thither, the forme of their ciuill Regiment was popular, as it continueth at this day: neither King, nor Duke, nor Nobleman of any authoritie or power ouer them, but officers choſen by the people yeerly out of themſelues, to order all things with publique conſent. For ſpirituall Gouernement, they had no Lawes at all agreed vpon, but did what the Paſtors of their ſoules by perſwaſion could winne them vnto. Caluine being admitted one of their Preachers and a Diuinitie-Reader amongſt them, conſidered how dangerous it was that the whole eſtate of that Church ſhould hang ſtill on ſo ſlender a threed, as the liking of an ignorant multitude is, if it haue power to change whatſoeuer it ſelfe liſteth. Wherefore taking vnto him two of the other Miniſters, for more countenance of the action, (albeit the reſt were all againſt it) they moued, and in the end perſwaded with much adoe, the People to binde themſelues by ſolemne Oath, firſt, neuer to admit the Papacy amongſt them againe; And ſecondly, to liue in obedience vnto ſuch orders concerning the exerciſe of their Religion, and the forme of their Eccleſiaſticall Gouernement, as thoſe their true and faithfull Miniſters of Gods Word had agreeably to Scripture ſet downe for that end and purpoſe. When theſe things began to be put in vre, the people alſo (what cauſes mouing them thereunto, themſelues beſt know) began to repent them of that they had done, and irefully to champe vpon the bit they had taken into their mouthes, the rather for that they grew by meanes of this innouation into diſlike with ſome

Churches neere about them, the benefit of whose good friendship their state could not well lacke. It was the manner of those times (whether through mens desire to enioy alone the glory of their owne enterprises, or else because the quickenesse of their occasions required present dispatch,) so it was, that euery particular Church did that within it selfe, which some few of their owne thought good, by whom the rest were all directed. Such number of Churches then being, though free within themselues, yet small, common conference before-hand might haue eased them of much after-trouble. But a greater inconuenience it bred, that euery later endeuoured to be certayne degrees more remoued from conformity with the Church of Rome, then the rest before had beene: whereupon grew maruellous great dissimilitudes, and by reason thereof, iealousies, heart-burnings, iarres, and discords amongst them. Which notwithstanding might haue easily beene preuented, if the orders which each Church did thinke fit and conuenient for it selfe, had not so peremptorily beene established vnder that high commanding forme, which tendered them vnto the people, as things euerlastingly required by the Law of that Lord of Lords, against whose statutes there is no exception to be taken. For by this meane it came to passe, that one Church could not but accuse and condemne another of disobedience to the will of Christ, in those things where manifest difference was betweene them: whereas the selfe-same orders allowed, but yet established in more wary and suspence manner, as being to stand in force till God should giue the oportunity of some generall conference what might be best for euery of them afterwards to doe; this, I say, had both preuented all occasion of iust dislike which others might take, and reserued a greater liberty vnto the Authours themselues of entring into farther consultation afterwards. Which though neuer so necessary, they could not easily now admit, without some feare of derogation from their credit: and therefore that which once they had done, they became for euer after resolute to maintayne. Caluine *therefore and the other two his Associates, stiffely refusing to administer the holy Communion to such as would not quietly without contradiction and murmur submit themselues vnto the orders which their solemne Oath had bound them to obey, were in that quarrell banished the Towne. A few yeeres after (such was the leuity of that people) the places of one or two of their Ministers being fallen void, they were not before so willing to be rid of their learned Pastor, as now importunate to obtayne him againe from them who had giuen him*

him entertainement, and which were loth to part with him, had not vn-
reſiſtable earneſtneſſe beene vſed. One of the Towne-Miniſters that ſaw
in what manner the people were bent for the reuocation of Caluine,
gaue him notice of their affection in this ſort. The Senate of two hun- Epiſt. Cal. 14.
dred being aſſembled, they all craue *Caluine*. The next day a generall Conuocation. They cry in like ſort againe all; Wee will haue *Caluine* that good and learned man Chriſts Miniſter. This, *ſaith he*, when I vnderſtood, I could not chooſe but praiſe God, nor was I able to iudge otherwiſe, then that this was the Lords doing, and that it was maruellous in our eyes, *And* that Luc. 20. 17.
the ſtone which the builders refuſed, was now made the head of the corner. *The other two whom they had throwne out (together with* Caluine) *they were content ſhould enioy their exile. Many cauſes might leade them to be more deſirous of him. Firſt, his yeelding vnto them in one thing, might haply put them in hope, that time would breed the like eaſineſſe of condeſcending further vnto them. For in his abſence he had perſwaded them, with whom he was able to preuaile, that albeit himſelfe did better like of common bread to be vſed in the Euchariſt, yet the other they rather ſhould accept, then cauſe any trouble in the Church about it. Againe, they ſaw that the name of* Caluine *waxed euery day greater abroad, and that together with his fame their infamy was ſpred, who had ſo raſhly and childiſhly ejected him. Beſides, it was not vnlikely but that his credit in the World, might many wayes ſtand the poore Towne in great ſtead: as the truth is, their Miniſters forreine eſtimation hitherto hath beene the beſt ſtake in their hedge. But whatſoeuer ſecret reſpects were likely to moue them, for contenting of their minds,* Caluine *returned (as it had beene another* Tully) *to his old home. He ripely conſidered how groſſe a thing it were for men of his quality, wiſe and graue men, to liue with ſuch a multitude, and to be Tenants at will vnder them, as their Miniſters, both himſelfe and others, had beene. For the remedy of which inconuenience, he gaue them plainly to vnderſtand, that if he did become their Teacher againe, they muſt be content to admit a complete forme of Diſcipline, which both they and alſo their Paſtors ſhould now be ſolemnely ſworne to obſerue for euer after. Of which diſcipline the mayne and principall parts were theſe: A ſtanding Eccleſiaſticall Court to be eſtabliſhed: perpetuall Iudges in that Court to be their Miniſters: others of the people annually choſen (twice ſo many in number as they) to be Iudges together with them in the ſame*

Court: theſe two ſorts to haue the care of all mens manners, power of determining of all kinde of Eccleſiaſticall cauſes, and authority to conuent, to controll, to puniſh, as farre as with Excommunication, whomſoeuer they ſhould thinke worthy, none either ſmall or great excepted. This deuice, I ſee not, how the wiſeſt at that time liuing could haue bettered, if we duly conſider what the preſent eſtate of Geneua *did then require. For their Biſhop and his Clergie being (as it is ſaid) departed from them by Moone-light, or howſoeuer, being departed; to chooſe in his roome any other Biſhop, had beene a thing altogether impoſsible. And for their Miniſters to ſeeke, that themſelues alone might haue coerciue power ouer the whole Church, would perhaps haue beene hardly conſtrued at that time. But when ſo franke an offer was made, that for euery one Miniſter there ſhould be two of the People to ſit and giue voice in the Eccleſiaſticall Conſiſtorie, what inconuenience could they eaſily finde which themſelues might not be able alwayes to remedie? Howbeit (as euermore the ſimpler ſort are, euen when they ſee no apparant cauſe, iealous notwithſtanding ouer the ſecret intents and purpoſes of wiſer men) this Propoſition of his did ſomewhat trouble them. Of the Miniſters themſelues which had ſtayed behind in the Citie when* Caluine *was gone, ſome, vpon knowledge of the peoples earneſt intent to recall him to his place againe, had before-hand written their Letters of ſubmiſsion, and aſſured him of their alleageance for euer after, if it ſhould like him to harken vnto that publique ſuite. But yet miſdoubting what might happen, if this Diſcipline did goe forward; they obiected againſt it the example of other reformed Churches, liuing quietly and orderly without it. Some of the chiefeſt place and countenance amongſt the Laytie profeſſed with greater ſtomack their iudgements, that ſuch a Diſcipline was little better then Popiſh tyrannie, diſguiſed and tendered vnto them vnder a new forme. This ſort, it may be, had ſome feare that the filling vp of the ſeates in the Conſiſtorie, with ſo great a number of lay-men, was but to pleaſe the minds of the people, to the end they might thinke their owne ſway ſomewhat; but when things came to triall of practice, their Paſtors learning would be at all times of force to ouer-perſwade ſimple men, who knowing the time of their owne Preſidentſhip to be but ſhort, would alwayes ſtand in feare of their Miniſters perpetuall authoritie. And among the Miniſters themſelues, one being ſo farre in eſtimation aboue the reſt, the voices of the reſt were likely to be giuen for the moſt part reſpectiuely with a kind of ſecret dependency*

dency and awe: ſo that in ſhew a maruellous indifferently compoſed Senate Eccleſiaſticall was to gouerne, but in effect one onely man ſhould, as the Spirit and Soule of the reſidue, doe all in all. But what did theſe vaine ſurmiſes boot? Brought they were now to ſo ſtraight an iſſue, that of two things they muſt chooſe one; Namely, whether they would to their endleſſe diſgrace, with ridiculous lightneſſe, diſmiſſe him, whoſe reſtitution they had in ſo impotent manner deſired, or elſe condeſcend vnto that demand, wherein he was reſolute either to haue it, or to leaue them. They thought it better to be ſomewhat hardly yoked at home, then for euer abroad diſcredited. Wherefore in the end thoſe orders were on all ſides aſſented vnto, with no leſſe alacritie of minde, then Cities vnable to hold out longer are wont to ſhew, when they take conditions ſuch as it liketh him to offer them which hath them in the narrow ſtreights of aduantage. Not many yeeres before ouerpaſſed, before theſe twice-ſworne men aduentured to giue their laſt and hotteſt aſſault to the Fortreſſe of the ſame Diſcipline, childiſhly granting by common conſent of their whole Senate, and that vnder their Towne-Seale, a relaxation to one Bertelier whom the Elderſhip had Excommunicated; further alſo decreeing, with ſtrange abſurditie, that to the ſame Senate it ſhould belong to giue finall iudgement in matter of Excommunication, and to abſolue whom it pleaſed them; cleane contrary to their owne former Deeds and Oathes. The report of which Decree being forthwith brought vnto Caluine; Before (ſaith he) this Decree take place, either my bloud or baniſhment ſhall ſigne it. Againe, two dayes before the Communion ſhould be celebrated, this ſpeech was publiquely to like effect, Kill me, if euer this hand doe reach forth the things that are Holy, to them whom THE CHVRCH hath iudged Deſpiſers. Whereupon, for feare of tumult, the forenamed Bertelier was by his friends aduiſed for that time not to vſe the libertie granted him by the Senate, nor to preſent himſelfe in the Church, till they ſaw ſomewhat further what would enſue. After the Communion quietly miniſtred, and ſome likelyhood of peaceable ending of theſe troubles without any more adoe, that very day in the after-noone, beſides all mens expectation, concluding his ordinary Sermon, he telleth them, That becauſe he neither had learned nor taught to ſtriue with ſuch as are in authoritie, therefore (ſaith he) the caſe ſo ſtanding as now it doth, let me vſe theſe words of the Apoſtle vnto you, I commend you vnto God and

An. Do. 1541.

and the Word of his grace, *and ſo bade them heartily* Adieu. *It ſometimes commeth to paſſe, that the readieſt way which a wiſe man hath to conquer, is to flie. This voluntarie and vnexpected mention of ſudden departure, cauſed preſently the Senate (for according to their wonted manner they ſtill continued only conſtant in vnconſtancy) to gather themſelues together, and for a time to ſuſpend their owne Decree, leauing things to proceede as before, till they had heard the iudgement of foure* Heluetian *Cities concerning the matter which was in ſtrife. This to haue done at the firſt before they gaue aſſent vnto any order, had ſhewed ſome wit and diſcretion in them: but now to doe it, was as much as to ſay in effect, that they would play their parts on a Stage.* Caluine *therefore diſpatcheth with all expedition his letters vnto ſome principall Paſtor in euery of thoſe Cities, crauing earneſtly at their hands, to reſpect this cauſe as a thing whereupon the whole ſtate of Religion and Pietie in that Church did ſo much depend, that God and all good men were now ineuitably certayne to be trampled vnder foote, vnleſſe thoſe foure Cities by their good meanes might be brought to giue ſentence with the Miniſters of* Geneua, *when the cauſe ſhould be brought before them: yea, ſo to giue it, that two things it might effectually contayne; the one an abſolute approbation of the Diſcipline of* Geneua, *as conſonant vnto the Word of God, without any cautions, qualifications, ifs, or ands; the other an earneſt admonition not to innouate or change the ſame. His vehement requeſt herein as touching both points was ſatisfied. For albeit the ſaid* Heluetian *Churches did neuer as yet obſerue that Diſcipline, neuertheleſſe the Senate of* Geneua *hauing required their iudgement concerning theſe three queſtions: Firſt,* After what manner, by Gods commandement, according to the Scripture and vnſpotted Religion, Excommunication is to be exerciſed: *Secondly,* Whether it may not be exerciſed ſome other way then by the Conſiſtorie: *Thirdly,* What the vſe of their Churches was to doe in this caſe: *Anſwere was returned from the ſaid Churches,* That they had heard already of thoſe Conſiſtorial Lawes, & did acknowledge them to be *godly* Ordinances, *drawing towards* the preſcript of the Word of God, for which cauſe that they did not thinke it good for *the Church of Geneua* by innouation to change the ſame, but rather to keepe them as they were. *Which anſwere, although not anſwering vnto the former demands, but reſpecting what Maſter* Caluine *had iudged requiſite for them*

Epiſt. 166.

them to answere, was notwithstanding accepted without any further reply: in as much as they plainly saw, that when stomack doth striue with wit, the match is not equall. And so the heat of their former contentions began to slake. The present Inhabitants of Geneua, *I hope, will not take it in euill part, that the faultinesse of their people heretofore, is by vs so far forth laid open, as their owne learned Guides and Pastors haue thought necessary to discouer it vnto the world. For out of their Bookes and Writings it is that I haue collected this whole narration, to the end it might thereby appeare in what sort amongst them that discipline was planted, for which so much contention is raised amongst our selues. The reasons which moued* Caluine *herein to be so earnest, was, as* Beza *himselfe testifieth,* For that he saw how needfull these bridles were, to be put in the iawes of that Citie. *That which by wisedome hee saw to be requisite for that people, was by as great wisedome compassed. But wise men are men, and the truth is truth. That which* Caluine *did for establishment of his Discipline, seemeth more cõmendable, then that which he taught for the countenancing of it established. Nature worketh in vs all a loue to our owne counsels. The contradiction of others is a fan to inflame that loue. Our loue set on fire to maintayne that which once we haue done, sharpneth the wit to dispute, to argue, and by all meanes to reason for it. Wherefore a maruaile it were if a man of so great capacitie, hauing such incitements to make him desirous of all kinde of furtherances vnto his cause, could espy in the whole Scripture of God nothing which might breed at the least a probable opinion of likelyhood, that diuine authority it selfe was the same way somewhat inclinable. And all which the wit euen of* Caluine *was able from thence to draw, by sifting the very vtmost sentence and syllable, is no more then that certayn speeches there are which to him did seeme to intimate, that al Christian Churches ought to haue their Elderships indued with power of Excõmunication, and that a part of those Elderships euerywhere should be chosen out from amongst the Laytie after that forme which himselfe had framed* Geneua *vnto. But what argument are ye able to shew, whereby it was euer proued by* Caluine, *that any one sentence of Scripture doth necessarily enforce these things, or the rest wherein your opinion concurreth with his against the orders of your owne Church? We should be iniurious vnto vertue it selfe, if we did derogate from them whom their industry hath made great. Two things of principall moment there are which haue deseruedly procured him honour throughout the World: the*

Quod eam Vrbem videre omnino his frœnis indigere.

the one his exceeding paynes in composing the Institutions of Christian Religion; the other, his no lesse industrious trauails for exposition of holy Scripture according vnto the same Institutions. In which two things whosoeuer they were that after him bestowed their labour, he gayned the aduantage of preiudice against them, if they gaine-said; and of glorie aboue them, if they consented. His writings published after the question about that Discipline was once begunne, omit not any the least occasion of extolling the vse and singular necessitie thereof. Of what account the Master of Sentences was in the Church of Rome, the same and more amongst the Preachers of reformed Churches Caluine had purchased: so that the perfectest Diuines were iudged they, which were skilfullest in Caluines writings. His Bookes almost the very Canon to iudge both Doctrine and Discipline by. French Churches, both vnder others abroad, and at home in their owne Countrey, all cast according vnto that mold which Caluine had made. The Church of Scotland in erecting the fabrick of their reformation, tooke the selfe-same patterne. Till at length the Discipline, which was at the first so weake, that without the staffe of their approbation, who were not subiect vnto it themselues, it had not brought others vnder subiection, began now to challenge vniuersall obedience, and to enter into open conflict with those very Churches, which in desperate extremitie had beene relieuers of it. To one of those Churches which liued in most peaceable sort, and abounded as well with men for their learning in other professions singular, as also with Diuines whose equals were not elsewhere to be found, a Church ordred by Gualters discipline, and not by that which Geneua adoreth: vnto this Church, the Church of Heidelberge, there commeth one who crauing leaue to dispute publikely, defendeth with open disdayne of their gouernement, that to a Minister with his Eldership power is giuen by the Law of God to excommunicate whomsoeuer, yea euen Kings and Princes themselues. Here were the seeds sowne of that controuersie which sprang vp betweene Beza and Erastus about the matter of Excommunication, whether there ought to be in all Churches an Eldership hauing power to Excommunicate, and a part of that Eldership to be of necessity certayne chosen out from amongst the Laytie for that purpose. In which disputation they haue, as to me it seemeth, diuided very equally the truth betweene them; Beza most truly maintayning the necessitie of Excommunication; Erastus as truly the non-necessitie of Lay-elders to be Ministers

niſters thereof. Amongſt our ſelues, there was in King Edwards dayes ſome queſtion moued by reaſon of a few mens ſcrupuloſitie touching certayne things. And beyond Seas, of them which fled in the dayes of Queene Mary, ſome contenting themſelues abroad with the vſe of their owne Seruice-booke, at home authorized before their departure out of the Realme; others liking better the common Prayer booke of the Church of Geneua tranſlated; thoſe ſmaller contentions before begunne were by this meane ſomewhat increaſed: Vnder the happy reigne of her Maieſtie which now is, the greateſt matter awhile contended for, was the wearing of the Cap and Surpleſſe, till there came Admonitions directed vnto the High Court of Parliament, by men who concealing their names, thought it glorie enough to diſcouer their minds and affections, which now were vniuerſally bent euen againſt all the Orders and Lawes wherein this Church is found vnconformable to the platforme of Geneua. Concerning the Defender of which Admonitions, all that I meane to ſay is but this: There will come a time when three words vttered with charitie and meekeneſſe, ſhal receiue a farre more bleſſed reward, then three thouſand Volumes written with diſdainefull ſharpneſſe of wit. But the manner of mens writing muſt not alienate our hearts from the truth, if it appeare they haue the truth: as the followers of the ſame Defender doe thinke he hath, and in that perſwaſion they follow him, no otherwiſe then himſelfe doth Caluine, Beza, and others, with the like perſwaſion that they in this cauſe had the truth. We being as fully perſwaded otherwiſe, it reſteth that ſome kinde of triall be vſed to finde out which part is in error.

3 The firſt meane whereby Nature teacheth men to iudge good from euill, aſwell in Lawes as in other things, is the force of their owne diſcretion. Hereunto therefore S. Paul referreth oftentimes his owne ſpeech to be conſidered of by them that heard him, I ſpeak as to them which haue vnderſtanding, iudge yee what I ſay. Againe afterward, Iudge in your ſelues, is it comly that a woman pray vncouered? The exerciſe of this kinde of iudgement our Sauiour requireth in the Iewes. In them of Berœa the Scripture commendeth it. Finally, whatſoeuer we doe, if our owne ſecret iudgement conſent not vnto it as fit and good to be done; the doing of it to vs is ſinne, although the thing it ſelfe be allowable. Saint Pauls rule therefore generally is, Let euery man in his owne minde bee fully perſwaded of that thing which

By what meanes ſo many of the people are trayned into the liking of that Diſcipline.

1. Cor 10. 13.
1. Cor. 11. 13.
Luc. 12. 56, 57.
Act. 17. 11.

Rom. 14. 5.

which he either alloweth or doth. *Some things are ſo familiar and plaine, that Truth from falſhood, and good from euill is moſt eaſily diſcerned in them, euen by men of no deep capacitie. And of that nature, for the moſt part, are things abſolutely vnto all mens Saluation neceſſarie, either to be held or denyed, either to be done or auoided. For which cauſe* S. Auguſtine *acknowledgeth that they are not onely ſet downe, but alſo plainely ſet downe in Scripture: ſo that he which heareth or readeth, may without any great difficultie vnderſtand. Other things alſo there are belonging (though in a lower degree of importance) vnto the offices of Chriſtian men: which becauſe they are more obſcure, more intricate and hard to be iudged of, therefore God hath appointed ſome to ſpend their whole time principally in the ſtudy of things diuine, to the end that in theſe more doubtfull caſes, their vnderſtanding might be a light to direct others.* If the vnderſtanding power or faculty of the ſoule be (*ſaith the grand Phyſician*) like vnto bodily ſight, not of equall ſharpneſſe in all; what can be more conuenient, then that, euen as the dark-ſighted man is directed by the cleere about things viſible, ſo likewiſe in matters of deeper diſcourſe the wiſe in heart doe ſhew the ſimple where his way lyeth? *In our doubtfull caſes of Law, what man is there who ſeeth not how requiſite it is, that Profeſſors of skill in that faculty be our Directors? So it is in all other kinds of knowledge. And euen in this kinde likewiſe the Lord hath himſelfe appointed, that* the Prieſts lips ſhould preſerue knowledge, and that other men ſhould ſeeke the truth at his mouth, *becauſe* he is the meſſenger of the Lord of Hoſts. Gregory Nazianzen, *offended at the peoples too great preſumption in controlling the iudgement of them to whom in ſuch caſes they ſhould haue rather ſubmitted their owne, ſeeketh by earneſt intreaty to ſtay them within their bounds:* Preſume not, yee that are ſheepe, to make your ſelues guides of them that ſhould guide you, neither ſeeke yee to ouer-skip the fold which they about you haue pitched. It ſufficeth for your part, if yee can well frame your ſelues to be ordered. Take not vpon you to iudge your ſelues, nor to make them ſubiect to your lawes who ſhould be a law to you. For, God is not a God of ſedition and confuſion, but of order & of peace. *But ye wil ſay, that if the guides of the people be blind, the common ſort of men muſt not cloze vp their owne eyes and be led by the conduct of ſuch; if the Prieſt be partial in the Law, the flock muſt not therefore*

Galen. de opt. docen. gen.

Mal. 2. 7.

Greg. Nazian. Orat. qua ſe excuſat.

Matth. 11. 14.

therefore depart from the wayes of ſincere truth, and in ſimplicity yeeld to be followers of him for his place ſake & office ouer them. Which thing, though in it ſelfe moſt true, is in your defence notwithſtanding weake: becauſe the matter, wherein ye thinke that ye ſee and imagine that your wayes are ſincere, is of farre deeper conſideration then any one amongſt fiue hundred of you conceiueth. Let the vulgar ſort amongſt you know, that there is not the leaſt branch of the cauſe wherein they are ſo reſolute, but to the triall of it a great deale more appertayneth then their conceit doth reach vnto. I write not this in diſgrace of the ſimpleſt that way giuen; but I would gladly they knew the nature of that cauſe wherein they thinke themſelues throughly inſtructed and are not: by meanes whereof they daily runne themſelues, without feeling their owne hazzard, vpon the dint of the Apoſtles ſentence againſt euill ſpeakers, as touching things wherein they are ignorant. If it be granted a thing vnlawfull for priuate men, not called vnto publike conſultation, to diſpute which is the beſt ſtate of ciuill Policy (with a deſire of bringing in ſome other kinde then that vnder which they already liue, for of ſuch diſputes I take it his meaning was) if it be a thing confeſt, that of ſuch queſtions they cannot determine without raſhneſſe, in as much as a great part of them conſiſteth in ſpeciall circumſtances, and for one kinde as many reaſons may be brought as for another; is there any reaſon in the World, why they ſhould better iudge what kinde of Regiment Eccleſiaſticall is the fitteſt? For in the ciuill State more inſight, and in thoſe affaires more experience a great deale muſt needs be granted them, then in this they can poſsibly haue. When they which write in defence of your Diſcipline, and commend it vnto the Higheſt, not in the leaſt cunning manner, are forced notwithſtanding to acknowledge, that with whom the Truth is they know not, they are not certayne; what certainty or knowledge can the multitude haue thereof? Waigh what doth mooue the common ſort ſo much to fauour this innouation, and it ſhall ſoone appeare vnto you, that the force of particular reaſons which for your ſeuerall opinions are alleaged, is a thing whereof the multitude neuer did, nor could ſo conſider as to be therewith wholly carryed; but certayne generall inducements are vſed to make ſaleable your Cauſe in groſſe: and when once men haue caſt a fancy towards it, any ſlight declaration of ſpecialties will ſerue to leade forward mens inclinable and prepared mindes. The method of winning the peoples affection vnto a generall liking of the Cauſe (for ſo yee terme it) hath

Mal. 2. 9.

Iude ver. 10. 2. Pet. 2. 12.

Caluin. Inſtit. lib. 4. cap. 20. ſect. 8.

The Author of the Petition directed to her Maieſtie, p. 3.

hath beene this. First, in the hearing of the multitude, the faults eſpecially of higher callings are ripped vp with maruellous exceeding ſeuerity and ſharpneſſe of reproofe; which being oftentimes done, begetteth a great good opinion of integrity, zeale and holineſſe, to ſuch conſtant Reproouers of ſinne, as by likelihood would neuer be ſo much offended at that which is euill, vnleſſe themſelues were ſingularly good. The next thing hereunto is to impute all faults and corruptions wherewith the world aboundeth, vnto the kind of Eccleſiaſticall Gouernement eſtabliſhed. Wherein, as before by reprouing faults, they purchaſed vnto themſelues with the multitude a name to be vertuous; ſo by finding out this kind of cauſe, they obtayne to be iudged wiſe aboue others: whereas in truth vnto the forme euen of Iewiſh Gouernement, which the Lord himſelfe (they all confeſſe) did eſtabliſh, with like ſhew of reaſon they might impute thoſe faults which the Prophets condemne in the Gouernours of that Common-wealth: as to the Engliſh kind of Regiment Eccleſiaſticall (whereof alſo God himſelfe though in other ſort is Authour) the ſtaynes and blemiſhes found in our State; which ſpringing from the roote of humane fraltie and corruption, not only are, but haue beene alwayes more or leſſe, yea, and (for any thing we know to the contrary) will be till the worlds end complayned of, what forme of Gouernement ſoeuer take place. Hauing gotten thus much ſway in the hearts of men, a third ſtep is to propoſe their owne forme of Church-Gouernement, as the only ſoueraigne remedy of all euils; and to adorne it with all the glorious titles that may be. And the nature, as of men that haue ſicke bodies, ſo likewiſe of the people in the crazedneſſe of their mindes poſſeſt with diſlike and diſcontentment at things preſent, is to imagine that any thing (the vertue whereof they heare commended) would helpe them; but that moſt, which they leaſt haue tryed. The fourth degree of inducements, is by faſhioning the very notions and conceits of mens minds, in ſuch ſort that when they read the Scripture, they may thinke that euery thing ſoundeth towards the aduancement of that diſcipline, and to the vtter diſgrace of the contrary. Pythagoras, *by bringing vp his Scholers in ſpeculatiue knowledge of numbers, made their conceits therein ſo ſtrong, that when they came to the contemplation of things naturall, they imagined that in euery particular thing they euen beheld as it were with their eyes, how the Elements of number gaue eſſence and being to the works of Nature. A thing in reaſon impoſſible: which notwithſtanding through their misfaſhioned preconceit, appeared vnto*

them

them no leſſe certayne, then if Nature had written it in the very foreheads of all the creatures of God. When they of the Family of Loue *haue it once in their heads, that Chriſt doth not ſignifie any one Perſon, but a quality whereof many are partakers; that to be rayſed is nothing elſe but to be regenerated or indued with the ſaid quality; and that when ſeparation of them which haue it from them which haue it not, is here made, this is iudgement; how plainely doe they imagine that the Scripture euery-where ſpeaketh in the fauour of that Sect? And aſſuredly, the very cauſe which maketh the ſimple and ignorant to thinke they euen ſee how the Word of God runneth currantly on your ſide, is, that their minds are foreſtalled and their conceits peruerted beforehand, by being taught that an Elder doth ſignifie a Lay-man, admitted only to the office of Rule or Gouernement in the Church; a Doctor, one which may only teach, and neither Preach nor adminiſter the Sacraments; a Deacon, one which hath charge of the Almes-boxe, and of nothing elſe: that the Scepter, the Rod, the Throne and Kingdome of Chriſt, are a forme of Regiment, only by Paſtors, Elders, Doctors, and Deacons: that by myſticall reſemblance Mount* Sion *and* Ieruſalem *are the Churches which admit,* Samaria *and* Babylon *the Churches which oppugne the ſaid forme of Regiment. And in like ſort they are taught to apply all things ſpoken of repayring the walls and decayed parts of the City and Temple of God by* Eſdras, Nehemias, *and the reſt: as if purpoſely the holy Ghoſt had therein meant to fore-ſignifie, what the Authors of admonitions to the Parliament, of ſupplications to the Councell, of petitions to her Maieſty, and of ſuch other like Writs, ſhould either doe or ſuffer in behalfe of this their cauſe. From hence they proceed to an higher point, which is the perſwading of men credulous and ouer-capable of ſuch pleaſing errors, that it is the ſpeciall illumination of the holy Ghoſt, whereby they diſcerne thoſe things in the Word, which others reading yet diſcerne them not.* Dearely beloued, *ſaith S. Iohn,* Giue not credit vnto euery ſpirit. 1. Iohn 4. 1. *There are but two wayes whereby the Spirit leadeth men into all truth: the one extraordinary, the other cõmon; the one belonging but vnto ſome few, the other extending it ſelfe vnto all that are of God; the one, that which we call by a ſpeciall diuine excellency,* Reuelation; *the other,* Reaſon. *If the Spirit by ſuch reuelation haue diſcouered vnto them the ſecrets of that Diſcipline out of Scripture, they muſt profeſſe themſelues to be all (euen men, women, and children) Prophets. Or if reaſon be the hand which the Spirit hath led*

them by, for as much as perſwaſions grounded vpon reaſon, are either weaker or ſtronger, according to the force of thoſe reaſons whereupon the ſame are grounded, they muſt euery of them from the greateſt to the leaſt, be able for euery ſeuerall Article to ſhew ſome ſpeciall reaſon as ſtrong as their perſwaſion therein is earneſt. Otherwiſe how can it be, but that ſome other ſinewes there are from which that ouerplus of ſtrength in perſwaſion doth ariſe? Moſt ſure it is, that when mens affections doe frame their opinions, they are in defence of errour more earneſt a great deale, then (for the moſt part) ſound Beleeuers in the maintenance of Truth apprehended according to the nature of that euidence which Scripture yeeldeth: which being in ſome things plaine, as in the principles of Chriſtian Doctrine in ſome things, as in theſe matters of Diſcipline, more darke and doubtfull, frameth correſpondently that inward aſſent which Gods moſt gracious Spirit worketh by it as by his effectuall inſtrument. It is not therefore the feruent earneſtneſſe of their perſwaſion, but the ſoundnes of thoſe reaſons whereupon the ſame is built, which muſt declare their opinions in theſe things to haue beene wrought by the

2. Theſ. 2. 11. *Holy Ghoſt, and not by the* fraud *of that euill Spirit which is euen in his illuſions ſtrong. After that the phancie of the common ſort hath once thorowly apprehended the Spirit to be author of their perſwaſion concerning Diſcipline, then is inſtilled into their hearts; that the ſame Spirit leading men into this opinon, doth thereby ſeale them to bee Gods Children; and that as the ſtate of the times now ſtandeth, the moſt ſpeciall token to know them that are Gods owne from others, is an earneſt affection that way. This hath bred high termes of ſeparation betweene ſuch and the reſt of the World; whereby the one ſort are named The Brethren, The Godly, and ſo foorth; the other, Worldlings, Time-ſeruers, Pleaſers of men, not of God, with ſuch like: From hence, they are eaſily drawn on to thinke it exceeding neceſſary, for feare of quenching that good Spirit, to vſe all meanes whereby the ſame may bee both ſtrengthned in themſelues, and made manifeſt vnto others. This maketh them diligent hearers of ſuch as are knowne that way to incline; this maketh them eager to take and to ſeeke all occaſions of ſecret conference with ſuch; this maketh them glad to vſe ſuch as Counſellors and Directors in all their dealings which are of waight, as Contracts, Teſtaments, and the like; this maketh them, through an vnweariable deſire of receiuing inſtruction from the Maſters of that companie, to caſt off the care of thoſe verie affaires which doe moſt concerne their eſtate, and to thinke that then they*

are

are like vnto Marie, *commendable for making choyce of the better part. Finally, this is it which maketh them willing to charge, yea oftentimes euen to ouercharge themselues, for such mens sustenance and reliefe, lest their zeale to the cause should any way be vnwitnessed. For what is it which poore beguiled soules will not doe through so powerfull incitements? In which respect it is also noted, that most labour hath beene bestowed to winne and retaine towards this cause them whose iudgements are commonly weakest by reason of their sexe. And although not women* loden with sins, *as the Apostle S.* Paul *speaketh,* 2. Tim. 3. 6. *but (as we verily esteeme of them for the most part) women propense and inclinable to holinesse, be otherwise edified in good things, rather then caried away as captiues into any kind of sinne and euill, by such as enter into their houses with purpose to plant there a zeale and a loue towards this kind of discipline: yet some occasion is hereby ministred for men to thinke, that if the cause which is thus furthered, did gaine by the soundnesse of proofe whereupon it doth build it selfe, it would not most busily endeuour to preuaile, where least ability of iudgement is: and therfore that this so eminent industrie in making Proselites more of that sexe then of the other, groweth for that they are deemed apter to serue as instruments and helpes in the cause. Apter they are through the eagernes of their affection, that maketh them which way soeuer they take, diligent in drawing their husbands, children, seruants, friends and allies the same way; apter through that naturall inclination vnto pitie, which breedeth in them a greater readinesse then in men, to be bountifull towards their Preachers who suffer want; apter through sundrie opportunities which they especially haue, to procure encouragements for their brethren; finally, apter through a singular delight which they take in giuing very large and particular intelligence, how all neere about them stand affected as concerning the same cause. But be they women or be they men, if once they haue tasted of that cup, let any of contrary opinion open his mouth to perswade them, they close vp their eares, his reasons they waigh not, all is answered with rehearsall of the words of* John, We are of God, he that knoweth God, heareth vs; *as for the* 1. John 4. 6. *rest, ye are of the world, for this worlds pomp and vanitie it is that yee speak, & the world whose ye are, heareth you. Which cloak sitteth no lesse fit on the back of their cause, then of the* Anabaptists, *whē the dignity, authoritie and honor of Gods Magistrates is vpheld against them. Shew these egerly-affected men their inabilitie to iudge of such matters; their*

1.Cor.1.27. Act.26.24. Sap.5.4. We fooles thought his life madneſſe. *Marc. Triſ. ad Aſcu'ap.* Οἱ ἐν γνώσῃ ὄντες ὥτε τοῖς πολλοῖς αἱρέσκωσι, ὥτε οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτοῖς μεμψάνται δὲ δοκοῦσι, καὶ γέλωτα ὀφλισκάνουσι. Vide Lactant. de Iuſtit. lib.5. c.16. Auguſt. Epiſt. 50.

anſwere is, God hath choſen the ſimple. *Conuince them of folly, and that ſo plainely, that very children vpbraid them with it; they haue their bucklers of like defence.* Chriſts owne Apoſtle was accompted madde; The beſt men euermore by the ſentence of the world haue beene iudged to be out of their right mindes. *When inſtruction doth them no good, let them feele but the leaſt degree of moſt mercifull tempered ſeueritie, they faſten on the head of the Lords Vicegerents here on earth, whatſoeuer they any where finde vttered againſt the crueltie of bloud-thirſtie men; and to themſelues they draw all the ſentences which Scripture hath in the fauour of innocencie perſecuted for the truth: yea they are of their due and deſerued ſufferings no leſſe proud, then thoſe ancient diſturbers, to whom* S. Auguſtine *writeth, ſaying:* Martyrs rightly ſo named are they, not which ſuffer for their diſorder, and for the vngodly breach they haue made of Chriſtian vnitie; but which for righteouſneſſe ſake are perſecuted. For *Agar* alſo ſuffered perſecution at the hands of *Sara*; wherein, ſhe which did impoſe was holy, and ſhe vnrighteous which did beare the burthen. In like ſort, with the theeues was the Lord himſelfe crucified, but they who were matcht in the paine which they ſuffered, were in the cauſe of their ſufferings diſioyned. If that muſt needes be the true Church which doth endure perſecution, and not that which perſecuteth, let them aske of the Apoſtle what Church *Sara* did repreſent, when ſhe held her maide in affliction. For euen our mother which is free, the heauenly *Jeruſalem*, that is to ſay, the true Church of God, was, as he doth affirme, prefigured in that very woman by whome the bondmaide was ſo ſharply handled. Although, if all things be throughly skanned, ſhe did in truth more perſecute *Sara* by proud reſiſtance, then *Sara* her, by ſeueritie of puniſhment. *Theſe are the pathes wherin ye haue walked that are of the ordinarie ſort of men; theſe are the very ſteps ye haue troden, and the manifeſt degrees wherby yee are of your guides and directors trained vp in that ſchoole: a cuſtom of inuring your eares with reproofe of faults eſpecially in your Gouernours; and vſe to attribute thoſe faults to the kind of ſpirituall regiment vnder which ye liue; boldneſſe in warranting the force of their diſcipline for the cure of all ſuch euils; a ſleight of framing your conceits to imagine that Scripture euery where fauoureth that diſcipline; perſwaſion*

that

that the cauſe, why ye find it in Scripture is the illumination of the ſpirit, that the ſame ſpirit is a ſeale vnto you of your neereneſſe vnto God, that yee are by all meanes to nouriſh and witneſſe it in your ſelues, and to ſtrengthen on euery ſide your minds againſt whatſoeuer might be of force to withdraw you from it.

4. *Wherfore to come vnto you whoſe iudgemēt is a lantern of direction for all the reſt, you that frame thus the peoples hearts, not altogether (as I willingly perſwade my ſelfe) of a politique intent or purpoſe, but your ſelues being firſt ouerborn with the waight of greater mens iudgements: on your ſhoulders is laid the burthen of vpholding the cauſe by argumēt. For which purpoſe ſentences out of the word of God ye alleage diuers: but ſo, that when the ſame are diſcuſt, thus it alwaies in a manner falleth out, that what things by vertue therof ye vrge vpon vs as altogether neceſſarie, are found to be thence collected onely by poore and maruelous ſlight coniectures. I need not giue inſtance in any one ſentence ſo alleaged, for that I thinke the inſtance in any alleaged otherwiſe a thing not eaſie to be giuen. A very ſtrange thing ſure it were, that ſuch a Diſcipline as ye ſpeake of ſhould be taught by Chriſt and his Apoſtles in the word of God, and no Church euer haue found it out, nor receiued it till this preſent time; contrariwiſe, the Gouernment againſt which yee bend your ſelues, be obſerued euery where throughout all generations and ages of the Chriſtian world, no Church euer perceiuing the word of God to be againſt it. We require you to find out but one Church vpon the face of the whole earth, that hath been ordered by your Diſcipline, or hath not been ordered by ours, that is to ſay, by Epiſcopall regiment, ſithence the time that the bleſſed Apoſtles were here conuerſant. Many things out of antiquitie ye bring, as if the pureſt times of the Church had obſerued the ſelfe-ſame orders which you require; and as though your deſire were, that the Churches of old ſhould be paternes for vs to follow, and euen glaſſes wherein we might ſee the practice of that which by you is gathered out of Scripture. But the truth is, yee meane nothing leſſe. All this is done for faſhion ſake onely; for ye complaine of it as of an iniurie, that men ſhould be willed to ſeeke for examples & paterns of gouernment in anie of thoſe times that haue bene before. Ye plainly hold, that from the verie Apoſtles times till this preſent age wherein your ſelues imagine ye haue found out a right paterne of ſound diſcipline, there neuer was any time ſafe to be followed. Which thing ye thus endeuour to proue. Out of* Egeſippus *ye ſay that* Euſebius *writeth, how although as as long as the*

What hath cauſed ſo many of the learneder ſort to approue the ſame diſcipline.

T. C. lib. 1. p. 97.

Euſeb. 3. lib. 32.

Apoſtles liued, the Church did remaine a pure Virgin; yet after the death of the Apoſtles, and after they were once gone whom God vouchſafed to make Hearers of the diuine Wiſedome with their owne eares, the placing of wicked errors began to come into the Church. Clement *alſo in a certaine place, to cõfirme that there was corruption of doctrine immediately after the Apoſtles times, alleageth the prouerb, that* there are few ſonnes like their fathers. Socrates *ſaith of the Church of* Rome *and* Alexandria, *the moſt famous Churches in the Apoſtles times, that about the yeere* 430. *the Roman and Alexandrian Biſhops leauing the ſacred function, were degenerate to a ſecular rule or dominion. Hereupon ye conclude, that it is not ſafe to fetch our Gouernment from any other then the Apoſtles times. Wherein by the way it may be noted, that in propoſing the Apoſtles times as a patterne for the Church to follow, though the deſire of you all be one, the drift and purpoſe of you all is not one. The chiefeſt thing which Lay-reformers yawne for, is, that the Clergie may through conformitie in ſtate and condition be Apoſtolicall, poore as the Apoſtles of Chriſt were poore. In which one circumſtance if they imagine ſo great perfection, they muſt thinke that Church which hath ſuch ſtore of mendicant Friers, a Church in that reſpect moſt happy. Were it for the glorie of God, and the good of his Church indeed, that the Clergie ſhould be left euen as bare as the Apoſtles when they had neither ſtaffe nor ſcrip; that God, which ſhould lay vpon them the condition of his Apoſtles, would I hope, endue them with the ſelfe-ſame affection which was in that holy Apoſtle, whoſe words concerning his owne right-vertuous contentment of heart,* As well how to want, as how to abound, *are a moſt fit Epiſcopáll empreſe. The Church of Chriſt is a bodie myſticall. A bodie cannot ſtand, vnleſſe the parts thereof be proportionable. Let it therefore be required on both parts, at the hands of the Clergie, to be in meaneneſſe of ſtate like the Apoſtles; at the hands of the Laytie, to be as they were who liued vnder the Apoſtles: and in this reformation there will be, though little wiſedome, yet ſome indifferencie. But your reformation which are of the Clergie (if yet it diſpleaſe you not that I ſhould ſay yee are of the Clergie) ſeemeth to aime at a broader marke. Yee thinke that he which will perfectly reforme, muſt bring the forme of Church-diſcipline vnto the ſtate which then it was at. A thing neither poſſible, nor certaine, nor abſolutely conuenient. Concerning the firſt, what was vſed in the Apoſtles times, the Scripture fully declareth not; ſo that making their times the Rule*

Lib. Strom. Somewhat after the beginning. *Lib. 7. cap. 11.*

Phil. 4. 12.

and

and Canon of Church-politie, ye make a rule which being not possible to be fully knowne, is as impossible to be kept. Againe, sith the later euen of the Apostles owne times, had that which in the former was not thought vpon; in this generall proposing of the Apostles times, there is no certaintie which should be followed, especially seeing that yee giue vs great cause to doubt how farre yee allow those times. For albeit the louer of Antichristian building were not, yee say, as then set vp, yet the foundations thereof were secretly and vnder the ground laid in the Apostles times: so that all other times yee plainly reiect, and the Apostles owne times yee approue with maruellous great suspition, leauing it intricate and doubtfull wherein we are to keepe our selues vnto the patterne of their times. Thirdly, whereas it is the error of the common multitude, to consider only what hath beene of old, and if the same were well, to see whether still it continue; if not, to condemne that presently which is, and neuer to search vpon what ground or consideration the change might grow: such rudenesse cannot be in you so well borne with, whom learning and iudgement hath enabled much more soundly to discerne how far the times of the Church, and the orders thereof may alter without offence. True it is, [a] the ancienter, the better ceremonies of Religion are; howbeit, not absolutely true, and without exception, but true onely so farre-forth as those different ages doe agree in the state of those things, for which at the first those rites, orders, and ceremonies, were instituted. In the Apostles times that was harmelesse, which being now reuiued would be scandalous; as their [b] oscula sancta. Those [c] Feasts of charitie, which being instituted by the Apostles, were retained in the Church long after, are not now thought any where needfull. What man is there of vnderstanding, vnto whom it is not manifest, how the way of prouiding for the Clergie by Tithes, the deuice of Almes-houses for the poore, the sorting out of the people into their seuerall Parishes, together with sundry other things which the Apostles times could not haue, (being now established) are much more conuenient and fit for the Church of Christ, then if the same should be taken away for conformities sake with the ancienteſt and first times? The orders therefore which were obserued in the Apostles times, are not to be vrged as a Rule vniuersally, either sufficient or necessary. If they bee, neuertheleſſe on your part it still remayneth to bee better prooued, that the forme of Discipline which yee intitle Apostolicall, was in the Apostles time exercised. For of this very thing yee faile euen touching that which

a *Antiquitas ceremonijs atq; fanis tantum sanctitatis tribuere consueuit, quantum adstruxerit vetustatis.* Arn. p.746.

b Rom. 16.16. 2.Cor.13.12. 1.Thes.5.25. 1.Pet.5.14. In their meetings to serue God, their maner was in the end to salute one another with a kisse, vsing these words, Peace bee with you. For which cause, *Tertul.* doth call it, *signaculū orationis*, the seale of Praier, *l.de Ora.* c *Epist. Iud. verse* 12. Concerning which feasts, S. *Chrys.* saith, *Statis diebus mensas faciebant communes, & peracta synaxi post sacramentorum communionem inibant conuiuium, diuitibus quidē cibos afferentibus, pauperibus autem & qui nihil habebant etiam vocatis, in* 1.Cor.11.*Hom.* 27. Of the same feasts in like sort, *Tertull. Cœna nostra de nomine rationem sui ostendit. Vocatur enim, ἀγάπη, id quod est penes Græcos dilectio. Quantiscunq; sumptibus constet, lucrū est pietatis nomine facere sumptum,* Apolog. c.39.

which ye make moſt account of, as being matter of ſubſtance in Diſcipline, I meane the power of your Lay-elders, and the difference of your Doctors from the Paſtors in all Churches. So that in ſumme, wee may be bold to conclude, that beſides theſe laſt times, which for inſolencie, pride, and egregious contempt of all good order are the worſt, there are none wherein yee can truly affirme, that the compleat forme of your Diſcipline, or the ſubſtance thereof was practized. The euidence therefore of Antiquitie failing you, yee flie to the iudgements of ſuch Learned men, as ſeeme by their Writings, to bee of opinion that all Chriſtian Churches ſhould receiue your Diſcipline, and abandon ours. Wherein, as yee heape vp the names of a number of men not vnworthy to bee had in honour; ſo there are a number whom when yee mention, although it ſerue yee to purpoſe with the ignorant and vulgar ſort, who meaſure by tale and not by waight, yet ſurely they who know what qualitie and value the men are of, will thinke yee draw verie neere the dregs. But were they all of as great account as the beſt and chiefeſt amongſt them, with vs notwithſtanding neither are they, neither ought they to bee of ſuch reckoning, that their opinion or coniecture ſhould cauſe the Lawes of the Church of England to giue place. Much leſſe when they neither doe all agree in that opinion, and of them which are at agreement, the moſt part through a courteous inducement, haue followed one man as their Guide, finally, that one therein not vnlikely to haue ſwarued. If any chance to ſay it is probable that in the Apoſtles times there were Lay-elders, or not to miſlike the continuance of them in the Church; or to affirme that Biſhops at the firſt were a name, but not a power diſtinct from Presbyters; or to ſpeake any thing in praiſe of thoſe Churches which are without Epiſcopall Regiment; or to reproue the fault of ſuch as abuſe that Calling; all theſe ye regiſter for men, perſwaded as you are, that euery Chriſtian Church ſtandeth bound by the Law of God to put downe Biſhops, and in their roomes to erect an Elder-ſhip ſo authorized as you would haue it for the Gouernment of each Pariſh. Deceiued greatly they are therefore, who thinke that all they whoſe names are cited amongſt the Fauourers of this cauſe, are on any ſuch verdict agreed. Yet touching ſome materiall points of your Diſcipline, a kind of agreement we grant there is amongſt many Diuines of Reformed Churches abroad. For firſt, to do as the Church of Geneua did, the Learned in ſome other Churches muſt needs be the more willing, who hauing vſed in like māner not the ſlow & tedious help of proceeding by publike authoritie,

tie, but the peoples more quicke endeuour for alteration, in ſuch an exigent I ſee not well how they could haue ſtayed to deliberate about any other Regiment then that which alreadie was deuiſed to their hands, that which in like caſe had beene taken, that which was eaſieſt to be eſtabliſhed without delay, that which was likelieſt to content the people by reaſon of ſome kind of ſway which it giueth them. When therefore the example of one Church was thus at the firſt almoſt through a kind of conſtraint or neceſſitie followed by many, their concurrence in perſwaſion about ſome materiall points belonging to the ſame Politie is not ſtrange. For we are not to maruell greatly, if they which haue all done the ſame thing, doe eaſily imbrace the ſame opinion as concerning their owne doings. Beſides, marke, I beſeech you, that which Galen in matter of Philoſophie noteth; for the like falleth out euen in queſtions of higher knowledge. It fareth many times with mens opinions, as with rumours and reports. That which a credible perſon telleth, is eaſily thought probable by ſuch as are well perſwaded of him. But if two, or three, or foure, agree all in the ſame tale, they iudge it then to be out of Controuerſie, and ſo are many times ouertaken, for want of due conſideration; either ſome common cauſe leading them all into errour; or one mans ouerſight deceiuing many through their too much credulitie and eaſineſſe of beliefe. Though tenne perſons bee brought to giue teſtimonie in any cauſe, yet if the knowledge they haue of the thing whereunto they come as witneſſes, appeare to haue growne from ſome one amongſt them, and to haue ſpred it ſelfe from hand to hand, they all are in force but as one teſtimonie. Nor is it otherwiſe here, where the Daughter Churches doe ſpeake their Mothers Dialect; here where ſo many ſing one Song, by reaſon that he is the Guide of the Quire, concerning whoſe deſerued authoritie, amongſt euen the graueſt Diuines, wee haue alreadie ſpoken at large. Will yee aske what ſhould mooue thoſe many Learned to bee followers of one mans iudgement, no neceſſitie of Argument forcing them thereunto? Your demand is anſwered by your ſelues. Loth yee are to thinke that they whom ye iudge to haue attained as ſound knowledge in all points of Doctrine, as any ſince the Apoſtles time, ſhould miſtake in Diſcipline. Such is naturally our affection, that whom in great things we mightily admire; in them we are not perſwaded willingly that any thing ſhould be amiſſe. The reaſon whereof is, for that as dead Flyes putrifie the oyntment of the Apothecarie, ſo a little Folly him that is in eſtimation for Wiſdome. This in euery profeſſion hath too much authori-

Galen. Claſſ. 3. lib. De cujuſque anim peccat. notitia atque medela.

Petit. to the Q. M. Pag. 14.

Eccleſ. 10. 1.

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zed the iudgement of a few. This with Germans hath caused Luther, and with many other Churches Caluin, to preuaile in all things. Yet are we not able to define, whether the Wisdome of that God (who setteth before vs in Holy Scripture so many admirable patternes of Vertue, and no one of them without somewhat noted wherein they were culpable, to the end that to him alone it might alwaies be acknowledged, Thou onely art Holy, thou onely art iust) might not permit those worthy Vessels of his Glorie to be in somethings blemished with the staine of humane frailtie, euen for this cause, lest we should esteeme of any man aboue that which behoueth.

Their calling for trial by Disputation.

5. Notwithstanding, as though yee were able to say a great deale more then hitherto your Bookes haue reuealed to the World, earnest Challengers ye are of tryall by some publike Disputation. Wherein if the thing ye craue be no more then onely leaue to dispute openly about those matters that are in question, the Schooles in Vniuersities (for any thing I know) are open vnto you: they haue their yeerely Acts and Commencements, besides other Disputations both ordinarie and vpon occasion, wherein the seuerall parts of our owne Ecclesiasticall Discipline are oftentimes offered vnto that kind of Examination; the Learnedest of you haue beene of late yeeres noted seldome or neuer absent from thence at the time of those greater Assemblies; and the fauour of proposing therein conuenient sort whatsoeuer ye can obiect (which thing my selfe haue knowne them to grant of Scholasticall courtesie vnto Strangers) neither hath (as I thinke) nor euer will (I presume) beene denied you. If your Suit bee to haue some great extraordinary confluence, in expectation whereof the Lawes that alreadie are should sleepe and haue no power ouer you, till in the hearing of thousands yee all did acknowledge your error, and renounce the further prosecution of your Cause; haply, they whose authoritie is required vnto the satisfying of your demand, doe thinke it both dangerous to admit such concourse of deuided minds, and vnmeete that Lawes which being once solemnely established are to exact obedience of all men, and to constraine thereunto, should so farre stoope, as to hold themselues in suspence from taking any effect vpon you, till some Disputer can perswade you to be obedient. A Law is the deed of the whole bodie Politike, whereof if yee iudge your selues to be any part, then is the Law euen your deed also. And were it reason in things of this qualitie, to giue men audience, pleading for the ouerthrow of that which their own very deed hath ratified?

fied? Lawes that haue beene approoued, may bee (no man doubteth) againe repealed, and to that end alſo diſputed againſt, by the Authors thereof themſelues. But this is when the whole doth deliberate what Lawes each part ſhall obſerue, and not when a part refuſeth the Lawes which the whole hath orderly agreed vpon. Notwithſtanding, for as much as the cauſe we maintaine is (God bee thanked) ſuch as needeth not to ſhunne any tryall, might it pleaſe them on whoſe approbation the matter dependeth, to condeſcend ſo farre vnto you in this behalfe, I wiſh heartily that proofe were made euen by ſolemne conference in orderly and quiet ſort, whether you would your ſelues bee ſatisfied, or elſe could by ſatisfying others, draw them to your part. Prouided alwayes, firſt, in aſmuch as ye goe about to deſtroy a thing which is in force; and to draw in that which hath not as yet beene receiued; to impoſe on vs that which we thinke not our ſelues bound vnto, and to ouerthrow thoſe things whereof we are poſſeſſed; that therefore yee are not to claime in any conference, other then the Plantifes or opponents part, which muſt conſiſt altogether in proofe and confirmation of two things: the one, that our Orders by you condemned we ought to aboliſh; the other, that yours we are bound to accept in the ſtead thereof. Secondly, becauſe the queſtions in Controuerſie betweene vs are many, if once we deſcend vnto particularities, that for the eaſier and more orderly proceeding therein, the moſt generall be firſt diſcuſſed, nor any queſtion left off, nor in each queſtion the proſecution of any one Argument giuen ouer and another taken in hand, till the iſſue whereunto by replyes and anſweres both parts are come, be collected, read and acknowledged aſwell on the one ſide as on the other, to be the plaine concluſion which they are growne vnto. Thirdly, for auoiding of the manifold inconueniences whereunto ordinarie and extemporall Diſputes are ſubiect, as alſo becauſe if yee ſhould ſingly diſpute one by one as euery mans owne wit did beſt ſerue, it might be conceiued by the reſt, that haply ſome other would haue done more, the chiefeſt of you doe all agree in this action, that whom ye ſhal then chooſe your Speaker, by him that which is publikely brought into diſputation be acknowledged by all your conſents not to be his allegation but yours, ſuch as yee all are agreed vpon, and haue required him to deliuer in all your names: the true copie whereof being taken by a Notary, that a reaſonable time be allowed for returne of anſwer vnto you in the like forme. Fourthly, whereas a number of conferences haue bin had in other cauſes with the leſſe effectuall ſucceſſe, by reaſon of partiall and

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vntrue reports, publiſhed afterwards vnto the World, that to preuent this euill, there be at the firſt a ſolemne Declaration made on both parts of their agreement to haue that very Booke and no other ſet abroad, wherein their preſent authorized Notaries doe write thoſe things fully and only, which being written and there read, are by their owne open teſtimony acknowledged to be their owne. Other circumſtances hereunto belonging, whether for the choice of time, place, and language, or for preuention of impertinent and needleſſe ſpeech, or to any end and purpoſe elſe, they may be thought on when occaſion ſerueth. In this ſort to broach my priuate conceit for the ordering of a publike action, I ſhould be loth, (albeit I doe it not otherwiſe then vnder correction of them whoſe grauitie and wiſedome ought in ſuch caſes to ouer-rule) but that ſo venturous boldneſſe I ſee is a thing now generall, and am thereby of good hope that where all men are licenced to offend, no man will ſhew himſelfe a ſharpe Accuſor.

No end of contention, without ſubmiſſion of both parts vnto ſome definitiue ſentence.

6 What ſucceſſe God may giue vnto any ſuch kind of Conference or Diſputation, we cannot tell. But of this we are right ſure, that Nature, Scripture, and Experience it ſelfe, haue all taught the World to ſeeke for the ending of contentions, by ſubmitting it ſelfe vnto ſome iudiciall and definitiue ſentence, whereunto neither part that contendeth may vnder any pretence or colour refuſe to ſtand. This muſt needs be effectuall and ſtrong. As for other meanes without this, they ſeldome preuaile. I would therefore know whether for the ending of theſe irkſome ſtrifes, wherein you and your followers doe ſtand thus formally diuided againſt the authorized guides of this Church, and the reſt of the people ſubiect vnto their charge, whether, I ſay, yee be content to refer your cauſe to any other higher iudgement then your owne; or elſe intend to perſiſt and proceed as yee haue begun, till your ſelues can be perſwaded to condemne your ſelues. If your determination be this, we can be but ſorry that ye ſhould deſerue to be reckoned with ſuch, of whom God himſelfe pronounceth,

Rom. 3. 17. The way of peace they haue not knowne. Wayes of peaceable concluſion there are but theſe two certayne: the one, a ſentence of iudiciall deciſion giuen by authority thereto appointed within our ſelues, the other, the like kind of ſentence giuen by a more vniuerſall authority. The former of which two wayes God himſelfe in the Law preſcribeth, and his Spirit it was which directeth the very firſt Chriſtian Churches in the world to vſe the later. The ordinance of God in the Law was this.

Deut. 17. 8. If there ariſe a matter too hard for thee in iudgement betweene bloud

bloud and bloud, betweene plea, &c. then ſhalt thou ariſe, and goe vp vnto the place which the Lord thy God ſhall chooſe, and thou ſhalt come vnto the Prieſts of the Leuites, and vnto the Iudge that ſhall be in thoſe dayes, and aske, and they ſhall ſhew thee the ſentence of iudgement, and thou ſhalt doe according to that thing which they of that place which the Lord hath choſen ſhew thee; and thou ſhalt obſerue to doe according to all that they enforme thee, according to the Law which they ſhall teach thee, and according to the iudgement which they ſhall tell thee ſhalt thou doe, thou ſhalt not decline from the thing which they ſhall ſhew thee, to the right hand, nor to the left. And that man that will doe preſumptuouſly, not harkening vnto the Prieſt (that ſtandeth before the Lord thy God to miniſter there) or vnto the Iudge, that man ſhall die, and thou ſhalt take away euill from Iſrael. *When there grew in the Church of Chriſt a queſtion*, Whether the Gentiles beleeuing might be ſaued, although they were not circumciſed after the manner of *Moſes*, nor did obſerue the reſt of thoſe legall Rites and Ceremonies whereunto the Iewes were bound: *After great diſſention and diſputation about it, their concluſion in the end was, to haue it determined by ſentence at* Ieruſalem: *which was accordingly done in a Councell there aſſembled for the ſame purpoſe. Are yee able to alleage any iuſt and ſufficient cauſe wherefore abſolutely yee ſhould not condeſcend in this Controuerſie, to haue your iudgements ouer-ruled by ſome ſuch definitiue ſentence, whether it fall out to be giuen with or againſt you, that ſo theſe tedious contentions may ceaſe? Yee will perhaps make anſwere, That being perſwaded already as touching the truth of your cauſe, yee are not to harken vnto any ſentence, no not though Angels ſhould define otherwiſe, as the bleſſed Apoſtles owne example teacheth: againe, that Men, yea Councels, may erre; and that vnleſſe the iudgement giuen doe ſatisfie your mindes, vnleſſe it be ſuch as yee can by no further argument oppugne, in a word, vnleſſe you perceiue & acknowledge it your ſelues conſonant with Gods Word, to ſtand vnto it not allowing it, were to ſinne againſt your owne conſciences. But conſider, I beſeech you, firſt, as touching the Apoſtle, how that wherein he was ſo reſolute and peremptory, our Lord Ieſus Chriſt made manifeſt vnto him, euen by intuitiue reuelation, wherein there was no poſſibilitie of errour: That which you are perſwaded of, yee haue it no* Act. 15.

otherwiſe then by your owne onely probable collection; and therefore ſuch bold aſſeuerations as in him were admirable, ſhould in your mouthes but argue raſhneſſe. God was not ignorant that the Prieſts and Iudges, whoſe ſentence in matters of Controuerſie he ordayned ſhould ſtand, both might and oftentimes would be deceiued in their iudgement. Howbeit, better it was in the eye of his vnderſtanding, that ſometime an erroneous ſentence definitiue ſhould preuaile, till the ſame authority perceiuing ſuch ouer-ſight, might afterwards correct or reuerſe it, then that ſtrifes ſhould haue reſpit to grow, and not come ſpeedily vnto ſome end. Neither wiſh wee that men ſhould doe any thing which in their hearts they are perſwaded they ought not to doe, but this perſwaſion ought (we ſay) to be fully ſettled in their hearts, that in litigious and controuerſed cauſes of ſuch quality, the will of God is to haue them to doe whatſoeuer the ſentence of iudiciall and finall deciſion ſhall determine, yea, though it ſeeme in their priuate opinion to ſwarue vtterly from that which is right: as no doubt many times the ſentence amongſt the Iewes did ſeeme vnto one part or other contending; and yet in this caſe God did then allow them to doe that which in their priuate iudgement it ſeemed (yea and perhaps truly ſeemed) that the Law did diſallow. For if God be not the author of confuſion, but of peace; then can he not be the author of our refuſall, but of our contentment, to ſtand vnto ſome definitiue ſentence; without which almoſt impoſſible it is, that either we ſhould auoid confuſion, or euer hope to attaine peace. To ſmall purpoſe had the Councell of Ieruſalem *beene aſſembled, if once their determination being ſet downe, men might afterwards haue defended their former opinions. When therefore they had giuen their definitiue ſentence, all controuerſie was at an end. Things were diſputed before they came to be determined; men afterwards were not to diſpute any longer, but to obey. The ſentence of iudgement finiſhed their ſtrife, which their diſputes before iudgement could not doe. This was ground ſufficient for any reaſonable mans conſcience to build the duety of obedience vpon, whatſoeuer his owne opinion were as touching the matter before in queſtion. So full of wilfulneſſe and ſelfe-liking is our nature, that without ſome definitiue ſentence, which being giuen may ſtand, and a neceſsity of ſilence on both ſides afterward impoſed; ſmall hope there is that ſtrifes thus farre proſecuted, will in ſhort time quietly end. Now it were in vaine to aske you whether yee could be content that the ſentence of any Court already erected, ſhould be ſo farre authorized, as*

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that among the Iewes eſtabliſhed by God himſelfe, for the determining of all Controuerſies: That man which will doe preſumptuouſly, not hearkning vnto the Prieſt that ſtandeth before the Lord to miniſter there, nor vnto the Iudge, let him die. *Ye haue giuen vs already to vnderſtand, what your opinion is in part concerning her ſacred Maieſties Court of high Commiſſion, the nature whereof is the ſame with that amongſt the Iewes, albeit the power be not ſo great. The other way haply may like you better, becauſe Maſter* Beza *in his laſt Booke ſaue one written about theſe matters, profeſſeth himſelfe to be now wearie of ſuch combats and encounters, whether by word or writing, in as much as hee findeth that Controuerſies thereby are made but Brawles; and therefore wiſheth* that in ſome common lawfull aſſembly of Churches, all theſe ſtrifes may at once bee decided. *Shall there be then in the meane while no* doings? *Yes. There are the waighties matters of the Law,* iudgement & mercie and fidelitie. *Theſe things we ought to doe; and theſe things, while we contend about leſſe, we leaue vndone. Happier are they, whom the Lord, when he commeth, ſhall find doing in theſe things, then diſputing about Doctors, Elders and Deacons. Or if there be no remedy but ſomewhat needs yee muſt doe which may tend to the ſetting forward of your Diſcipline; doe that which wiſemen, who thinke ſome Statute of the Realme more fit to be repealed then to ſtand in force, are accuſtomed to doe before they come to Parliament where the place of enacting is; that is to ſay, ſpend the time in reexamining more duly your cauſe, and in more throughly conſidering of that which yee labour to ouerthrow. As for the Orders which are eſtabliſhed, ſith equitie and reaſon, the Law of nature, God and man, doe all fauour that which is in being, till orderly iudgement of deciſion be giuen againſt it; it is but Iuſtice to exact of you, and peruerſneſſe in you it ſhould be to denie thereunto your willing obedience. Not that I iudge it a thing allowable for men to obſerue thoſe Lawes, which in their hearts they are ſtedfaſtly perſwaded to bee againſt the Law of God: but your perſwaſion in this caſe ye are all bound for the time to ſuſpend, and in otherwiſe doing, yee offend againſt God, by troubling his Church without any iuſt or neceſſarie cauſe. Be it that there are ſome reaſons inducing you to think hardly of our lawes. Are thoſe reaſons demonſtratiue, are they neceſſarie, or but meere probabilities onely? An argument neceſſarie and demonſtratiue is ſuch, as being propoſed vnto any man and vnderſtood, the minde cannot chooſe but inwardly aſſent. A-*

Præf. tract. de Excom. & presbyt.

Mat. 23. 23.

ny one ſuch reaſon diſchargeth I grant the conſcience, and ſetteth it at full libertie. For the publike approbation giuen by the body of this whole Church vnto theſe things which are eſtabliſhed, doth make it but probable that they are good. And therfore vnto a neceſſarie proofe that they are not good, it muſt giue place. But if the skilfulleſt amongſt you can ſhew, that all the Bookes yee haue hitherto written be able to afford any one argument of this nature, let the inſtance be giuen. As for probabilities, what thing was there euer ſet down ſo agreeable with ſound reaſon, but ſome probable ſhew againſt it might be made? Is it meete that when publikely things are receiued and haue taken place, generall obedience thereunto ſhould ceaſe to be exacted, in caſe this or that priuate perſon led with ſome probable conceit, ſhould make open proteſtation, Peter or *Iohn* diſallow them, and pronounce them naught? *In which caſe your anſwere will bee, that concerning the Lawes of our Church, they are not only condemned in the opinion of a* priuate man, but of thouſands, *yea and euen* of thoſe amongſt which diuers are in publike charge and authoritie. *As though when publike conſent of the whole hath eſtabliſhed any thing, euery mans iudgement being thereunto compared were not priuate, howſoeuer his calling bee to ſome kind of publike charge. So that of peace and quietneſſe there is not any way poſſible, vnleſſe the probable voice of euery intire ſocietie or body politique, ouer-rule all priuate of like nature in the ſame bodie. Which thing effectually prooueth, that God being author of peace and not of confuſion in the Church, muſt needs be author of thoſe mens peaceable reſolutions, who concerning theſe things, haue determined with themſelues to thinke and doe as the Church they are of, decreeth, till they ſee neceſſarie cauſe enforcing them to the contrarie.*

T.C.l.3.p.171.

The matter contained in theſe eight books

7. *Nor is mine owne intent any other in theſe ſeuerall Bookes of diſcourſe, then to make it appeare vnto you, that for the Eccleſiaſticall Lawes of this Land, we are led by great reaſon to obſerue them, and yee by no neceſſitie bound to impugne them. It is no part of my ſecret meaning to draw you hereby into hatred, or to ſet vpon the face of this cauſe any fairer glaſſe then the naked truth doth afford: but my whole endeuour is to reſolue the conſcience, and to ſhew as neere as I can what in this Controuerſie the heart is to thinke, if it will follow the light of ſound and ſincere iudgement, without either clowd of preiudice or miſt of paſſionate affection. Wherefore ſeeing that Lawes and Ordinances in particular, whether ſuch as we obſerue, or ſuch as your ſelues would*

haue eſtabliſhed, when the minde doth ſift and examine them, it muſt needs haue often recourſe to a number of doubts and queſtions about the nature, kinds, and qualities of Lawes in generall, whereof vnleſſe it be throughly enformed, there will appeare no certaintie to ſtay our perſwaſion vpon: I haue for that cauſe ſet downe in the firſt place an Introduction on both ſides needfull to bee conſidered: Declaring therein what Law is, how different kinds of Lawes there are, and what force they are of according vnto each kind. This done, becauſe yee ſuppoſe the Lawes for which yee ſtriue are found in Scripture; but thoſe not againſt which we ſtriue; and vpon this ſurmiſe are drawne to hold it as the very maine pillar of your whole cauſe, that Scripture ought to bee the onely rule of all our actions, *& conſequently that the Church-orders which we obſerue being not commanded in Scripture, are offenſiue and diſpleaſant vnto God: I haue ſpent the ſecond booke in ſifting of this point, which ſtandeth with you for the firſt and chiefeſt principle whereon yee build. Whereunto the next in degree is, that as God will haue alwayes a Church vpon earth while the world doth continue, and that Church ſtand in neede of Gouernment, of which Gouernment it behoooueth himſelfe to be both the author and teacher: ſo it cannot ſtand with duetie, that man ſhould euer preſume in any wiſe to change and alter the ſame; and therfore,* That in Scripture there muſt of neceſſitie be found ſome particular forme of Eccleſiaſticall Politie, the Lawes whereof admit not any kind of alteration. *The firſt three Bookes being thus ended, the fourth proceedeth from the generall grounds and foundations of your cauſe, vnto your generall accuſations againſt vs, as hauing in the Orders of our Church (for ſo you pretend)* corrupted the right forme of Church-politie with manifold Popiſh Rites and Ceremonies, which certaine reformed Churches haue baniſhed from amongſt them, and haue therby giuen vs ſuch example as *(you thinke)* we ought to follow. *This your aſſertion hath herein drawne vs to make ſearch, whether theſe be iuſt exceptions againſt the cuſtomes of our Church, when yee pleade that they are the ſame which the Church of Rome hath, or that they are not the ſame which ſome other Reformed Churches haue deuiſed. Of thoſe foure Bookes which remaine, and are beſtowed about the ſpecialties of that cauſe which lyeth in Controuerſie, the firſt examineth the cauſes by you alleaged, wherefore the publike dueties of Chriſtian Religion, as our Prayers, our Sacraments and the reſt, ſhould not be ordered in ſuch*

ſort as with vs they are; nor that power whereby the perſons of men are conſecrated vnto the Miniſterie, bee diſpoſed of in ſuch maner as the Lawes of this Church doe allow. The ſecond and third are concerning the power of Iuriſdiction: the one, whether Lay-men, ſuch as your gouerning Elders are, ought in all Congregations for euer to bee inueſted with that power; the other, whether Biſhops may haue that power ouer other Paſtors, and therewithall that honour which with vs they haue. And becauſe beſides the power of Order which all conſecrated perſons haue, and the power of Iuriſdiction which neither they all, nor they only haue, there is a third power, a power of Eccleſiaſticall Dominion, communicable, as we thinke, vnto perſons not Eccleſiaſticall, and moſt fit to be reſtrained vnto the Prince our Soueraigne Commander ouer the whole body Politike: The eight Booke we haue allotted vnto this queſtion, and haue ſifted therein your Obiections againſt thoſe preeminences Royall which thereunto appertaine. Thus haue I laide before you the briefe of theſe my Trauailes, and preſented vnder your view the limmes of that cauſe litigious betweene vs: the whole intire body whereof being thus compact, it ſhall bee no troubleſome thing for any man to find each particular Controuerſies reſting place, and the coherence it hath with thoſe things, either on which it dependeth, or which depend on it.

How iuſt cauſe there is to feare the manifold dangerous euents likely to enſue vpon this intended reformation, if it did take place.

8. The caſe ſo ſtanding therefore my brethren, as it doth, the wiſedome of Gouernours yee muſt not blame, in that they further alſo forecaſting the manifold ſtrange & dangerous innouations, which are more then likely to follow, if your Diſcipline ſhould take place, haue for that cauſe thought it hitherto a part of their duetie to withſtand your endeuours that way: The rather, for that they haue ſeene alreadie ſome ſmall beginnings of the fruites thereof, in them, who concurring with you in iudgement about the neceſſitie of that Diſcipline, haue aduentured without more adoe, to ſeparate themſelues from the reſt of the Church, and to put your ſpeculations in execution. Theſe mens haſtines the warier ſort of you doth not commend, yee wiſh they had held themſelues longer in, and not ſo dangerouſly flowne abroad before the feathers of the cauſe had beene growne; their errour with mercifull termes yee reproone, naming them in great commiſeration of mind, your poore brethren. They on the contrarie ſide more bitterly accuſe you as their falſe brethren, and againſt you they pleade, ſaying: From your breſts it is, that we haue ſucked thoſe things, which when yee deliuered vnto

1. Pet. 1. 2.

vs,

vs, yee termed that heauenly, ſincere, and wholeſome milke of Gods word, howſoeuer yee now abhorre as poyſon that which the vertue therof hath wrought and brought foorth in vs. Yee ſometime our companions, guides and familiars, with whom we haue had moſt ſweete conſultations, are now become our profeſſed aduerſaries, becauſe wee thinke the Statute-congregations in England to bee no true Christian Churches; becauſe we haue ſeuered our ſelues from them, and becauſe without their leaue or licence that are in Ciuill Authoritie, we haue ſecretly framed our owne Churches according to the platforme of the word of God. For of that point betweene you and vs there is no controuerſie. Alas, what would yee haue vs to doe? At ſuch time as yee were content to accept vs in the number of your owne, your teachings we heard, wee read your Writings: and though we would, yet able wee are not to forget with what zeale yee haue euer profeſt, that in the Engliſh Congregations (for ſo many of them as be ordered according vnto their owne Lawes,) the verie publique Seruice of God is fraught, as touching matter, with heapes of intolerable pollutions, and as concerning forme, borrowed from the Shoppe of Antichriſt; hatefull both wayes in the eyes of the moſt Holy: the kind of their Gouernment by Biſhops and Archbiſhops, Antichriſtian, that Diſcipline which Chriſt hath eſſentially tied, that is to ſay, ſo vnited vnto his Church, that wee cannot account it really to be his Church, which hath not in it the ſame Diſcipline, that verie Diſcipline no leſſe there deſpiſed, then in the higheſt throne of Antichriſt, all ſuch partes of the word of God as doe any way concerne that Diſcipline, no leſſe vnſoundly taught and interpreted by all Authorized Engliſh Paſtors, then by Antichriſts factors themſelues; at Baptiſme Croſsing, at the Supper of the Lord kneeling, at both a number of other the moſt notorious badges of Antichriſtian recognuſance vſuall. Being moued with theſe and the like your effectuall diſcourſes, whereunto wee gaue moſt attentiue eare, till they entred euen into our ſoules, and were as fire within our boſomes; wee thought we might hereof bee bold to conclude, that ſith no ſuch Antichriſtian Synagogue may be accompted a true Church of Chriſt, yee by accuſing all Congregations ordered according to the Lawes of England as Antichriſtian, did meane to condemne thoſe Congregations, as not being any of them worthy the name of a true Chriſtian Church. Yee tell vs now it is not your meaning. But what meant your often threatnings of them, who profeſsing themſelues the Inhabitants of mount Sion,

Pſal. 55. 13.

Pref. againſt D. Baner.

Sion, were too loth to depart wholly as they ſhould out of Babylon? Whereat our hearts being fearefully troubled, we durſt not, we durſt not continue longer ſo neere her confines, leſt her plagues might ſuddenly ouertake vs, before we did ceaſe to be partakers with her ſinnes: for ſo we could not chuſe but acknowledge with griefe that we were, when they doing euill, wee by our preſence in their aſſemblies ſeemed to like thereof, or at leaſt wiſe not ſo earneſtly to diſlike, as became men heartily zealous of Gods glorie. For aduenturing to erect the Diſcipline of Chriſt without the leaue of the Chriſtian Magiſtrate, haply yee may condemne vs as fooles, in that we hazard therby our eſtates and perſons, further then you which are that way more wiſe thinke neceſſarie: but of any offence or ſinne therein committed againſt God, with what conſcience can you accuſe vs, when your owne poſitions are, that the things we obſerue ſhould euery of them be dearer vnto vs then ten thouſand liues; that they are the peremptorie commandements of God; that no mortall man can diſpence with them, and that the Magiſtrate grieuouſly ſinneth in not conſtraining thereunto? Will yee blame any man for doing that of his owne accord, which all men ſhould bee compelled to doe that are not willing of themſelues? When God commandeth, ſhall we anſwer that we will obey, if ſo be Cæſar will grant vs leaue? Is Diſcipline an Eccleſiaſticall matter or a Ciuill? If an Eccleſiaſticall, it muſt of neceſſitie belong to the dutie of the Miniſter. And the Miniſter (yee ſay) holdeth all his authoritie of doing whatſoeuer belongeth vnto the Spirituall charge of the houſe of God, euen immediatly from God himſelfe, without dependencie vpon any Magiſtrate. Whereupon it followeth, as wee ſuppoſe, that the hearts of the people being willing to bee vnder the Scepter of Chriſt, the Miniſter of God, into whoſe hands the Lord himſelfe hath put that Scepter, is without all excuſe, if thereby he guide them not. Nor do we find that hitherto greatly ye haue diſliked thoſe Churches abroad, where the people with direction of their godly Miniſters, haue euen againſt the will of the Magiſtrate brought in either the doctrine or Diſcipline of Ieſus Chriſt. For which cauſe we muſt now think the very ſame thing of you, which our Sauior did ſometime vtter concerning falſe-harted Scribes and Phariſes, They ſay & do not. Matth. 23. 3. Thus the fooliſh Barrowiſt deriueth his ſchiſme by way of concluſion, as to him it ſeemeth, directly and plainely out of your principles. Him therefore we leaue to be ſatisfied by you from whome he hath ſprung. And if ſuch by your own acknowledgement bee perſons dangerous, although as yet the alterations

which

which they haue made are of ſmall and tender growth; the changes likly to enſue throughout all ſtates and vocations within this Land, in caſe your deſire ſhould take place, muſt be thought vpon. First, concerning the ſupreme power of the higheſt, they are no ſmall prerogatiues, which now thereunto belonging the forme of your Diſcipline will conſtraine it to reſigne, as in the laſt Booke of this Treatiſe we haue ſhewed at large. Againe it may iuſtly be feared, whether our Engliſh Nobilitie, when the matter came in triall, would contentedly ſuffer themſelues to be alwaies at the call, and to ſtand to the ſentence of a number of meane perſons, aſſiſted with the preſence of their poore Teacher; a man (as ſometimes it happeneth) though better able to ſpeake, yet little or no whit apter to iudge then the reſt; from whom, be their dealings neuer ſo abſurd (vnleſſe it be by way of complaint to a Synod) no appeale may be made vnto any one of higher power, in aſmuch as the order of your Diſcipline admitteth no ſtanding inequalitie of Courts, no ſpirituall Iudge to haue any ordinarie ſuperiour on earth, but as many Supremacies as there are Pariſhes and ſeuerall Congregations. Neither is it altogether without cauſe that ſo many doe feare the ouerthrow of all learning, as a threatned ſequele of this your intended Diſcipline. For if the worlds preſeruation depend vpon the multitude of the wiſe; and of that ſort the number hereafter be not likely to waxe ouer-great, when (that wherewith the ſonne of Syrach profeſſeth himſelfe at the heart grieued) men of vnderſtanding are alreadie ſo little ſet by: how ſhould their minds, whom the loue of ſo precious a Iewell filleth with ſecret iealouſie euen in regard of the leaſt things, which may any way hinder the flouriſhing eſtate thereof, chuſe but miſdoubt leſt this Diſcipline, which alwaies you match with diuine doctrine as her naturall and true ſiſter, be found vnto al kinds of knowledge a ſtepmother; ſeeing that the greateſt worldly hopes, which are propoſed vnto the chiefeſt kind of learning, ye ſeeke vtterly to extirpate as weedes; and haue grounded your platforme on ſuch propoſitions, as doe after a ſort vndermine thoſe moſt renowned habitations, where, through the goodnes of Almightie God, all commendable Arts & Sciences are with exceeding great induſtry hitherto (and ſo may they for euer continue) ſtudied, proceeded in, & profeſt? To charge you as purpoſely bent to the ouerthrow of that wherein ſo many of you haue attained no ſmall perfection, were iniurious. Only therefore I wiſh that your ſelues did well conſider how oppoſite certaine your poſitions are vnto the ſtate of Collegiate ſocieties, whereon the two Vniuerſities

Sap. 6. 24.

Eccl. 26. 29.

conſiſt.

consist. Those degrees which their statutes bind them to take, are by your Lawes taken away; your selues who haue sought them yee so excuse, as that yee would haue men to thinke yee iudge them not allowable, but tolerable onely, and to be borne with, for some helpe which yee find in them vnto the furtherance of your purposes, till the corrupt estate of the Church may be better reformed. Your Lawes forbidding Ecclesiasticall persons vtterly the exercise of Ciuill power, must needes depriue the Heads and Masters in the same Colledges of all such authoritie as now they exercise, either at home, by punishing the faults of those, who not as children to their parents by the law of Nature, but altogether by Ciuill authoritie are subiect vnto them, or abroad, by keeping Courts amongst their tenants. Your lawes making permanent inequalitie amongst Ministers, a thing repugnant to the word of God, enforce those Colledges, the Seniors whereof are all or any part of them Ministers vnder the gouernment of a Master in the same vocation, to choose, as oft as they meete together, a new President. For if so yee iudge it necessarie to do in Synods, for the auoiding of permanent inequalitie amongst Ministers, the same cause must needs euen in these Collegiate assemblies enforce the like. Except peraduenture yee meane to auoid all such absurdities, by dissoluing those Corporations, and by bringing the Vniuersities vnto the forme of the Schoole of Geneua. *Which thing men the rather are enclined to looke for, in asmuch as the ministerie, whereinto their founders with singular prouidence haue by the same Statutes appointed them necessarily to enter at a certaine time, your Lawes bind them much more necessarily to forbeare, till some Parish abroad call for them. Your opinion concerning the Law Ciuill is, that the knowledge thereof might bee spared, as a thing which this Land doth not need. Professors in that kind being few, yee are the bolder to spurne at them, and not to dissemble your minds as concerning their remooual: in whose studies although my selfe haue not much beene conuersant, neuertheless exceeding great cause I see there is to wish that thereunto more encouragement were giuen, as well for the singular treasures of wisedome therein conteined, as also for the great vse we haue thereof both in decision of certaine kinds of causes arising daily within our selues, and especially for commerce with Nations abroad, whereunto that knowledge is most requisite. The reasons wherewith yee would perswade that Scripture is the onely rule to frame all our actions by, are in euery respect as effectuall for proofe that the same is the onely Law whereby to determine all our Ciuill controuersies.*

Humb. Motion to the L. L. p. 50.

And

And then what doth let, but that as thoſe men may haue their deſire, who frankely broach it already that the worke of Reformation will neuer be perfect, till the Law of Ieſus Chriſt be receiued alone; ſo Pleaders and Counſellors may bring their Bookes of the Common-Law, and beſtow them as the Students of curious and needleſſe arts did theirs in the Apoſtles time? I leaue them to ſcan how farre thoſe words of yours may reach, wherein yee declare that whereas now many houſes lye waſte through inordinate ſuites of Law, This one thing will ſhew the excellencie of Diſcipline for the wealth of the Realme, and quiet of Subiects, that the Church is to cenſure ſuch a partie who is apparantly troubleſome and contentious, and without REASONABLE CAVSE vpon a meere will and ſtomack doth vexe and moleſt his Brother, and trouble the Country. *For mine owne part I doe not ſee but that it might very well agree with your principles, if your diſcipline were fully planted, euen to ſend out your Writs of Surceaſe vnto all Courts of* England *beſides, for the moſt things handled in them. A great deale further I might proceede and deſcend lower. But for as much as againſt all theſe and the like difficulties, your anſwere is, That we ought to ſearch what things are conſonant to Gods will, not which be moſt for our owne eaſe; and therefore that your diſcipline, being (for ſuch is your errour) the abſolute commandement of Almightie God, it muſt be receiued, although the World by receiuing it ſhould be cleane turned vpſide-downe; herein lyeth the greateſt danger of all. For whereas the name of diuine Authoritie is vſed to countenance theſe things, which are not the Commandements of God, but your owne erroneous collections; on him yee muſt father whatſoeuer yee ſhall afterwards be led, either to doe in withſtanding the Aduerſaries of your cauſe, or to thinke in maintenance of your doings. And what this may be, God doth know. In ſuch kinds of error, the mind once imagining it ſelfe to ſeeke the execution of Gods will, laboureth forthwith to remoue both things and perſons, which any way hinder it from taking place; and in ſuch caſes if any ſtrange or new thing ſeeme requiſite to be done, a ſtrange and new opinion concerning the lawfulnes therof, is withall receiued and broached vnder countenance of diuine authoritie. One example herein may ſerue for many, to ſhew that falſe opinions touching the will of God to haue things done, are wont to bring forth mighty and violent practices againſt the hinderances of them; and thoſe practices new opinions more pernicious then the firſt, yea, moſt extremely ſome-*

Act. 19. 19.

Humb. Mot. pag 74.

Counterp. pag. 108.

ſometimes oppoſite to that which the firſt did ſeeme to intend. Where the people tooke vpon them the reformation of the Church by caſting out Popiſh ſuperſtition, they hauing receiued from their Paſtors a generall inſtruction that whatſoeuer the heauenly Father hath not planted, Mat.15.13. *muſt be rooted out, proceeded in ſome forrein places ſo farre, that downe went oratories and the very Temples of God themſelues. For as they chanced to take the compaſſe of their Commiſsion ſtricter or larger, ſo their dealings were accordingly more or leſſe moderate. Amongſt others there ſprang vp preſently one kind of men, with whoſe zeale and forwardneſſe the reſt being compared, were thought to bee maruellous cold and dull. Theſe grounding themſelues on Rules more generall; that whatſoeuer the law of Chriſt commandeth not, thereof Antichriſt is the author; & that whatſoeuer Antichriſt or his adherents did in the world, the true profeſſors of Chriſt are to vndoe; found out many things more then others had done, the extirpation whereof was in their conceit as neceſſarie as of any thing before remooued. Hereupon they ſecretly made their dolefull complaints euery where as they went, that albeit the world did begin to profeſſe ſome diſlike of that which was euill in the Kingdom of darkneſſe, yet fruits worthy of a true repentance were not ſeene; and that if men did repent as they ought, they muſt endeuour to purge the truth of all manner of euill, to the end there might follow a new world afterward, wherein righteouſneſſe onely ſhould dweil. Priuate repentance they ſaid muſt appeare by euery mans faſhioning his owne life contrarie vnto the cuſtome and orders of this preſent world, both in greater things and in leſſe. To this purpoſe they had alwaies in their mouthes thoſe greater things, Charitie, Faith, the true feare of God, the Croſſe, the mortification of the fleſh. All their exhortations were to ſet light of the things in this world, to count riches and honors vanitie, and in token thereof not onely to ſeeke neither, but if men were poſſeſſors of both, euen to caſt away the one and reſigne the other, that all men might ſee their vnfained conuerſion vnto Chriſt. They were ſollicitors of men to faſts, to often meditations of heauenly things, and as it were conferences in ſecret with God by praiers, not framed according to the frozē maner of the world, but expreſsing ſuch feruēt deſires as might euen force God to harken vnto them. Wher they found men in diet, attire, furniture of houſe, or any other way obſeruers of ciuility & decent order ſuch they reprooued as being carnally & earthly minded. Euery word otherwiſe then ſeuerely & ſadly vttered, ſeemed to pierce lik a ſword thorow*

Guy de Bres contre l'erreur des Anabaptiſtes. Pag. 4.

Pag. 5.

Pag. 16. Pag. 118. 119. 120. Pag. 116.

row them. *If any man were pleasant, their manner was presently with sighes to repeat those words of our Sauiour Christ*, Woe bee to you which now laugh, for ye shall lament. *So great was their delight to be alwaies in trouble, that such as did quietly lead their liues, they iudged of all other men to be in most dangerous case. They so much affected to crosse the ordinary custome in euery thing, that when other mens vse was to put on better attire, they would be sure to shew themselues openly abroad in worse: the ordinary names of the dayes in the Weeke they thought it a kind of prophanesse to vse, and therefore accustomed themselues to make no other distinction then by numbers, The First, Second, Third day. From this they proceeded vnto publike Reformation, first, Ecclesiasticall, and then Ciuill. Touching the former, they boldy auouched, that themselues only had the Truth, which thing vpon perill of their liues they would at all times defend; and that since the Apostles liued, the same was neuer before in all points sincerely taught. Wherefore that things might againe bee brought to that ancient integritie which* Iesus Christ *by his Word requireth, they began to controule the Ministers of the Gospell for attributing so much force and Vertue vnto the Scriptures of God read, whereas the Truth was, that when the Word is said to engender Faith in the heart, and to conuert the Soule of man, or to worke any such spirituall Diuine effect, these speeches are not thereunto appliable as it is read or preached, but as it is ingrafted in vs by the power of the Holy Ghost opening the eyes of our vnderstanding, and so reuealing the mysteries of God, according to that which* Ieremie *promised before should be, saying,* I will put my Law in their inward parts, and I will write it in their hearts. *The Booke of God they notwithstanding for the most part so admired, that other disputation against their opinions then onely by allegation of Scripture they would not heare; besides it, they thought no other Writings in the World should bee studied; in so much as one of their great Prophets exhorting them to cast away all respects vnto humane Writings, so farre to his motion they condescended, that as many as had any Bookes saue the Holy Bible in their custodie, they brought and set them publikely on fire. When they and their Bibles were alone together, what strange phantasticall opinion soeuer at any time entred into their heads, their vse was to thinke the Spirit taught it them. Their phrensies concerning our Sauiours Incarnation, the state of soules departed, and such like, are things needlesse to be rehearsed. And for as*

Pag. 124. Luke 6.12.

Pag. 117.

Pag. 40.

Ier. 31.34.

Pag. 29.

Pag. 27.

much as they were of the same Suite with those of whom the Apostle
2. Tim. 3. 7. speaketh, saying, They are still learning, but neuer attaine to the knowledge of truth, it was no maruaile to see them euery day broach some new thing, not heard of before. Which restlesse leuitie they did interpret to be their growing to spirituall perfection, and a proceeding
Pag. 65. from faith to faith. The differences amongst them grew by this meane
Pag. 66. in a manner infinite, so that scarcely was there found any one of them, the forge of whose braine was not possest with some speciall mysteries.
Pag. 135. Whereupon although their mutuall contentions were most fiercely prosecuted amongst themselues: yet when they came to defend the cause common to them all against the Aduersaries of their Faction, they had waies to licke one another whole, the sounder in his owne perswasion, ex-
Pag. 25. cusing THE DEARE BRETHREN, which were not so farre
Pag. 71. enlightned, and professing a charitable hope of the mercy of God towards them, notwithstanding their swaruing from him in some things. Their owne Ministers they highly magnified, as men whose Vocation
Pag. 124. was from God: the rest their manner was to terme disdainfully Scribes and Pharises, to account their Calling an humane Creature, and to de-
Pag. 764. taine the people as much as might bee from hearing them. As touching Sacraments, Baptisme administred in the Church of Rome, they iudged to bee but an execrable Mockerie and no Baptisme; both because the Ministers thereof in the Papacie are wicked Idolaters, lewd Persons, Theeues and Murderers, cursed Creatures, ignorant Beasts; and also for that to baptize is a proper action belonging vnto none but
Pag. 748. the Church of Christ, whereas Rome is Antichrists Synagogue. The
Pag. 512. custome of vsing God-fathers and God-mothers at Christnings they
Pag. 518. scorned. Baptizing of Infants, although confest by themselues to haue beene continued euen sithence the verie Apostles owne times, yet they altogether condemned: partly, because sundry errours are
Pag. 712. of no lesse Antiquitie; and partly, for that there is no Commande-
Pag. 726. ment in the Gospell of Christ, which sayth, Baptize Infants, but hee contrariwise in saying, Goe preach and Baptize, doth appoint that the Minister of Baptisme shall in that action first administer Doctrine,
Pag. 688. and then Baptisme, as also in saying, Whosoeuer doth beleeue & is baptized, he appointeth that the partie to whom Baptisme is administred shall first beleeue, and then bee baptized; to the end that beleeuing may go before this Sacramẽt in the receiuer, no otherwise then preaching in the Giuer, sith equally in both, the Law of Christ declareth not onely

what

what things are required, but alſo in what order they are required. The Euchariſt they receiued (pretending our Lord and Sauiours example) after Supper: and for auoyding all thoſe impieties which haue beene grounded vpon the myſticall words of Chriſt, This is my body, This is my bloud; *they thought it not ſafe to mention either Body or Bloud in that Sacrament, but rather to abrogate both, and to vſe no words but theſe,* Take, eate, declare the death of our Lord: Drinke, ſhew forth our Lords death. *In Rites and Ceremonies their profeſſion was hatred of all conformity with the Church of Rome: for which cauſe they would rather indure any torment then obſerue the ſolemne feſtiuals which others did, in as much as Antichriſt (they ſaid) was the firſt inuenter of them. The pretended end of their Ciuill reformation, was that Chriſt might haue dominion ouer all, that all Crownes and Scepters might be throwne downe at his feet, that no other might raigne ouer Chriſtian men but he, no Regiment keepe them in awe but his Diſcipline; amongſt them no ſword at all be carryed beſides his, the ſword of ſpirituall Excommunication. For this cauſe they laboured with all their might in ouer-turning the ſeates of Magiſtracy, becauſe Chriſt hath ſaid,* Kings of Nations; *in aboliſhing the execution of Iuſtice, becauſe Chriſt hath ſaid,* Reſiſt not euill; *in forbidding Othes the neceſſary meanes of iudiciall triall, becauſe Chriſt hath ſaid,* Sweare not at all; *finally, in bringing in community of goods, becauſe Chriſt by his Apoſtles hath giuen the World ſuch example to the end that men might excell one another, not in wealth the pillar of ſecular authority, but in vertue. Theſe men at the firſt were only pitied in their errour, and not much withſtood by any; the great humility, zeale, and deuotion, which appeared to be in them, was in all mens opinion a pledge of their harmleſſe meaning. The hardeſt that men of ſound vnderſtanding conceiued of them, was but this,* O quàm honeſta voluntate miſeri erant? With how good a meaning theſe poore ſoules doe euill? Luther *made requeſt vnto* Fredericke *Duke of* Saxony, *that within his Dominion they might be fauourably dealt with and ſpared, for that (their error exempted) they ſeemed otherwiſe right good men. By meanes of which mercifull toleration they gathered ſtrength, much more then was ſafe for the ſtate of the Common-wealth wherein they liued. They had their ſecret corner-meetings and aſſemblies in the night, the people flocked vnto them by thouſands. The meanes whereby they both allured and retayned ſo great multitudes,*

Pag. 38.

Pag. 122.

Pag. 841.

Pag. 833.

Pag. 849.

Pag. 40.

Lactant. de Iuſtit. lib. 5. cap. 19.

Pag. 6.

Pag. 420.

were moſt effectuall; firſt, a wonderfull ſhew of zeale towards God, wherewith they ſeemed to bee euen rapt in euery thing they ſpake: ſe-
Pag. 55. condly, an hatred of ſinne, and a ſingular loue of integritie, which men did thinke to be much more then ordinary in them, by reaſon of the cuſtome which they had to fill the eares of the people with Inuectiues againſt their authorized Guides as well Spirituall as Ciuill: thirdly, the bountifull reliefe wherewith they eaſed the broken eſtate of ſuch needy creatures, as were in that reſpect the more apt to bee drawne away: fourthly, a tender compaſsion which they were thought to take vpon the miſeries of the common ſort, ouer whoſe heads their manner was euen to
Pag. 6. powre downe ſhowres of teares in complaining that no reſpect was had
Pag. 7. vnto them, that their goods were deuoured by wicked Cormorants, their perſons had in contempt, all libertie both Temporall and Spirituall taken from them, that it was high time for God now to heare their grones, and to ſend them deliuerance: laſtly, a cunning ſlight which they had to ſtroke and ſmooth vp the minds of their followers, as well by appropriating vnto them all the fauourable Titles, the good words, and the gracious promiſes in Scripture; as alſo by caſting the contrary alwayes on the heads of ſuch as were ſeuered from that retinue. Whereupon,
Pag. 7. the peoples common acclamation vnto ſuch deceiuers was, Theſe are verily the men of God, theſe are his true and ſincere Prophets. If any ſuch Prophet or man of God did ſuffer by order of Law condigne and deſerued puniſhment; were it for Felony, Rebellion, Murder, or what elſe, the people (ſo ſtrangely were their hearts inchanted) as though bleſſed
Pag. 27. Saint Stephen had beene againe martyred, did lament that God tooke away his moſt deare Seruants from them. In all theſe things being fully perſwaded, that what they did, it was obedience to the will of God, and that all men ſhould doe the like; there remained after ſpeculation, practice, whereby the whole World thereunto (if it were poſsible) might
Pag. 6. be framed. This they ſaw could not be done, but with mightie oppoſition and reſiſtance: againſt which to ſtrengthen themſelues, they ſecretly entred into a League of Aſſociation. And peraduenture conſidering, that although they were many, yet long warres would in time waſte them out; they beganne to thinke whether it might not bee that God would haue them doe for their ſpeedy and mighty increaſe, the ſame which ſometime Gods owne choſen people, the people of Iſrael did. Glad and faine they were to haue it ſo: which very deſire was it ſelfe apt to breed both an opinion of poſsibilitie, and a willingneſſe to gather Arguments

ments of likelihood, that ſo God himſelfe would haue it. Nothing more cleere vnto their ſeeming, then that a new Ieruſalem *being often ſpoken of in Scripture, they vndoubtedly were themſelues that new* Ieruſalem, *and the old did by way of a certayne figuratiue reſemblance ſignifie what they ſhould both be and doe. Here they drew in a Sea of matter, by applying all things vnto their owne Company, which are any where ſpoken concerning diuine fauours and benefits beſtowed vpon the old Common-wealth of* Iſrael; *concluding, that as* Iſrael *was deliuered out of* Egypt, *ſo they ſpiritually out of the* Egypt *of this Worlds ſeruile thraldome vnto Sinne and Superſtition; as* Iſrael *was to roote out the Idolatrous Nations, and to plant in ſtead of them a People which feared God, ſo the ſame Lords good will and pleaſure was now, that theſe new* Iſraelites *ſhould, vnder the conduct of other* Ioſuaes, Sampſons, *and* Gedeons, *performe a worke no leſſe miraculous in caſting out violently the wicked from the Earth, and eſtabliſhing the Kingdome of Chriſt with perfect libertie: and therefore as the cauſe why the children of* Iſrael *tooke vnto one man many wiues, might be, leſt the caſualties of Warre ſhould any way hinder the promiſe of God concerning their multitude from taking effect in them; ſo it was not vnlike that for the neceſſary propagation of Chriſts Kingdome vnder the Goſpell, the Lord was content to allow as much. Now whatſoeuer they did in ſuch ſort collect out of Scripture, when they came to iuſtifie or perſwade it vnto others, all was the heauenly Fathers appointment, his commandement, his will and charge. Which thing is the very point, in regard whereof I haue gathered this declaration. For my purpoſe herein is to ſhew, that when the mindes of men are once erroniouſly perſwaded, that it is the will of God to haue thoſe things done which they phancy; their opinions are as Thornes in their ſides, neuer ſuffering them to take reſt till they haue brought their ſpeculations into practice: the lets and impediments of which practice their reſtleſſe deſire and ſtudy to remoue, leadeth them euery day forth by the hand into other more dangerous opinions, ſometimes quite and cleane contrary to their firſt pretended meanings: ſo as what will grow out of ſuch errors as goe masked vnder the cloke of diuine authority, impoßible it is, that euer the wit of man ſhould imagine, till time haue brought forth the fruits of them: for which cauſe it behoueth Wiſedome to feare the ſequels thereof, euen beyond all apparant cauſe of feare. Theſe men, in whoſe mouthes at the firſt, ſounded nothing but only mortification of the fleſh, were*

come at the length to thinke they might lawfully haue their ſixe or ſeuen Wiues apiece: they which at the firſt thought Iudgement and Iuſtice it ſelfe to be mercileſſe cruelty; accompted at the length their owne hands ſanctified with being imbrued in Chriſtian bloud: they who at the firſt were wont to beate downe all Dominion, and to vrge againſt poore Conſtables, Kings of Nations; *had at the length both Conſuls and Kings of their owne erection amongſt themſelues: finally, they which could not brooke at the firſt that any man ſhould ſeeke, no not by Law, the recouery of goods iniuriouſly taken or with-held from him; were growne at the laſt to thinke they could not offer vnto God more acceptable ſa-*

Pag. 41. *crifice, then by turning their Aduerſaries cleane out of houſe and home, and by inriching themſelues with all kind of ſpoile and pillage; which thing being laid to their charge, they had in a readineſſe their anſwere, that now the time was come, when according to our Sauiours promiſe,*

Matth. 5. 5. The meeke ones muſt inherit the earth, *and that their title hereVnto was the ſame which the righteous* Iſraelites *had vnto the goods*

Exod. 11. 2. *of the wicked* Egyptians. *Wherefore ſith the World hath had in theſe men ſo freſh experience, how dangerous ſuch actiue errors are, it muſt not offend you though touching the ſequell of your preſent miſperſwaſions much more be doubted, then your owne intents and purpoſes doe haply ayme at. And yet your words already are ſomewhat, when yee affirme that your Paſtors, Doctors, Elders, and Deacons, ought to be in*

Mart. in his 3. Libell, pag. 28. *this Church of* England, Whether her Maieſtie and our State will or no; *when for the animating of your Confederates, ye publiſh the muſters which yee haue made of your owne Lands, and proclaime them to amount I know not to how many thouſands; when yee threaten, that ſith neither your ſuites to the Parliament, nor ſupplications to our Conuocation-houſe, neither your defences by Writing, nor challenges of Diſputation in behalfe of that cauſe are able to preuaile, we muſt blame our ſelues, if to bring in diſcipline ſome ſuch meanes hereafter be vſed as ſhall cauſe*

Demonſtr. in the Pref. *all our hearts to ake.* That things doubtfull are to be conſtered in the better part, *is a principle not ſafe to be followed in matters concerning the publike State of a Common-weale. But howſoeuer theſe and the like ſpeeches be accounted as arrowes idlely ſhot at randon, without either eye had to any marke, or regard to their lighting place: hath not your longing deſire for the practice of your Diſcipline, brought the matter already vnto this demurrer amongſt you, whether the People and their godly Paſtors that way affected, ought not to make ſeparation from*

the

the reſt, and to beginne the exerciſe of Diſcipline without Licence of Ciuill Powers, which Licence they haue ſought for, and are not heard? Vpon which queſtion, as ye haue now deuided your ſelues, the warier ſort of you taking the one part, and the forwarder in zeale the other; ſo in caſe theſe earneſt Ones ſhould preuaile, what other ſequell can any wiſeman imagine but this, that hauing firſt reſolued that attempts for Diſcipline without Superiors are lawfull, it will follow in the next place to bee diſputed what may bee attempted againſt Superiors, which will not haue the Scepter of that Diſcipline to rule ouer them? Yea, euen by you which haue ſtayed your ſelues from running head-long with the other ſort, ſomewhat notwithſtanding there hath beene done without the leaue or liking of your Lawfull Superiors, for the exerciſe of a part of your Diſcipline amongſt the Clergie thereunto addicted. And leſt examination of principall parties therein ſhould bring thoſe things to light, which might hinder and let your proceedings; behold for a barre againſt that impediment, one Opinion ye haue newly added vnto the reſt euen vpon this occaſion, an Opinion to exempt you from taking Oaths, which may turne to the moleſtation of your Brethren in that cauſe. The next neighbour Opinion whereunto, when occaſion requireth, may follow for Diſpenſation with Oaths alreadie taken, if they afterwards bee found to import a neceſſitie of detecting ought which may bring ſuch good men into trouble or damage, whatſoeuer the cauſe be. O mercifull God, what mans wit is there able to ſound the depth of thoſe dangerous and fearefull euils, whereinto our weake and impotent nature is inclinable to ſinke it ſelfe, rather then to ſhew an acknowledgement of errour in that which once we haue vnaduiſedly taken vpon vs to defend, againſt the ſtreame as it were of a contrarie publike reſolution! Wherefore, if we any thing reſpect their errour, who being perſwaded euen as ye are, haue gone further vpon that perſwaſion then ye allow, if wee regard the preſent State of the higheſt Gouernour placed ouer vs, if the qualitie and diſpoſition of our Nobles, if the Orders and Lawes of our famous Vniuerſities, if the profeſſion of the Ciuill, or the practice of the Common Law amongſt vs, if the miſchiefes whereinto euen before our eyes ſo many others haue falne head-long from no leſſe plauſible and faire beginnings then yours are: there is in euery of theſe conſiderations moſt iuſt cauſe to feare, leſt our haſtineſſe to embrace a thing of ſo perilous conſequence, ſhould cauſe Poſterity to feele thoſe euils, which as yet are more eaſie for vs to preuent, then they would be for them to remedie.

9. *The*

The conclusion of all.

9. *The beſt and ſafeſt way for you therefore my deare Brethren is, to all your deeds paſt to a new reckoning, to re-examine the cauſe ye haue taken in hand, and to try it euen point by point, argument by argument, with all the diligent exactneſſe ye can; to lay aſide the gall of that bitterneſſe wherein your minds haue hitherto ouer-abounded, and with meekeneſſe to ſearch the Truth. Thinke ye are men, deeme it not impoſſible for you to erre: ſift vnpartially your owne hearts, whether it be force of reaſon, or vehemencie of affection, which hath bred, and ſtill doth feed theſe opinions in you. If Truth doe any where manifeſt it ſelfe, ſeeke not to ſmother it with glozing Deluſion, acknowledge the greatneſſe thereof, and thinke it your beſt Victorie when the ſame doth preuaile ouer you.*

That yee haue beene earneſt in ſpeaking or writing, againe and againe the contrarie way, ſhould bee no blemiſh or diſcredit at all vnto you. Amongſt ſo many ſo huge Volumes, as the infinite paines of Saint Auguſtine *haue brought forth, what one hath gotten him greater loue, commendation and honour, then the Booke wherein he carefully collecteth his owne ouerſights, and ſincerely condemneth them? Many ſpeeches there are of* Iobs, *whereby his Wiſdome and other Vertues may appeare: but the glorie of an Ingenuous minde he hath purchaſed by theſe words onely,* Behold, I will lay mine hand on my mouth; I haue ſpoken once, yet will I not therefore maintaine Argument; yea twice, howbeit for that cauſe further I will not proceed. *Farre more comfort it were for vs (ſo ſmall is the ioy wee take in theſe ſtrifes) to labour vnder the ſame yoke, as men that looke for the ſame eternall reward of their Labours, to be enioyned with you in bands of indiſſoluble loue and amitie, to liue as if our perſons being many, our Soules were but one, rather in ſuch diſmembred ſort to ſpend our few and wretched dayes in a tedious proſecuting of weariſome Contentions: the end whereof, if they haue not ſome ſpeedie end, will bee heauie euen on both ſides. Brought alreadie wee are euen to that eſtate which* Gregorie Nazianzene *mournefully deſcribeth, ſaying,*

Iob.39.37.

Greg.Naz.in Apol.

My minde leadeth me (*ſith there is no other remedy*) to flie and to conuey my ſelfe into ſome corner out of ſight, where I may ſcape from this cloudie tempeſt of maliciouſneſſe, whereby all parts are entred into a deadly warre amongſt themſelues, and that little remnant of loue which was, is now conſumed to nothing. The onely godlineſſe we glorie in, is to finde out

out ſomewhat whereby we may iudge others to be vngodly. Each others faults we obſerue, as matter of exprobration, and not of griefe. By theſe meanes we are growne hatefull in the eyes of the Heathens themſelues; and (which woundeth vs the more deeply) able we are not to deny but that we haue deſerued their hatred. With the better ſort of our owne, our fame and credit is cleane loſt. The leſſe we are to maruell if they iudge vilely of vs, who although we did well, would hardly allow thereof. On our backs they alſo build that are lewd, and what we obiect one againſt another, the ſame they vſe to the vtter ſcorne and diſgrace of vs all. This we haue gayned by our mutuall home-diſſentions. This we are worthily rewarded with, which are more forward to ſtriue, then becommeth men of vertuous and mild diſpoſition. *But our truſt in the Almighty is, that with vs contentions are now at their higheſt flote, and that the day will come (for what cauſe of deſpaire is there) when the paſſions of former enmity being allayed, we ſhall with ten times redoubled tokens of our vnfaynedly reconciled loue, ſhew our ſelues each towards other the ſame, which* Ioſeph *and the brethren of* Ioſeph *were at the time of their enter-view in* Egypt. *Our comfortable expectation and moſt thirſty deſire whereof what man ſoeuer amongſt you ſhall any way helpe to ſatisfie, (as we truly hope there is no one amongſt you but ſome way or other will) the bleſſings of the God of Peace both in this World and in the World to come, be vpon him more then the ſtarres of the Firmament in number.*

WHAT THINGS ARE HANDLED IN THE BOOKES FOLLOWING.

THe *first* Booke, concerning Lawes in generall.

The *second*, Of the vſe of diuine Law contayned in Scripture, whether that be the onely Law which ought to ſerue for our direction in all things without exception.

The *third*, Of Lawes concerning Eccleſiaſticall Politie; whether the forme thereof be in Scripture ſo ſet downe, that no addition or change is lawfull.

The *fourth*, Of generall exceptions taken againſt the Lawes of our Politie, as being Popiſh and baniſhed out of certayne Reformed Churches.

The *fifth*, Of our Lawes that concerne the publike religious duties of the Church; and the manner of beſtowing that power of order, which inableth men

men in ſundry degrees and callings to execute the ſame.

The *ſixt*, Of the power of Iuriſdiction, which the reformed platforme claymeth vnto Lay-Elders, with others.

The *ſeuenth*, Of the power of Iuriſdiction, and the honor which is annexed thereunto in Biſhops.

The *eighth*, Of the power of Eccleſiaſticall Dominion or ſupreme Authority, which with vs the higheſt Gouernour or Prince hath, as well in regard of domeſticall Iuriſdictions, as of that other forrainly claymed by the Biſhop of *Rome*.



OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE.

The first Booke.

Concerning Lawes, and their seuerall kinds *in generall.*

The matter contayned in this first Booke.

1 THe cause of writing this generall Discourse concerning Lawes.
2 Of that Law which God from before the beginning hath set for himselfe to doe all things by.
3 The Law which naturall Agents obserue, and their necessary manner of keeping it.
4 The Law which the Angels of God obey.
5 The Law whereby man is in his actions directed to the imitation of God.
6 Mens first beginning to vnderstand that Law.
7 Of mans will, which is the first thing that Lawes of action are made to guide.
8 Of the naturall finding out of Lawes by the light of reason to guide the will vnto that which is good.
9 Of the benefit of keeping that Law which reason teacheth.
10 How reason doth lead men vnto the making of humane Lawes whereby Politike Societies are gouerned, and to agreement about Lawes whereby the fellowship or communion of independent Societies standeth.
11 Wherefore God hath by Scripture further made knowne such supernaturall Lawes as doe serue for mens direction.
12 The cause why so many naturall or rationall Lawes are set downe in Holy Scripture.
13 The benefit of hauing Diuine Lawes written.
14 The sufficiencie of Scripture vnto the end for which it was instituted.
15 Of Lawes Positiue contained in Scripture, the mutabilitie of certaine of them, and the generall vse of Scripture.
16 A conclusion, shewing how all this belongeth to the cause in question.

The cauſe of writing this generall Diſcourſe.



E that goeth about to perſwade a multitude, that they are not ſo well gouerned as they ought to be, ſhal neuer want attentiue and fauourable Hearers; becauſe they know the manifold defects whereunto euery kind of Regiment is ſubiect, but the ſecret lets and difficulties, which in publike proceedings are innumerable and ineuitable, they haue not ordinarily the iudgement to conſider. And becauſe ſuch as openly reproue ſuppoſed diſorders of ſtate, are taken for principal friends to the common benefit of all, and for men that carrie ſingular freedom of mind; vnder this faire and plauſible colour whatſoeuer they vtter, paſſeth for good and currant. That which wanteth in the waight of their ſpeech, is ſupplyed by the aptneſſe of mens mindes to accept and beleeue it. Whereas on the other ſide, if we maintaine things that are eſtabliſhed, we haue not onely to ſtriue with a number of heauie preiudices deeply rooted in the hearts of men, who thinke that herein we ſerue the time, and ſpeake in fauour of the preſent ſtate, becauſe thereby we eyther hold or ſeeke preferment; but alſo to beare ſuch exceptions as mindes ſo auerted beforehand vſually take againſt that which they are loth ſhould be powred into them. Albeit therefore much of that wee are to ſpeake in this preſent cauſe, may ſeeme to a number perhaps tedious, perhaps obſcure, darke, and intricate, (for many talke of the truth, which neuer ſounded the depth from whence it ſpringeth, and therefore when they are led thereunto they are ſoone weary, as men drawne from thoſe beaten pathes wherewith they haue beene inured:) yet this may not ſo farre preuaile, as to cut off that which the matter it ſelfe requireth, howſoeuer the nice humour of ſome be therewith pleaſed or no. They vnto whom we ſhall ſeeme tedious, are in no wiſe iniuried by vs, becauſe it is in their owne hands to ſpare that labour which they are not willing to endure. And if any complaine of obſcuritie, they muſt conſider, that in theſe matters it commeth no otherwiſe to paſſe, then in ſundry the workes both of art and alſo of nature, where that which hath greateſt force in the very things we ſee, is notwithſtanding it ſelfe oftentimes not ſeene. The ſtatelineſſe of houſes, the goodlineſſe of trees, when we behold them delighteth the eye; but that foundation which beareth vp the one, that roote which miniſtreth vnto the other nouriſhment and life, is in the boſome of the earth concealed; and if there be at any time occaſion to ſearch into it, ſuch labour is then more neceſſary then pleaſant, both to them which vndertake it, and for the lookers on. In like manner the vſe and benefite of good Lawes, all that liue vnder them may enioy with delight and comfort, albeit the grounds and firſt originall cauſes from whence they haue ſprung be vnknowne, as to the greateſt part of men they are. But when they who with-draw their obedience, pretend that the Lawes which they ſhould obey are corrupt and vicious; for better examination of their qualitie, it behoueth the very foundation & roote, the higheſt welſpring and fountayne of them to be diſcouered. Which becauſe we are not oftentimes accuſtomed to doe, when we doe it, the paynes we take are more needfull a great

great deale then acceptable, and the matters which we handle ſeeme by reaſon of newneſſe, (till the mind grow better acquainted with them) darke, intricate, and vnfamiliar. For as much helpe whereof as may be in this caſe, I haue endeuoured throughout the body of this whole Diſcourſe, that euery former part might giue ſtrength vnto all that follow, and euery later bring ſome light vnto all before. So that if the iudgements of men doe but hold themſelues in ſuſpence as touching theſe firſt more generall Meditations, till in order they haue peruſed the reſt that enſue: what may ſeeme darke at the firſt will afterwards be found more plaine, euen as the later particular deciſions will appeare I doubt not more ſtrong, when the other haue beene read before. The Lawes of the Church, whereby for ſo many Ages together wee haue beene guided in the exerciſe of Chriſtian Religion, and the Seruice of the true God, our Rites, Cuſtomes, and Orders of Eccleſiaſticall Gouernment, are called in queſtion; wee are accuſed as men that will not haue Chriſt Ieſus to rule ouer them, but haue wilfully caſt his Statutes behind their backes, hating to be reformed, and made ſubiect vnto the Scepter of his Diſcipline. Behold, therefore we offer the Lawes whereby we liue vnto the general triall and iudgement of the whole World; heartily beſeeching Almightie God, whom we deſire to ſerue according to his owne will, that both we and others (all kind of partiall affection being cleane laid aſide) may haue eyes to ſee, and hearts to embrace, the things that in his ſight are moſt acceptable. And becauſe the point about which wee ſtriue is the qualitie of our Lawes, our firſt entrance hereinto cannot better be made, then with conſideration of the nature of Law in generall, and of that Law which giueth life vnto all the reſt which are commendable, iuſt, and good, namely the Law whereby the Eternall Himſelfe doth worke. Proceeding from hence to the Law, firſt, of nature, then of Scripture, we ſhall haue the eaſier acceſſe vnto thoſe things which come after to bee debated, concerning the particular cauſe and queſtion which we haue in hand.

2 All things that are, haue ſome operation not violent or caſuall. Neyther doth any thing euer beginne to exerciſe the ſame, without ſome foreconceiued end for which it worketh. And the end which it worketh for is not obtained, vnleſſe the worke be alſo fit to obtaine it by. For vnto euery end euery operation will not ſerue. That which doth aſſigne vnto each thing the kind, that which doth moderate the force and power, that which doth appoint the forme and meaſure of working, the ſame we terme a *Law*. So that no certaine end could euer be attained, vnleſſe the actions whereby it is attained were Regular, that is to ſay, made ſuteable, fit, and correſpondent vnto their end, by ſome Canon Rule or Law. Which thing doth firſt take place in the Workes euen of God himſelfe. All things therefore doe worke after a ſort, according to Law: all other things according to a Law, whereof ſome Superiours vnto whom they are ſubiect is Authour; onely the Workes and operations of God, haue him both for their Worker, and for the Law whereby they are wrought. The being of God, is a kind of Law to his working: for that perfection which God is, giueth perfection to that he doth. Thoſe naturall, neceſſarie, and internall operations of God, the *Generation* of the Son, the *Proceeding* of the Spirit, are without the compaſſe of my preſent intent: which is to touch onely ſuch operations

Of that Law which God from before the beginning hath ſet for himſelfe to doe all things by.

tions as haue their beginning and being by a voluntarie purpose, wherewith God hath eternally decreed when and how they should be. Which eternall decree is that we terme an eternall Law. Dangerous it were for the feeble braine of man to wade farre into the doings of the most High; whom although to know be life, and ioy to make mention of his name; yet our soundest knowledge is, to know that we know him not as indeede he is, neither can know him; and our safest eloquence concerning him is our silence when we confesse without confession, that his glorie is inexplicable, his greatnesse aboue our capacitie and reach. He is aboue, and we vpon earth; therefore it behoueth our wordes to be warie and few. Our God is one, or rather very *Oneneſſe*, and meere Vnitie, hauing nothing but it selfe in it selfe, and not consisting (as all things doe besides God) of many things. In which essentiall Vnitie of God, a Trinitie personall neuertheless subsisteth, after a manner farre exceeding the possibilitie of mans conceipt. The workes which outwardly are of God, they are in such sort of him being one, that each person hath in them somewhat peculiar and proper. For being three, and they all subsisting in the essence of one Deitie, from the Father, by the Sonne, through the Spirit, all things are. That which the Sonne doth heare of the Father, and which the Spirit doth receiue of the Father, and the Sonne, the same we haue at the hands of the Spirit, as being the last, and therefore the neerest vnto vs in order, although in power the same with the second and the first. The wise and learned among the very Heathens themselues haue all acknowledged some first cause, whereupon originally the being of all things dependeth. Neither haue they otherwise spoken of that cause, then as an Agent, which knowing *what* and *why* it worketh, obserueth in working a most exact *Order* or *Law*. Thus much is signified by that which *Homer* mentioneth, * Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή. Thus much acknowledged by *Mercurius Trismegist.* a Ὁ πᾶσα κόσμον ἐποίησεν ὁ δημιουργὸς οὐ χερσὶν, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ. Thus much confest by *Anaxagoras* and *Plato*, terming the Maker of the world an *Intellectuall* worker. Finally the Stoikes, although imagining the first cause of all things to be fire, held neuertheless that the same fire hauing arte, did b ὁδῷ βαδίζειν καὶ γινώσκομεν. They all confesse therfore in the working of that first cause, that *Counsell* is vsed, *Reason* followed, a *Way* obserued, that is to say, constant *order* and *law* is kept, whereof it selfe must needs be author vnto it selfe. Otherwise it should haue some worthier & higher to direct it, and so could not it selfe be the first. Being the first, it can haue no other then it selfe to be the author of that law which it willingly worketh by. God therfore is a Law both to himselfe, and to all other things besides. To himselfe he is a Law in all those things wherof our Sauiour speaketh, saying, *My Father worketh as yet, so I.* God worketh nothing without cause. All those things which are done by him, haue some end for which they are done: and the end for which they are done, is a reason of his will to doe them. His will hath not inclined to create woman, but that he saw it could not be well if shee were not created, *Non est bonum; It is not good man should be alone*, Therefore let vs make an helper for him. That and nothing else is done by God, which to leaue vndone were not so good. If therefore it be demanded, why God hauing power and abilitie infinite, the effects notwithstanding of that power are all so limited as we see they are: the reason hereof is, the end which he hath proposed, and the Law where-

Iob. 16. 13, 14, 15.

* *Jupiters* counsell was accomplished.

a The Creator made the whole world, not with hands but by reason, *Stob. in Eclog. Phys.*

b Proceed by a certaine and a set way in the making of the world.

Iohn 5. 17.

Gen. 2. 18.

by

by his wiſdome hath ſtinted the effects of his power in ſuch ſort, that it doth not worke infinitely, but correſpondently vnto that end for which it worketh; euen all things χρησῶς, in moſt decent and comely ſort, all things in *meaſure, number, & waight.* The generall end of Gods externall working, is the exerciſe of his moſt glorious and moſt abundant vertue: Which abundance doth ſhew it ſelfe in varietie, and for that cauſe this varietie is oftentimes in Scripture expreſt by the name of *riches. The Lord hath made all things for his owne ſake.* Not that any thing is made to be beneficiall vnto him, but all things for him to ſhew beneficence and grace in them. The particular drift of euery act proceeding externally from God, wee are not able to diſcerne, and therefore cannot alwayes giue the proper and certaine reaſon of his Workes. Howbeit vndoubtedly, a proper and certaine reaſon there is of euery finite work of God, in as much as there is a Law impoſed vpon it; which if there were not, it ſhould be infinite euen as the Worker himſelf is. They erre therefore who thinke that of the will of God to doe this or that, there is no reaſon beſides his will. Many times no reaſon knowne to vs; but that there is no reaſon thereof, I iudge it moſt vnreaſonable to imagine, in as much as he worketh all things, κατὰ βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ, not onely according to his owne wil, but *the counſell of his owne will.* And whatſoeuer is done with counſell or wiſe reſolution, hath of neceſſitie ſome reaſon why it ſhould be done, albeit that reaſon be to vs in ſome things ſo ſecret, that it forceth the wit of man to ſtand, as the bleſſed Apoſtle himſelfe doth, amazed thereat, *O the depth of the riches, both of the wiſdome and knowledge of God, How vnſearchable are his iudgements, &c!* That Law eternall which God himſelfe hath made to himſelfe, and thereby worketh all things whereof hee is the cauſe and Author; that Law in the admirable frame whereof ſhineth with moſt perfect beautie the countenance of that wiſedome which hath teſtified concerning her ſelfe, *The Lord poſſeſſed me in the beginning of his way, euen before his workes of old I was ſet vp*; that Law which hath beene the Patterne to make, and is the Card to guide the World by; that Law which hath beene of God, and with God euerlaſtingly; that Law the Author and Obſeruer whereof is one onely God to bee bleſſed for euer; how ſhould eyther Men or Angels be able perfectly to behold? The Booke of this Law we are neither able nor worthy to open and looke into. That little thereof which we darkly apprehend we admire; the reſt with religious ignorance we humbly and meekly adore. Seeing therefore that according to this Law he worketh, *of whom, through whom, and for whom are all things*; although there ſeeme vnto vs confuſion and diſorder in the affaires of this preſent World; *Tamen quoniam bonus mundum rector temperat, rectè fieri cuncta ne dubites*, Let no man doubt but that euery thing is well done, becauſe the World is ruled by ſo good a Guide, as trangreſſeth not his owne Law, then which nothing can be more abſolute, perfect, and iuſt. The Law whereby he worketh, is eternall, and therefore can haue no ſhew or colour of mutabilitie: for which cauſe a part of that Law being opened in the promiſes which God hath made, (becauſe his promiſes are nothing elſe but Declarations what God will doe for the good of men) touching thoſe promiſes the Apoſtle hath witneſſed, that God may as poſſibly denie himſelfe and not be God, as faile to performe them. And concerning the counſell of God, hee termeth it likewiſe a thing *vnchangeable*; the counſell of God, and that Law of God whereof

Sap. 8. 1. Sap. 11. 17. Epheſ. 1. 7. Phil. 4. 19. Col. 2. 3. Prou. 16. 4. Epheſ. 1. 11. Rom. 11. 33. Prou. 8. 23. Rom. 11. 36. Boet. Lib. 4. de Conſol. Philoſ. 2. Tim. 2. 13. Heb. 6. 17.

now we ſpeake being one. Nor is the freedome of the will of God any whit abated, let or hindered by meanes of this; becauſe the impoſition of this Law vpon himſelfe is his owne free and voluntary act. This Law therefore we may name eternall, being *that order which God before all Ages hath ſet downe with himſelfe, for himſelfe to doe all things by.*

The law which natural agents haue giuen them to obſerue, and their neceſſary manner of keeping it.

3 I am not ignorant that by Law eternall the learned for the moſt part doe vnderſtand the order, not which God hath eternally purpoſed himſelfe in all his workes to obſerue, but rather that which with himſelfe he hath ſet downe as expedient to be kept by all his creatures, according to the ſeueral condition wherewith he hath indued them. They who thus are accuſtomed to ſpeake, apply the name of *Law* vnto that onely rule of working which Superior Authoritie impoſeth; whereas wee ſomewhat more enlarging the ſenſe thereof, terme any kind of rule or Canon whereby actions are framed, a Law. Now that Law which as it is laid vp in the boſome of God, they call *eternall*, receiueth according vnto the different kind of things which are ſubiect vnto it, different and ſundry kindes of names. That part of it which ordreth naturall Agents, we call vſually *Natures* Law: that which Angels doe cleerly behold, and without any ſwaruing obſerue, is a Law *celeſtiall* and heauenly: the Law of *Reaſon*, that which bindeth creatures reaſonable in this World, and with which by reaſon they may moſt plainely perceiue themſelues bound; that which bindeth them, and is not knowne but by ſpecial reuelation from God, *diuine* Law; *humane* Law, that which out of the Law either of reaſon or of God, men probably gathering to be expedient, they make it a Law. All things therefore, which are as they ought to be, are conformed vnto *this ſecond Law eternal*; and euen thoſe things which to this *eternal* Law are not conformable, are not withſtanding in ſome ſort ordered by *the firſt eternall Law*. For what good or euill is there vnder the Sunne, what action correſpondent or repugnant vnto the Law which God hath impoſed vpon his creatures, but in or vpon it God doth worke according to the Law which himſelfe hath eternally purpoſed to keepe, that is to ſay, the *firſt Law eternall?* So that a two-fold Law eternall being thus made, it is not hard to conceiue how they both take place in* all things. Wherefore to come to the Law of nature, albeit thereby we ſometimes meane that manner of working which God hath ſet for each created thing to keepe: yet for as much as thoſe things are termed moſt properly naturall Agents, which keepe the Law of their kind vnwittingly, as the Heauens and Elements of the World, which can doe no otherwiſe then they doe; and for as much as wee giue vnto intellectuall natures the name of *voluntary* Agents, that ſo wee may diſtinguiſh them from the other: expedient it will be, that wee ſeuer the Law of Nature obſerued by the one, from that which the other is tyed vnto. Touching the former, their ſtrict keeping of one Tenure, Statute and Law is ſpoken of by all, but hath in it more then men haue as yet attained to know, or perhaps euer ſhall attaine, ſeeing the trauell of wading herein is giuen of God to the ſonnes of Men, that perceiuing

* Id omne quod in rebus creatis fit, eſt materia legis æternæ. *Th.* 1.2.*q.*93.*art.*4.5.6. Nullo modo aliquid legibus ſummi creatoris ordinationique ſubtrahitur, à quo pax vniuerſitatis adminiſtratur. *Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, li.* 19.*c.*12. *Immo & peccatum, quatenus à Deo iuſtè permittitur, cadit in legem æternam. Etiam legi æterna ſubjicitur peccatum, quatenus voluntaria legis tranſgreſſio pœnale quoddam incommodum animæ inſcrit, iuxta illud Auguſtini,* Iuſſiſti Domine & ſic eſt, vt pœna ſua ſibi ſit omnis animus inordinatus. *Confeſſ. l.*1.*c.*12. *Nec male ſcholaſtici,* Quemadmodum inquiunt videmus res naturales contingentes, hoc ipſo quòd à fine particulari ſuo atq; adeo à lege æternâ exorbitant, in eandem legê æternam incidere, quatenus conſequuntur alium finem à lege etiam æternâ ipſis in caſu particulari conſtitutum: ſic verſimile eſt homines etiam cùm peccant & deſciſcunt à lege æternâ vt præcipiente, reincidere in ordinem æternæ legis vt punientis.

ceiuing how much the leaſt thing in the World hath in it more then the wiſeſt are able to reach vnto, they may by this meanes learne humilitie. *Moſes* in deſcribing the worke of Creation, attributeth ſpeech vnto God, *God ſaid, Let there be light: Let there be a firmament: Let the Waters vnder the Heauen bee gathered together into one place: Let the Earth bring forth: Let there bee Lights in the Firmament of Heauen.* Was this onely the intent of *Moſes* to ſignifie the infinite greatneſſe of Gods power, by the eaſineſſe of his accompliſhing ſuch effects, without trauell, paine, or labour? Surely it ſeemeth that *Moſes* had herein, beſides this a further purpoſe, namely, firſt, to teach that God did not worke as a neceſſary, but a voluntary Agent, intending beforehand and decreeing with himſelfe that which did outwardly proceed from him: Secondly, to ſhew that God did then inſtitute a Law natural to be obſerued by creatures, and therefore according to the manner of Lawes, the Inſtitution therof is deſcribed, as being eſtabliſhed by ſolemne iniunction. His commanding thoſe things to bee which are, and to bee in ſuch ſort as they are, to keepe that tenure and courſe which they doe, importeth the eſtabliſhment of Natures Law. This Worlds firſt Creation, and the preſeruation ſince of things created, what is it but only ſo far-forth a manifeſtation by execution, what the Eternall Law of God is concerning things naturall? And as it commeth to paſſe in a kingdome rightly ordered, that after a Law is once publiſhed, it preſently takes effect far and wide, all States framing themſelues thereunto; euen ſo let vs thinke it fareth in the naturall courſe of the World: ſince the time that God did firſt proclaime the Edicts of his Law vpon it, Heauen & earth haue harkned vnto his voyce, and their labour hath bin to doe his will: *He made a Law for the Raine*, He gaue his *Decree vnto the Sea, that the Waters ſhould not paſſe his commandement.* Now, if nature ſhould intermit her courſe, and leaue altogether, though it were but for a while, the obſeruation of her owne Lawes; if thoſe principall and Mother Elements of the World, whereof all things in this lower World are made, ſhould loſe the qualities which now they haue; if the frame of that Heauenly Arch erected ouer our heads ſhould looſen and diſſolue it ſelfe; if Celeſtiall Spheres ſhould forget their woonted Motions, and by irregular volubilitie turne themſelues any way as it might happen; if the Prince of the Lights of Heauen, which now as a Gyant doth runne his vnwearied courſe, *Pſal. 19. 5.* ſhould as it were through a languiſhing faintneſſe beginne to ſtand and to reſt himſelfe; if the Moone ſhould wander from her beaten way, the times and ſeaſons of the yeere blend themſelues by diſordered and confuſed mixture, the Winds breathe out their laſt gaſpe, the Clouds yeeld no Raine, the Earth be defeated of Heauenly Influence, the Fruits of the Earth pine away as Children at the withered breſts of their Mother no longer able to yeeld them reliefe; what would become of Man himſelfe, whom theſe things now doe all ſerue? See wee not plainly that obedience of Creatures vnto the Law of Nature is the ſtay of the whole World? Notwithſtanding, with Nature it commeth ſometimes to paſſe as with Art. Let *Phidias* haue rude and obſtinate ſtuffe to carue, though his Art doe that it ſhould, his Worke will lacke that beautie which otherwiſe in fitter matter it might haue had. Hee that ſtriketh an Inſtrument with Skill, may cauſe notwithſtanding a very vnpleaſant ſound, if the String whereon hee ſtriketh chance to be vncapeable of Harmonie. In the matter whereof things naturall

turall consist, that of *Theophrastus* taketh place, Πολὺ τὸ ἐκ ὀπαχῦον εἶναι δεχόμενον τὸ εὖ, *Much of it is oftentimes such as will by no meanes yeeld to receiue that impression which were best and most perfect.* Which defect in the matter of things naturall, they who gaue themselues vnto the contemplation of nature amongst the Heathen obserued often: but the true originall cause thereof, diuine malediction, laid for the sinne of man vpon these creatures which God had made for the vse of man; this being an article of that sauing truth which God hath reuealed vnto his Church, was aboue the reach of their meerely naturall capacitie and vnderstanding. But howsoeuer these swaruings are now and then incident into the course of nature, neuertheless so constantly the Lawes of nature are by naturall agents obserued, that no man denyeth but those things which nature worketh, are wrought either alwayes or for the most part after one and the same manner. If here it be demanded what that is which keepeth Nature in obedience to her owne Law, we must haue recourse to that higher Law whereof we haue already spoken, and because all other Lawes doe thereon depend, from thence we must borrow so much as shall neede for briefe resolution in this point. Although we are not of opinion therefore, as some are, that nature in working hath before her certayne exemplarie draughts or patternes, which subsisting in the bosome of the Highest, and being thence discouered, shee fixeth her eye vpon them, as Trauellers by Sea vpon the Pole-starre of the world, and that according thereunto shee guideth her hand to worke by imitation: although we rather embrace the Oracle of *Hippocrates*, that *each thing both in small and in great fulfilleth the taske which destinie hath set downe*: and concerning the manner of executing and fulfilling the same, *what they doe they know not, yet is it in shew and appearance, as though they did know what they doe, and the truth is they doe not discerne the things which they looke on*: neuertheless, for as much as the workes of nature are no lesse exact, then if shee did both behold and studie how to expresse some absolute shape or mirror alwayes present before her; yea, such her dexteritie and skill appeareth, that no intellectuall creature in the world were able by capacitie to doe that which nature doth without capacitie and knowledge; it cannot be, but nature hath some Directer of infinite knowledge to guide her in all her wayes. Who the guide of Nature, but onely the God of Nature? *In him we liue, moue, and are.* Those things which nature is said to doe, are by diuine Arte performed, vsing Nature as an instrument: nor is there any such Arte or Knowledge diuine in Nature herselfe working, but in the guide of natures worke. Whereas therefore things naturall which are not in the number of voluntarie Agents (for of such onely we now speake and of no other) doe so necessarily obserue their certaine Lawes, that as long as they keepe those *formes which giue them their being, they cannot possibly be apt or inclinable to doe otherwise then they do; seeing the kindes of their operations are both constantly and exactly framed according to the seuerall ends for which they serue, they themselues in the meane while though doing that which is fit, yet knowing neither what they doe, nor why: it followeth that all which they do in this sort, proceedeth originally from some such agent, as knoweth, appointeth, holdeth vp, and euen actually frameth the same. The manner of this diuine efficiencie being farre aboue vs, we are no more able to conceiue by our reason, then creatures vnreasonable by their sense

Theophrast. in Metaph.

Arist. Rhet. 1. cap. 39.

Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοίρην ἕκαστον ἐκπληροῖ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖον. ὃ πράττουσιν ἐκ οἴδασιν, ὅτε πράττουσι δοκέουσιν εἰδέναι καὶ δρᾶ μὲν ὁρῶσι ὃ γινώσκουσι.

Act. 17. 28.

* Forme in other creatures, is a thing proportionable vnto the soule in liuing creatures. Sensible it is not, nor otherwise discernable, then only by effects. According to the diuersitie of inward formes, things of the world are distinguished into their kindes.

ſenſe are able to apprehend after what manner wee diſpoſe and order the courſe of our affaires. Onely thus much is diſcerned, that the naturall Generation and proceſſe of all things receiueth order of proceeding from the ſettled ſtabilitie of Diuine vnderſtanding. This appointeth vnto them their kinds of working, the diſpoſition whereof in the puritie of Gods owne knowledge and will is rightly termed by the name of *Prouidence*. The ſame being referred vnto the things themſelues here diſpoſed by it, was wont by the ancient to bee called *naturall deſtinie*. That Law, the performance whereof we behold in things naturall, is as it were an authenticall, or an originall draught written in the boſome of God himſelfe; whoſe Spirit being to execute the ſame, vſeth euery particular nature, euery meere naturall agent, onely as an inſtrument created at the beginning, and euer ſince the beginning vſed to worke his owne will and pleaſure withall. Nature therefore is nothing elſe but Gods inſtrument: in the courſe whereof *Dionyſius* perceiuing ſome ſuddaine diſturbance, is ſaid to haue cried out, *Aut Deus naturæ patitur, aut mundi machina diſſoluitur*, Eyther God doth ſuffer impediment, and is by a greater then himſelfe hindered; or if that be impoſſible, then hath he determined to make a preſent diſſolution of the World, the execution of that Law beginning now to ſtand ſtil, without which the World cannot ſtand. This Workman whoſe Seruitor nature is, being in truth but onely one, the Heathens imagining to be moe, gaue him in the skie the name of *Iupiter*, in the ayre the name of *Iuno*, in the water the name of *Neptune*, in the earth the name of *Veſta*, and ſometimes of *Ceres*, the name of *Apollo* in the Sun, in the Moone the name of *Diana*, the name of *Æolus* and diuers other in the windes; and to conclude, euen ſo many guides of nature they dreamed of, as they ſaw there were kindes of things natural in the World. Theſe they honoured, as hauing power to worke or ceaſe accordingly as men deſerued of them. But vnto vs there is one onely guide of all agents naturall, and he both the Creator and the Worker of all in all, alone to be bleſſed, adored and honoured by all for euer. That which hitherto hath beene ſpoken, concerneth naturall agents conſidered in themſelues. But wee muſt further remember alſo (which thing to touch in a word ſhall ſuffice) that as in this reſpect they haue their law, which law directeth them in the meanes whereby they tend to their owne perfection. So likewiſe another lawe there is, which toucheth them as they are ſociable parts vnited into one body; a lawe which bindeth them each to ſerue vnto others good, and all to preferre the good of the whole before whatſoeuer their owne particular; as we plainely ſee they doe, when things naturall in that regard forget their ordinary naturall woont, that which is heauie mounting ſometime vpwards of it owne accord, and forſaking the center of the earth, which to it ſelfe is moſt naturall, euen as if it did beare it ſelfe commaunded to let goe the good it priuately wiſheth, and to relieue the preſent diſtreſſe of nature in common.

Vide Thom. in Compend. Theol. cap. 3.

Omne quod mouetur ab aliquo, eſt quaſi inſtrumentum quodammodo primi mouentis.

Ridiculum eſt autem etiam apud indoctos ponere inſtrumentum moueri non ab aliquo principali agente.

4 But now that we may lift vp our eyes (as it were) from the footſtoole to the Throne of God, and leauing theſe naturall, conſider a little the ſtate of heauenly and diuine creatures; touching Angels which are ſpirits immateriall and intellectuall, the glorious Inhabitants of thoſe Sacred Palaces, where nothing but light and bleſſed immortalitie, no ſhadow of matter for teares, diſcontentments, griefes, and vncomfortable paſſions to worke vpon, but all ioy, tranquillitie, and

The law which Angels doe worke by. *Pſal.* 104. 4. *Heb.* 1. 7. *Epheſ.* 3. 10.

*Dan.*7.10. *Matth.*26.53. *Heb.*12.22. *Luk.*2.13.

*Matth.*6.10.

*Matth.*18.10.

*Psal.*91.11, 12. *Luk.*15.7. *Heb.*1.14. *Act.*10.3. *Dan.*9.23. *Matth.*18.10. *Dan.*4.10.

Σῶ δὲ θρόνῳ πυρόεντι παροσσάσιν πολυμόχθοι Ἄγγελοι, οἷσι μέμηλε βροτοῖς ὡς πάντα τελεῖται, Arist. Metaph. 12. cap.7.

Iob 38.7. *Matth.*18.10. *Psal.*148.2. *Heb.*1.6. *Esa.*6.3. This is intimated whereſoeuer we finde them termed the ſonnes of God: as *Iob* 1.6. and 38.7. 2.*Pet.*2.4. *Ep. Iud. verſ.*6. *Pſal.*148.2. *Luk.*2.13. *Matth.*26.53. *Pſal.*148.2. *Heb.*12.22. *Apoc.*22.9.

and peace, euen for euer and euer doth dwell; as in number and order they are huge, mightie, and royall Armies; ſo likewiſe in perfection of obedience vnto that Law, which the Higheſt, whom they adore, loue, and imitate, hath impoſed vpon them, ſuch obſeruants they are thereof, that our Sauiour himſelfe being to ſet downe the perfect *Idea* of that which we are to pray and wiſh for on earth, did not teach to pray or wiſh for more, then onely that here it might be with vs, as with them it is in heauen. God which moueth meere naturall agents as an efficient onely, doth otherwiſe moue intellectuall creatures, and eſpecially his holy Angels. For beholding the face of God, in admiration of ſo great excellencie they all adore him; and being rapt with the loue of his beautie, they cleaue inſeparably for euer vnto him. Deſire to reſemble him in goodneſſe, maketh them vnwearyable, and euen vnſatiable in their longing to do by all meanes all manner good vnto all the creatures of God, but eſpecially vnto the children of men; in the countenance of whoſe nature looking downeward they behold themſelues beneath themſelues, euen as vpward in God, beneath whom themſelues are, they ſee that Character which is no where but in themſelues and vs reſembled. Thus farre euen the Paynims haue approched; thus farre they haue ſeene into the doings of the Angels of God; *Orpheus* confeſſing, that the fierie Throne of God is attended on by thoſe moſt induſtrious Angels, carefull how all things are performed amongſt men; and the Mirror of humane wiſedome plainely teaching, that God moueth Angels, euen as that thing doth ſtirre mans heart, which is thereunto preſented amiable. Angelicall actions may therefore be reduced vnto theſe three generall kindes: firſt, moſt delectable loue, ariſing from the viſible apprehenſion of the puritie, glorie, and beautie of God, inuiſible, ſauing onely vnto Spirits that are pure: ſecondly, Adoration, grounded vpon the euidence of the greatneſſe of God, on whom they ſee how all things depend: thirdly, Imitation, bred by the preſence of his exemplarie goodneſſe, who ceaſeth not before them daily to fill Heauen and Earth with the rich treaſures of moſt free and vndeſerued grace. Of Angels we are not to conſider onely what they are, and doe, in regard of their owne being; but that alſo which concerneth them as they are linked into a kinde of corporation amongſt themſelues, and of ſocietie or fellowſhip with men. Conſider Angels each of them ſeuerally in himſelfe, and their Law is that which the Prophet *Dauid* mentioneth, *All yee his Angels praiſe him.* Conſider the Angels of God aſſociated, and their Law is that which diſpoſeth them as an *Armie*, one in order and degree aboue another. Conſider finally the Angels as hauing with vs that communion which the Apoſtle to the Hebrewes noteth, and in regard whereof Angels haue not diſdayned to profeſſe themſelues our *fellow-ſeruants*; from hence there ſpringeth vp a third Law, which bindeth them to workes of miniſteriall imployment. Euery of which their ſeuerall functions are by them performed with ioy. A part of the Angels of God notwithſtanding (we know) haue fallen, and that their fall hath beene through the voluntarie breach of that Law, which did require at their hands continuance in the exerciſe of their high and admirable vertue. Impoſſible it was that euer their will ſhould change or encline to remit any part of their dutie, without ſome obiect hauing force to auert their conceit from God, and to draw it another way; and that before they attayned that high perfection

of

of bliſſe, wherein now the elect Angels are without poſſibilitie of falling. Of any thing more then of God they could not by any meanes like, as long as whatſoeuer they knew beſides God, they apprehended it not in it ſelfe without dependencie vpon God; becauſe ſo long God muſt needs ſeeme infinitely better then any thing which they ſo could apprehend. Things beneath them could not in ſuch ſort be preſented vnto their eyes, but that therein they muſt needs ſee alwayes how thoſe things did depend on God. It ſeemeth therefore that there was no other way for Angels to ſinne, but by reflex of their vnderſtanding vpon themſelues; when being held with admiration of their owne ſublimitie and honour, the memorie of their ſubordination vnto God and their dependencie on him was drowned in this conceit; whereupon their adoration, loue, and imitation of God, could not chooſe but bee alſo interrupted. The fall of Angels therefore was Pride. Since their Fall, their practices haue beene the cleane contrary vnto thoſe before mentioned. For being diſperſed ſome in the ayre, ſome on the earth, ſome in the water, ſome amongſt the minerals, dennes, and caues, that are vnder the earth: they haue by all meanes laboured to effect an vniuerſall Rebellion againſt the Lawes, and as farre as in them lyeth, vtter deſtruction of the Workes of God. Theſe wicked Spirits the Heathens honoured in ſtead of Gods, both generally vnder the name of *Dij inferi* Gods infernall; and particularly, ſome in Oracles, ſome in Idols, ſome as Houſehold Gods, ſome as Nymphes; in a word, no foule and wicked Spirit which was not one way or other honoured of men as God, till ſuch time as light appeared in the World, and diſſolued the workes of the Diuell. Thus much therefore may ſuffice for Angels, the next vnto whom in degree are men.

Iohn 8.44. 1.*Pet.*5.8. *Apoc.*9.11. *Gen.*3.15. 1.*chron.*21.1. *Iob.*1.7.& 2.5. *Iohn* 13.27. *Acts* 5.3. *Apoc.*20.8.

5 God alone excepted, who actually and euerlaſtingly is whatſoeuer hee may bee, and which cannot hereafter bee that which now he is not; all other things beſides are ſomewhat in poſſibilitie, which as yet they are not in act. And for this cauſe there is in all things an appetite or deſire, whereby they incline to ſomething which they may bee: and when they are it, they ſhall bee perfecter then now they are. All which perfections are contained vnder the generall name of *Goodneſſe*. And becauſe there is not in the World any thing whereby another may not ſome way be made the perfecter, therefore all things that are, are good. Againe, ſith there can bee no goodneſſe deſired which proceedeth not from God himſelfe, as from the Supreme cauſe of all things; and euery effect doth after a ſort containe, at leaſtwiſe reſemble the cauſe from which it proceedeth: all things in the World are ſaid in ſome ſort to ſeeke the higheſt, and to couet more or leſſe the participation of God himſelfe. Yet this doth no where ſo much appeare as it doth in man: becauſe there are ſo many kinds of perfections which man ſeeketh. The firſt degree of goodneſſe is that generall perfection which all things doe ſeeke, in deſiring the continuance of their being. All things therefore coueting as much as may bee to bee like vnto God in being euer, that which cannot hereunto attaine perſonally, doth ſeeke to continue it ſelfe another way, that is, by offſpring and propagation. The next degree of goodneſſe, is that which each thing coueteth by affecting reſemblance with God, in the conſtancie and excellencie of thoſe operations which belong vnto their kind. The immutabilitie of God they ſtriue vnto, by working eyther alwayes or for the moſt

The law whereby man is in his actions directed to the imitation of God.

Πάντα γὰρ ἐκείνου ὀρέγεται. *Ariſt. de an. lib.*2.c.4.

moſt part after one and the ſame manner; his abſolute exactneſſe they imitate, by tending vnto that which is moſt exquiſite in euery particular. Hence haue riſen a number of axiomes in Philoſophie, ſhewing, how *the workes of nature doe alwayes ayme at that which cannot be bettered.* Theſe two kindes of goodneſſe rehearſed are ſo neerely vnited to the things themſelues which deſire them, that we ſcarcely perceiue the appetite to ſtirre in reaching forth her hand towards them. But the deſire of thoſe perfections which grow externally is more apparent; eſpecially of ſuch as are not expreſſely deſired vnleſſe they be firſt knowne, or ſuch as are not for any other cauſe then for knowledge it ſelfe deſired. Concerning perfections in this kinde, that by proceeding in the knowledge of truth, and by growing in the exerciſe of vertue, man amongſt the creatures of this inferiour world, aſpireth to the greateſt conformitie with God; this is not onely knowne vnto vs, whom he himſelfe hath ſo inſtructed, but euen they doe acknowledge, who amongſt men are not iudged the neereſt vnto him. With *Plato* what one thing more vſuall, then to excite men vnto the loue of wiſedome, by ſhewing how much wiſe men are thereby exalted aboue men; how knowledge doth rayſe them vp into heauen; how it maketh them, though not Gods, yet as Gods, high, admirable, and diuine? And *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus* ſpeaking of the vertues of a righteous ſoule, *Such ſpirits* (ſaith he) *are neuer cloyed with prayſing and ſpeaking well of all men, with doing good vnto euery one by word and deede, becauſe they ſtudie to frame themſelues according to* THE PATTERNE *of the Father of ſpirits.*

Ἐν τοῖς φύσει δεῖ τὸ βέλτιον ἐὰν ἐνδέχηται ὑπάρχειν μᾶλλον. ἡ φύσις ἀεὶ ποιεῖ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων τὸ βέλτιον, *Ari. 2. de Cœl. cap. 5. Matth. 5. 48. Sap. 7. 27.*

ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ κόρον οὐδέποτε ἔχει, ὑμνοῦσα εὐφημοῦσά τε πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πάντας εὐποιοῦσα. μιμεμένη αὐτῆς τὸν πατέρα.

6 In the matter of knowledge, there is betweene the Angels of God and the children of men this difference. Angels already haue full and complete knowledge in the higheſt degree that can be imparted vnto them: men, if we view them in their ſpring, are at the firſt without vnderſtanding or knowledge at all. Neuertheleſſe from this vtter vacuitie they grow by degrees, till they come at length to be euen as the Angels themſelues are. That which agreeth to the one now, the other ſhall attayne vnto in the end; they are not ſo farre diſioyned and ſeuered, but that they come at length to meete. The ſoule of man being therefore at the firſt as a booke, wherein nothing is, and yet all things may be imprinted; we are to ſearch by what ſteps and degrees it riſeth vnto perfection of knowledge. Vnto that which hath beene alreadie ſet downe concerning naturall agents this we muſt adde, that albeit therein we haue compriſed as well creatures liuing, as void of life, if they be in degree of nature beneath men; neuertheleſſe a difference we muſt obſerue betweene thoſe naturall agents that worke altogether vnwittingly, and thoſe which haue though weake, yet ſome vnderſtanding what they doe, as Fiſhes, Fowles, and beaſts haue. Beaſts are in ſenſible capacitie as ripe euen as men themſelues, perhaps more ripe. For as ſtones, though in dignitie of nature inferior vnto plants, yet exceede them in firmeneſſe of ſtrength or durabilitie of being; and plants, though beneath the excellency of creatures indued with ſenſe, yet exceed them in the facultie of vegetation and of fertilitie: ſo beaſts, though otherwiſe behind men, may notwithſtanding in actions of ſenſe and phancie goe beyond them; becauſe the endeuors of nature, when it hath an higher perfection to ſeeke, are in lower the more remiſſe, not eſteeming thereof ſo much as thoſe things do, which haue no better

Mens firſt beginning to grow to the knowledge of that law which they are to obſerue, *Vide Iſa. 7. 16.*

propoſed

propoſed vnto them. The ſoule of man therefore being capable of a more diuine perfection, hath (beſides the faculties of growing vnto ſenſible knowledge which is common vnto vs with beaſts) a further ability, whereof in them there is no ſhew at all, the ability of reaching * higher then vnto ſenſible things. Till we grow to ſome ripeneſſe of yeeres, the ſoule of man doth onely ſtore it ſelfe with conceits of things of inferiour and more open qualitie, which afterwards doe ſerue as Inſtruments vnto that which is greater: in the meane while aboue the reach of meaner creatures it aſcendeth not. When once it comprehendeth any thing aboue this, as the differences of time, affirmations, negations, and contradictions in ſpeech; we then count it to haue ſome vſe of naturall reaſon. Whereunto if afterwards there might be added the right helpes of true Art and Learning, (which helpes I muſt plainely confeſſe this Age of the World, carrying the name of a Learned Age, doth neither much know nor greatly regard) there would vndoubtedly bee almoſt as great difference in maturitie of iudgement betweene men therwith inured, and that which now men are, as betweene men that are now and Innocents. Which ſpeech if any condemne, as being ouer Hyperbolicall, let them conſider but this one thing. No Art is at the firſt finding out ſo perfect as induſtrie may after make it. Yet the very firſt man that to any purpoſe knew the way wee ſpeake of and followed it, hath alone thereby performed more very neere in all partes of naturall knowledge, then ſithence in any one part thereof, the whole World beſides hath done. In the pouertie of that other new deuiſed aid, two things there are notwithſtanding ſingular. Of maruailous quicke diſpatch it is, and doth ſhew them that haue it as much almoſt in three dayes, as if it dwell threeſcore yeeres with them. Againe, becauſe the curioſitie of mans wit doth many times with perill wade farther in the ſearch of things, then were conuenient: the ſame is thereby reſtrained vnto ſuch generalities, as euery where offering themſelues, are apparant vnto men of the weakeſt conceit that need bee. So as following the Rules and Precepts thereof, wee may find it to be an Art, which teacheth the way of ſpeedie Diſcourſe, and reſtraineth the mind of man that it may not waxe ouer-wiſe. Education and Inſtruction are the meanes, the one by vſe, the other by Precept, to make our naturall faculties of reaſon, both the better and the ſooner able to iudge rightly betweene Truth and Error, good and euill. But at what time a man may be ſaid to haue attained ſo farre forth the vſe of reaſon, as ſufficeth to make him capable of thoſe Lawes, whereby hee is then bound to guide his Actions; this is a great deale more eaſie for common ſenſe to diſcerne, then for any man by Skill and Learning to determine: euen as it is not in Philoſophers, who beſt know the nature both of Fire and of Gold, to teach what degree of the one will ſerue to purifie the other, ſo well as the Artizan (who doth this by Fire) diſcerneth by ſenſe when the fire hath that degree of heate which ſufficeth for his purpoſe.

* ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν ὑπερανὸν ἀναβαίνει, καὶ μετρεῖ αὐτὸν, καὶ οἶδε ποῖα μέν ἐστιν αὐτῷ ὑπηλικὰ, ποῖα δὲ ταπεινὰ, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀκριβῶς μανθάνει. Καὶ τὸ πάντων μεῖζον, οὐδὲ τῷ γλῶ καλαλιπὼν ἄνω γίνεται. *Mercur. Triſm.*

Ariſtotelicall demonſtration

Ramiſtry.

7 By reaſon man attaineth vnto the knowledge of things that are and are not ſenſible: It reſteth therefore that wee ſearch how man attaineth vnto the knowledge of ſuch things vnſenſible, as are to be known that they may be done. Seeing then that nothing can moue vnleſſe there be ſome end, the deſire wherof prouoketh vnto motion; how ſhould that diuine power of the Soule, that *Spirit*

Of mans will, which is the thing that lawes of action are made to guide.

Ephes.4.23. *of our mind*, as the Apoſtle termeth it, euer ſtir it ſelfe vnto action, vleſſe it haue alſo the like ſpurre? The end for which we are moued to worke, is ſometimes the goodneſſe which we conceiue of the very working it ſelfe, without any further reſpect at all; and the cauſe that procureth action, is the meere deſire of action, no other good beſides being thereby intended. Of certaine turbulent Saluſt. wits it is ſaid, *Illis quieta monere magna merces videbatur*, They thought the verie diſturbance of things eſtabliſhed, an hire ſufficient to ſet them on worke. Sometimes that which wee doe is referred to a further end, without the deſire Mat.6.2. whereof we would leaue the ſame vndone, as in their actions that gaue Almes to purchaſe thereby the prayſe of men. Man in perfection of nature being made according to the likenes of his Maker, reſembleth him alſo in the manner of working; ſo that whatſoeuer wee worke as men, the ſame wee doe wittingly worke and freely; neither are we according to the manner of naturall Agents any way ſo tyed, but that it is in our power to leaue the things wee doe vndone. The good which either is gotten by doing, or which conſiſteth in the verie doing it ſelfe, cauſeth not action, vnleſſe apprehending it as good, wee ſo like and deſire it. That wee doe vnto any ſuch end, the ſame wee chooſe and preferre before the leauing of it vndone. Choice there is not, vnleſſe the thing which wee take, bee ſo in our power that wee might haue refuſed and left it. If fire conſume the ſtubble, it chooſeth not ſo to doe, becauſe the nature thereof is ſuch that it can doe no other. To chooſe is to will one thing before another. And to will is to bend our ſoules to the hauing or doing of that which they ſee to bee good. Goodneſſe is ſeene with the eye of the vnderſtanding. And the light of that Eye, is Reaſon. So that two principall fountaines there are of humane action, *Knowledge* and *Will*; which will in things tending towards any Deut.30.19. end is termed *Choice*. Concerning Knowledge, Behold, ſayth MOSES, *I haue ſet before you this day good and euill, life and death.* Concerning Will, hee addeth immediately, *Chooſe life*; that is to ſay, the things that tend vnto life, them chooſe. But of one thing wee muſt haue ſpeciall care, as being a matter of no ſmall moment, and that is, how the will properly and ſtrictly taken, as it is of things which are referred vnto the end that man deſireth, differeth greatly from that inferiour naturall deſire which wee call appetite. The obiect of appetite is whatſoeuer ſenſible good may bee wiſhed for; the obiect of will is that good which Reaſon doth lead vs to ſeeke. Affections, as ioy, and griefe, and feare, and anger, with ſuch like, being as it were the ſundry faſhions and formes of appetite, can neyther riſe at the conceit of a thing indifferent, nor yet chooſe but riſe at the ſight of ſome things. Wherefore it is not altogether in our power, whether we will be ſtirred with affections or no: whereas actions which iſſue from the diſpoſition of the will, are in the power thereof to bee performed or ſtaied. Finally, appetite is the wils Sollicitor, & the will is appetites Controuler; what we couet according to the one, by the other we often reiect: neither is any other deſire termed properly will, but that where reaſon and vnderſtanding, or the ſhew of reaſon, preſcribeth the thing deſired. It may be therefore a queſtion, whether thoſe operations of men are to bee counted voluntary, wherein that good which is ſenſible prouoketh appetite, and appetite cauſeth action, Reaſon being neuer called to counſel; as when we eat or drinke, or betake our ſelues vn-

to

to reſt, and ſuch like. The truth is, that ſuch actions in men hauing attayned to the vſe of reaſon are voluntarie. For as the authoritie of higher powers hath force euen in thoſe things which are done without their priuitie, and are of ſo meane reckoning, that to acquaint them therewith it needeth not: in like ſort voluntarily we are ſaid to doe that alſo, which the will if it liſted might hinder from being done, although about the doing thereof we doe not expreſſely vſe our Reaſon or Vnderſtanding, and ſo immediately apply our wils thereunto. In caſes therefore of ſuch facilitie, the will doth yeeld her aſſent, as it were with a kinde of ſilence, by not diſſenting; in which reſpect her force is not ſo apparant, as in expreſſe Mandates or Prohibitions, eſpecially vpon aduice and conſultation going before. Where vnderſtanding therefore needeth in thoſe things, Reaſon is the Directer of mans will, by diſcouering in action what is good. For the Lawes of well doing are the Dictates of right Reaſon. Children which are not as yet come vnto thoſe yeeres whereat they may haue; againe, Innocents which are excluded by naturall defect from euer hauing: Thirdly, mad men which for the preſent cannot poſſibly haue the vſe of right Reaſon to guide themſelues, haue for their guide the Reaſon that guideth other men, which are Tutors ouer them to ſeeke and to procure their good for them. In the reſt there is that light of Reaſon, whereby good may be knowne from euill, and which diſcouering the ſame rightly is termed right. The will notwithſtanding doth not incline to haue or doe that which Reaſon teacheth to be good, vnleſſe the ſame doe alſo teach it to be poſſible. For albeit the appetite, being more generall, may wiſh any thing which ſeemeth good, be it neuer ſo impoſſible: yet for ſuch things the reaſonable will of man doth neuer ſeeke. Let Reaſon teach impoſſibilitie in any thing, and the will of man doth let it goe; a thing impoſſible it doth not affect, the impoſſibilitie thereof being manifeſt. There is in the will of man naturally that freedome, whereby it is apt to take or refuſe any particular obiect whatſoeuer being preſented vnto it. Whereupon it followeth, that there is no particular obiect ſo good, but it may haue the ſhew of ſome difficultie or vnpleaſant qualitie annexed to it; in reſpect whereof the will may ſhrinke and decline it: contrariwiſe (for ſo things are blended) there is no particular euill, which hath not ſome appearance of goodneſſe whereby to inſinuate it ſelfe. For euill as euill cannot be deſired: if that bee deſired which is euill, the cauſe is the goodneſſe which is or ſeemeth to bee ioyned with it. Goodneſſe doth not moue by being, but by being apparant; and therefore many things are neglected which are moſt precious, onely becauſe the value of them lyeth hid. Senſible goodneſſe is moſt apparant, neere, and preſent; which cauſeth the appetite to bee therewith ſtrongly prouoked. Now purſuit and refuſall in the will doe follow, the one the affirmation, the other the negation of goodneſſe; which the vnderſtanding apprehendeth, grounding it ſelfe vpon ſenſe, vnleſſe ſome higher reaſon doe chance to teach the contrary. And if reaſon haue taught it rightly to bee good, yet not ſo apparantly that the minde receiueth it with vtter impoſſibilitie of being otherwiſe; ſtill there is place left for the will to take or leaue. Whereas therefore amongſt ſo many things as are to bee done, there are ſo few, the goodneſſe whereof reaſon in ſuch ſort doth or eaſily can diſcouer; wee are not to maruaile at the choice of euill, euen then when

O mihi præteritos referat ſi Iupiter annos!

Εἰ δέ τις ἐπὶ κακίαν ὁρμᾷ, πρῶτον μὲν οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ κακίαν αὐτῷ ὁρμήσει ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθόν. *Paulò poſt.* Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὁρμᾶν ἐπὶ κακὰ βουλόμενον ἔχειν αὐτά, ὅτε ἐλπίδι ἀγαθῶ, ὅτε φόβῳ μείζονος κακοῦ. *Alcin. de dogmat. Plat.*

the contrarie is probably knowne. Hereby it commeth to paſſe, that cuſtome inuring the minde by long practice, and ſo leauing there a ſenſible impreſſion, preuaileth more then reaſonable perſwaſion what way ſo euer. Reaſon therfore may rightly diſcerne the thing which is good, and yet the will of man not incline it ſelfe thereunto, as oft as the preiudice of ſenſible experience doth ouerſway. Nor let any man thinke that this doth make any thing for the iuſt excuſe of iniquitie. For there was neuer ſinne committed, wherein a leſſe good was not preferred before a greater, and that wilfully; which cannot bee done without the ſingular diſgrace of nature, and the vtter diſturbance of that diuine Order, wherby the preeminence of chiefeſt acceptation is by the beſt things worthily challenged. There is not that good which cõcerneth vs, but it hath euidence enough for it ſelfe, if reaſon were diligent to ſearch it out. Through neglect therof, abuſed we are with the ſhew of that which is not; ſometimes the ſubtiltie of Satan inueagling vs, as it did [a] *Eue*; ſometimes the haſtineſſe of our wils preuenting the more conſiderate aduice of ſound reaſon, as in [b] the Apoſtles, when they no ſooner ſaw what they liked not, but they forthwith were deſirous of fire from Heauen; ſometimes the very cuſtome of euill making the heart obdurate againſt whatſoeuer inſtructions to the contrary, as in them ouer whom our Sauiour ſpake weeping, [c] *O Ieruſalem, how often, and thou wouldſt not?* Still therefore that wherewith wee ſtand blameable, and can no way excuſe it, is, In doing euill, we prefer a leſſe good before a greater, the greatneſſe whereof is by reaſon inueſtigable and may bee knowne. The ſearch of knowledge is a thing painfull; and the painefulneſſe of knowledge is that which maketh the will ſo hardly inclinable thereunto. The root hereof, diuine malediction; whereby the [d] inſtruments being weakened wherewithall the ſoule (eſpecially in reaſoning) doth worke, it preferreth reſt in ignorance, before wearieſome labour to know. For a ſpurre of diligence therefore we haue a naturall thirſt after knowledge ingrafted in vs. But by reaſon of that originall weakneſſe in the inſtruments, without which the vnderſtanding part is not able in this World by diſcourſe to worke, the very conceit of painefulneſſe is as a bridle to ſtay vs. For which cauſe the Apoſtle who knew right well, that the wearineſſe of the fleſh is an heauie clog to the will, ſtriketh mightily vpon this key, *Awake, thou that ſleepeſt, Caſt off all which preſſeth downe, Watch, Labour, ſtriue to goe forward and to grow in knowledge.*

a 2.*Cor.*11.3.
b *Luk.*9.51.
c *Mat.*23.37.
d *Sap.*9.15.

A corruptible body is heauie vnto the ſoule, and the earthly Manſion keepeth downe the mind that is full of cares. And hardly can wee diſcerne the things that are vpon Earth, and with great labour find we out the things which are before vs. Who can then ſeeke out the things that are in Heauen? *Epheſ.*5.14. *Heb.*12.1.12. 1.*Cor.*16.15. *Prou.*2.4. *Luke* 13.24.

Of the natural way of finding out Lawes by reaſon, to guide the will vnto that which is good.

8 Wherefore to returne to our former intent of diſcouering the naturall way, whereby Rules haue bin found out concerning that goodneſſe wherewith the will of man ought to be moued in humane actions; As euery thing naturally and neceſſarily doth deſire the vtmoſt good and greateſt perfection whereof Nature hath made it capable, euen ſo man. Our felicitie therefore being the obiect and accompliſhment of our deſire, we cannot chooſe but wiſh and couet it. All particular things which are ſubiect vnto action, the will doth ſo farre forth incline vnto, as reaſon iudgeth them the better for vs, and conſequently the more auaileable to our bliſſe. If reaſon erre, wee fall into euill, and are ſo farre forth depriued of the generall perfection we ſeeke. Seeing therefore that for the framing of mens actions the knowledge of good from euill is neceſſarie; it onely reſteth that we ſearch how this may be had. Neither muſt wee ſuppoſe that there needeth one rule to know the good, and another the euill by. For he that knoweth what

what is ſtraight, doth euen thereby diſcerne what is crooked, becauſe the abſence of ſtraitneſſe in bodies capable thereof is crookedneſſe. Goodneſſe in actions is like vnto ſtraitneſſe; wherefore that which is done wel we terme right. For as the ſtraight way is moſt acceptable to him that trauaileth, becauſe by it he commeth ſooneſt to his iournies end: ſo in action, that which doth lye the eueneſt betweene vs and the end wee deſire, muſt needes bee the fitteſt for our vſe. Beſides which fitneſſe for vſe, there is alſo in rectitude, beautie; as contrariwiſe in obliquitie, deformitie. And that which is good in the actions of men, doth not onely delight as profitable, but as amiable alſo. In which conſideration the Grecians moſt diuinely haue giuen to the actiue perfection of men, a name expreſſing both beautie and goodneſſe, becauſe goodneſſe in ordinarie ſpeech is for the moſt part applied onely to that which is beneficiall. But wee in the name of goodneſſe, doe here imploy both. And of diſcerning goodneſſe there are but theſe two wayes; the one the knowledge of the cauſes whereby it is made ſuch; the other the obſeruation of thoſe ſignes and tokens, which being annexed alwayes vnto goodneſſe, argue that where they are found, there alſo goodneſſe is, although we know not the cauſe by force whereof it is there. The former of theſe is the moſt ſure and infallible way, but ſo hard that all ſhun it, and had rather walke as men doe in the darke by hap hazard, then tread ſo long and intricate Mazes for Knowledge ſake. As therefore Phyſicians are many times forced to leaue ſuch methods of curing as themſelues know to bee the fitteſt, and being ouerruled by their Patients impatiencie are faine to try the beſt they can, in taking that way of cure, which the cured will yeeld vnto: in like ſort, conſidering how the caſe doth ſtand with this preſent Age full of tongue and weake of braine, behold, we yeeld to the ſtreame thereof; into the cauſes of goodneſſe we will not make any curious or deepe inquirie; to touch them now and then it ſhall bee ſufficient, when they are ſo neere at hand that eaſily they may be conceiued without any farre remooued diſcourſe: that way we are contented to proue, which being the worſe in it ſelfe, is notwithſtanding now by reaſon of common imbecillity the fitter and likelier to be brookt. Signes and tokens to know good by, are of ſundry kinds: ſome more certaine, and ſome leſſe. The moſt certaine token of euident goodneſſe is, if the generall perſwaſion of all men doe ſo account it. And therefore a common receiued errour is neuer vtterly ouerthrowne, till ſuch time as we goe from ſignes vnto cauſes, and ſhew ſome manifeſt roote or fountaine thereof common vnto all, whereby it may cleerely appeare how it hath come to paſſe that ſo many haue beene ouerſeene. In which caſe ſurmiſes and ſleight probabilities will not ſerue; becauſe the vniuerſall conſent of men is the perfecteſt and ſtrongeſt in this kind, which comprehendeth onely the ſignes and tokens of goodneſſe. Things caſuall doe varie, and that which a man doth but chance to thinke well of, cannot ſtill haue the like hap. Wherefore, although wee know not the cauſe, yet thus much wee may know, that ſome neceſſarie cauſe there is, whenſoeuer the iudgements of all men generally or for the moſt part runne one and the ſame way, eſpecially in matters of naturall diſcourſe. For of things neceſſarily and naturally done, there is no more affirmed but this, * *They keepe either alwayes or for the moſt part one tenure.* The generall and perpetuall voyce of men is as the ſentence of God himſelfe.

Τῶν ἐνδεῖ καὶ τὸ καμπύλον γινώσκομεν. Κριτὴς γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ χαλκεύς. *Ariſt. de an. l. 1.*

Καλοκἀγαθία.

* ἢ ἀεὶ ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ· ὡσαύτως ἀποβαίνει.

selfe. [a] For that which all men haue at all times learned, nature her selfe must needes haue taught; and God being the author of nature, her voyce is but his instrument. By her from him we receiue whatsoeuer in such sort we learne. Infinite duties there are, the goodnes whereof is by this rule sufficiently manifested, although wee had no other warrant besides to approue them. The Apostle S. *Paul* hauing speech concerning the Heathen, saith of them, [b] *They are a law vnto themselues.* His meaning is, that by force of the light of reason, wherewith God illuminateth euery one which commeth into the world, men being inabled to know truth from falsehood, and good from euill, doe thereby learne in many things, what the will of God is; which will himselfe not reuealing by any extraordinary meanes vnto them, but they by naturall discourse attaining the knowledge thereof, seeme the makers of those lawes which indeede are his, and they but onely the finders of them out. A law therefore generally taken, is a directiue rule vnto goodnesse of operation. The rule of diuine operations outward, is the definitiue appointment of Gods owne wisedome set downe within himselfe. The rule of naturall agents that worke by simple necessity, is the determination of the wisedome of God, knowne to God himselfe the principall director of them, but not vnto them that are directed to execute the same. The rule of naturall agents which worke after a sort of their owne accord, as the beasts do, is the iudgement of common sense or phancie concerning the sensible goodnes of those obiects wherwith they are moued. The rule of ghostly or immateriall natures, as spirits and Angels, is their intuitiue intellectuall iudgement concerning the amiable beauty and high goodnes of that obiect, which with vnspeakeable ioy and delight doth set them on worke. The rule of voluntary agents on earth, is the sentence that reason giueth concerning the goodnes of those things which they are to doe. And the sentences which reason giueth, are some more, some lesse generall, before it come to define in particular actions what is good. The maine principles of reason are in themselues apparent. For to make nothing euident of it selfe vnto mans vnderstanding, were to take away all possibility of knowing any thing. And herein that of *Theophrastus* is true, *They that seeke a reason of all things, do vtterly ouerthrow reason.* In euery kind of knowledge some such grounds there are, as that being proposed, the mind doth presently embrace them as free from all possibilitie of error, cleare and manifest without proofe. In which kind, axiomes or principles more generall are such as this, *That the greater good is to be chosen before the lesse.* If therefore it should be demanded, what reason there is why the will of man, which doth necessarily shun harme, and couet whatsoeuer is pleasant and sweete, should be commanded to count the pleasures of sinne gall, and notwithstanding the bitter accidents wherewith vertuous actions are compast, yet still to reioyce and delight in them; surely this could neuer stand with reason: but that wisedome thus prescribing, grounded her lawes vpon an infallible rule of comparison, which is, that small difficulties, when exceeding great good is sure to ensue; and on the other side momentanie benefites, when the hurt which they draw after them is vnspeakeable, are not at all to be respected. This rule is the ground whereupon the wisedome of the Apostle buildeth a law, inioyning patience vnto himselfe; *The present lightnes of our affliction worketh vnto vs euen with aboundance aboue aboundance an eternall waight*

[a] *Non potest error contingere, vbi omnes idem opinantur. Monticat. in 1. Polit. Quicquid in omnibus individuis vnius speciei communiter inest, id causam communem habeat oportet, quæ est eorum individuorum species & natura. Idem. Quod à tota aliqua specie fit, vniuersalis particularisque naturæ fit instinctu. Ficin. de Christ. relig. Si proficere cupis, primo firmè id verum puta quod sana mens omnium hominum attestatur. Cusa. in compend. cap. 1. Non licet naturale vniuersaléque hominum iudicium falsum vanumque existimare. Telesf.* Ὃ γὰρ πᾶσι δοκεῖ τοῦτο εἶναι φαμεν. ὃ δὲ ἀναιρῶν ταῦτα τὴν πίστιν, οὐ πάνυ πιστότερα ἐρεῖ. *Arist. Eth. 10. cap. 2.*

[b] *Rom. 2. 14.*

Ἀ πάντων ζητοῦντες λόγον, ἀναιροῦσι λόγον. *Theoph. in Metaph.*

2. Cor. 4. 17.

waight of glory, while wee looke not on the things which are ſeene, but on the things which are not ſeene. For the things which are ſeene are temporall, but the things which are not ſeene eternall. Therefore Chriſtianitie to be embraced, whatſoeuer calamities in thoſe times it was accompanied withall. Vpon the ſame ground our Sauiour proueth the Law moſt reaſonable, that doth forbid thoſe crimes which men for gaines ſake fall into. For a man to win the World, if it be with the loſſe of his ſoule, what benefit or good is it? Axiomes leſſe generall, yet ſo manifeſt that they need no further proofe, are ſuch as theſe, *God to be worſhipped, Parents to be honoured, Others to be vſed by vs, as we our ſelues would by them.* Such things, as ſoone as they are alleaged, all men acknowledge to bee good; they require no proofe or further diſcourſe to be aſſured of their goodneſſe. Notwithſtanding whatſoeuer ſuch principle there is, it was at the firſt found out by diſcourſe, and drawne from out of the very bowels of Heauen and Earth. For we are to note, that things in the World are to vs diſcernable, not onely ſo farre forth as ſerueth for our vitall preſeruation, but further alſo in a twofold higher reſpect. For firſt if all other vſes were vtterly taken away; yet the mind of man being by nature ſpeculatiue and delighted with contemplation in it ſelfe, they were to bee known euen for meere knowledge and vnderſtandings ſake. Yea, further beſides this the knowledge of euery the leaſt thing in the World, hath in it a ſecond peculiar benefit vnto vs, in as much as it ſerueth to miniſter Rules, Canons, and Lawes for men to direct thoſe actions by, which wee properly terme humane. This did the very Heathens themſelues obſcurely inſinuate, by making *Themis* which we call *Ius* or Right, to be the daughter of Heauen and Earth. We know things either as they are in themſelues, or as they are in mutuall relation one to another. The knowledge of that which man is in reference vnto himſelfe, and other things in relation vnto man, I may iuſtly terme the Mother of all thoſe principles, which are as it were edicts, ſtatutes, and decrees in that Law of nature, whereby humane actions are framed. Firſt therefore, hauing obſerued that the beſt things, where they are not hindered, doe ſtill produce the beſt operations; (for which cauſe where many things are to concurre vnto one effect, the beſt is in all congruitie of reaſon to guide the reſidue, that it preuailing moſt, the worke principally done by it may haue greateſt perfection:) when hereupon we come to obſerue our ſelues, of what excellencie our ſoules are in compariſon of our bodies, and the diuiner part in relation vnto the baſer of our ſoules; ſeeing that all theſe concurre in producing humane actions, it cannot bee well vnleſſe the chiefeſt doe command and direct the reſt. The ſoule then ought to conduct the body, and the ſpirit of our minds the ſoule. This is therfore the firſt Law, whereby the higheſt power of the minde requireth generall obedience at the hands of all the reſt concurring with it vnto action. Touching the ſeuerall grand Mandates, which being impoſed by the vnderſtanding facultie of the minde, muſt be obeyed by the will of man, they are by the ſame method found out, whether they import our dutie towards God or towards Man. Touching the one, I may not heere ſtand to open, by what degrees of diſcourſe the mindes euen of meere naturall men, haue attained to know, not onely that there is a God, but alſo what power, force, wiſedome, and other properties that God hath, and how all things depend on him. This being therefore preſuppoſed, from that knowne relation

Mat.16.26.

Ariſt.Polit.1.c.5

relation which God hath vnto vs [a] as vnto children, and vnto all good things as vnto effects, whereof himselfe is the [b] principall cause, these axiomes and lawes naturall concerning our dutie haue arisen; [c] *That in all things wee goe about, his aide is by Prayer to be craued*; [d] *That he cannot haue sufficient honor done vnto him, but the vttermost of that we can doe to honour him we must*; which is in effect the same that we reade, [e] *Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soule, and with all thy mind.* Which Law our Sauiour doth terme the [f] *First, and the great Commandement.* Touching the next, which as our Sauiour addeth, is like vnto this (he meaneth in amplitude and largenesse, in as much as it is the root out of which all lawes of duty to men-ward haue grown, as out of the former all offices of Religion towards God) the like naturall inducement hath brought men to know, that it is their dutie no lesse to loue others then themselues. For seeing those things which are equall, must needs all haue one measure: if I cannot but wish to receiue all good, euen as much at euery mans hand as any man can wish vnto his owne soule; how should I looke to haue any part of my desire herein satisfied, vnlesse my selfe bee carefull to satisfie the like desire, which is vndoubtedly in other men, we all being of one and the same nature? To haue any thing offered them repugnant to this desire, must needes in all respects grieue them as much as mee: so that if I doe harme, I must looke to suffer; there being no reason that others should shew greater measure of loue to mee, then they haue by mee shewed vnto them. My desire therefore to bee loued of my equals in nature as much as possible may be, imposeth vpon me a naturall dutie of bearing to them-ward fully the like affection. From which relation of equalitie betweene our selues and them that are as our selues, what seueral Rules and Canons naturall Reason hath drawne for direction of life, no man is ignorant; as namely, [g] *That because wee would take no harme, we must therefore doe none*; *That sith wee would not bee in any thing extremely dealt with, wee must our selues auoid all extremitie in our dealings*; *That from all violence and wrong wee are vtterly to abstaine*, with such like; which further to wade in would bee tedious, and to our present purpose not altogether so necessary, seeing that on these two generall heads alreadie mentioned, all other specialties are dependent. Wherefore the naturall measure whereby to iudge our doings, is the sentence of reason, determining and setting downe what is good to bee done. Which sentence is eyther mandatorie, shewing what must bee done; or else permissiue, declaring onely what may be done; or thirdly admonitorie, opening what is the most conuenient for vs to doe. The first taketh place, where the comparison doth stand altogether betweene doing and not doing of one thing which in it selfe is absolutely good or euill; as it had beene for *Ioseph* to yeeld, or not to yeeld to the impotent desire of his lewd Mistris, the one euill, the other good simply. The second is, when of diuers things euill, all being not euitable, wee are permitted to take one; which one sauing only in case of so great vrgency were not otherwise to bee taken; as in the matter of Diuorce amongst the Iewes. The last, when of diuers things good, one is principall and most eminent; as in their act who sold their Possessions and laid the price at the Apostles feet, which possessions they might haue retained vnto themselues without sinne; againe, in the Apostle Saint *Pauls* owne choice to maintaine himselfe by his owne labour, whereas in liuing

a Οὐ δεῖς θεὸς δύσνους ἀνθρώποις. *Plat. in Theat.*

b Ὅτι γὰρ θεὸς δοκεῖ τὸ αἴτιον πᾶσιν εἶναι καὶ ἀρχή τις. *Arist. Metap. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

c Αλλ' ὦ Σώκρατες τῦτό γε δὴ πάντες ὅσοι καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ σωφροσύνες μετέχωσιν, ἐπὶ πάσῃ ὁρμῇ καὶ μικρῇ καὶ μεγάλῃ πράγματος θεὸν ἀεί πε καλοῦσι. *Plat. in Tim.*

d *Arist. Ethic. lib. 8. cap. vlt.*

e *Deut. 6. 5.*

f *Mat. 22. 28.*

g *Quod quis in se approbat, in alio reprobare non posse. L. in arenam C. de inoff. test. Quod quisque iuris in alium statuerit, ipsum quoque eodem vti debere. L. quod quisque. Ab omni penitus iniuria atque vi abstinendum. l. 1 §. 1. quod vi, aut clam. Matth. 22. 40.*

On these two Commandements hangeth the whole Law.

Gen 39. 9. Mar. 10. 4. Act. 4. 37. Act. 5. 4.

2. Thes. 3. 8.

liuing by the Churches maintenance, as others did, there had beene no offence committed. In goodneſſe therefore there is a latitude or extent, whereby it commeth to paſſe that euen of good actions ſome are better then other ſome; whereas otherwiſe one man could not excell another, but all ſhould bee eyther abſolutely good, as hitting iumpe that indiuiſible point or center wherein goodneſſe conſiſteth; or elſe miſſing it they ſhould be excluded out of the number of weldoers. Degrees of wel-doing there could be none, except perhaps in the ſeldomneſſe and oftenneſſe of doing well. But the nature of goodneſſe being thus ample, a Law is properly that which reaſon in ſuch ſort defineth to bee good that it muſt be done. And the Law of Reaſon or Humane Nature is that, which men by diſcourſe of naturall reaſon haue rightly found out themſelues to be all for euer bound vnto in their actions. Lawes of Reaſon haue theſe markes to bee knowne by. Such as keep them, reſemble moſt liuely in their voluntarie actions, that very manner of working which Nature her ſelfe doth neceſſarily obſerue in the courſe of the whole World. The workes of Nature are all behoouefull, beautifull, without ſuperfluitie or defect: euen ſo theirs, if they be ſo framed according to that which the Law of Reaſon teacheth. Secondly, thoſe lawes are inueſtigable by reaſon, without the help of reuelation ſupernaturall and diuine. Finally, in ſuch ſort they are inueſtigable, that the knowledge of them is generall, the World hath alwayes beene acquainted with them; according to that which one in *Sophocles* obſerueth concerning a branch of this Law, *It is no Child of two dayes or yeſterdaies birth, but hath beene no man knoweth how long ſithence.* It is not agreed vpon by one, or two, or few, but by all: which we may not ſo vnderſtand, as if euery particular man in the whole World did know and confeſſe whatſoeuer the Law of Reaſon doth containe; but this Law is ſuch, that being propoſed no man can reiect it as vnreaſonable and vniuſt. Againe, there is nothing in it, but any man (hauing naturall perfection of wit, and ripeneſſe of iudgement) may by labour and trauaile find out. And to conclude, the generall principles thereof are ſuch, as it is not eaſie to find men ignorant of them. Law rationall therefore, which men commonly vſe to call the law of nature, meaning thereby the law which humane nature knoweth it ſelfe in reaſon vniuerſally bound vnto, which alſo for that cauſe may be termed moſt fitly the law of Reaſon: this Law, I ſay, comprehendeth all thoſe things which men by the light of their naturall vnderſtanding euidently know, or at leaſtwiſe may know, to be beſeeming or vnbeſeeming, vertuous or vicious, good or euill for them to doe. Now although it be true, which ſome haue ſaid, that whatſoeuer is done amiſſe, the Law of Nature and Reaſon therby is tranſgreſt; becauſe euen thoſe offences which are by their ſpeciall qualities breaches of ſupernaturall Lawes, do alſo, for that they are generally euill, violate in generall that principle of Reaſon, which willeth vniuerſally to flye from euill: yet doe we not therefore ſo far extend the Law of Reaſon, as to containe in it all maner Lawes whereunto reaſonable creatures are bound; but (as hath beene ſhewed) wee reſtraine it to thoſe onely duties, which all men by force of naturall wit either doe or might vnderſtand to be ſuch duties as concerne all men. *Certaine halfewaking men there are,* (as Saint *Auguſtine* noteth) *who neither altogether aſleepe in folly, nor yet throughly awake in the light of true vnderſtanding, haue thought that there is not at all any thing iuſt and righteous*

οὐ γὰρ τι νυῦν γε κἀχθές, ἀλλ' ἀεί ποτε Σῆ τοῦτο κ'οὐδεὶς οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου φάνη. *Soph. Anti.*

Th. 1. 2. q. 94. art. 3. Omnia peccata ſunt in vniuerſum contra rationem & naturæ legem. Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, lib. 12. cap. 1. *Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam eſt.* De doct. Chriſt. li. 3. cap. 14.

righteous in it ſelfe: but looke wherewith Nations are inured, the ſame they take to be right and iuſt. Whereupon their concluſion is, that ſeeing each ſort of people hath a different kinde of right from other, and that which is right of it owne nature, muſt be euery where one and the ſame, therefore in it ſelfe there is nothing right. Theſe good folke (ſaith he, *that I may not trouble their wits with rehearſall of too many things) haue not looked ſo far into the world as to perceiue, that,* Doe as thou wouldeſt be done vnto, *is a ſentence which all Nations vnder heauen are agreed vpon. Refer this ſentence to the loue of God, and it extinguiſheth all haynous crimes: referre it to the loue of thy neighbour, and all grieuous wrongs it baniſheth out of the world.* Wherefore as touching the Law of Reaſon, this was (it ſeemeth) Saint *Auguſtines* iudgement, namely, that there are in it ſome things which ſtand as Principles vniuerſally agreed vpon: and that out of thoſe Principles, which are in themſelues euident, the greateſt morall duties we owe towards God or Man, may without any great difficultie be concluded. If then it be here demanded, by what meanes it ſhould come to paſſe (the greateſt part of the Law morall being ſo eaſie for all men to know) that ſo many thouſands of men notwithſtanding haue beene ignorant euen of principall morall duties, not imagining the breach of them to be ſinne: I denie not but lewd and wicked cuſtome, beginning perhaps at the firſt amongſt few, afterwards ſpreading into greater multitudes, and ſo continuing from time to time, may be of force euen in plaine things to ſmother the light of naturall vnderſtanding, becauſe men will not bend their wits to examine, whether things wherewith they haue beene accuſtomed, be good or euill. For examples ſake, that groſſer kinde of Heatheniſh Idolatrie, whereby they worſhipped the very works of their owne hands, was an abſurditie to reaſon ſo palpable, that the Prophet *Dauid* comparing Idols and Idolaters together, maketh almoſt no ods betweene them, but the one in a manner as much without wit and ſenſe as the other, *They that make them are like vnto them, and ſo are all that truſt in them.* That wherein an Idolater doth ſeeme ſo abſurd and fooliſh, is by the Wiſeman thus expreſt, *He is not aſhamed to ſpeake vnto that which hath no life, he calleth on him that is weake, for health, he prayeth for life vnto him which is dead, of him which hath no experience he requireth helpe, for his iourney he ſueth to him which is not able to goe, for gayne and worke and ſucceſſe in his affaires, he ſeeketh furtherance of him that hath no manner of power.* The cauſe of which ſenſeleſſe ſtupiditie is afterwards imputed to cuſtome. *When a father mourned grieuouſly for his ſonne that was taken away ſuddenly, he made an Image for him that was once dead, whom now he worſhipped as a God, ordayning to his ſeruants ceremonies and ſacrifices. Thus by proceſſe of time this wicked cuſtome preuailed, and was kept as a Law*; the authoritie of Rulers, the ambition of Crafts-men, and ſuch like meanes thruſting forward the ignorant, and increaſing their ſuperſtition. Vnto this which the Wiſeman hath ſpoken, ſomewhat beſides may be added. For whatſoeuer we haue hitherto taught, or ſhall hereafter, concerning the force of mans naturall vnderſtanding, this we alwayes deſire withall to be vnderſtood, that there is no kinde of facultie or power in man or any other creature, which can rightly performe the functions alotted to it, without perpetuall aide and concurrence of that ſupreme cauſe of all things. The benefit whereof as oft as we cauſe God in his iuſtice to with-draw, there can no other thing follow then that which the Apoſtle noteth, euen men indued with

Pſal. 115.18.

Sapient. 13.17.

Sapient. 14.12.

with the light of Reaſon to walke notwithſtanding *in the vanitie of their minde, hauing their cogitations darkened, and being ſtrangers from the life of God through the ignorance which is in them, becauſe of the hardneſſe of their hearts.* And this cauſe is mentioned by the Prophet *Eſay*, ſpeaking of the ignorance of Idolaters, who ſee not how the manifeſt Law of Reaſon condemneth their groſſe iniquitie and ſinne. They haue not in them, ſaith he, ſo much wit as to thinke, *ſhall I bow to the Stocke of a Tree? All Knowledge and Vnderſtanding is taken from them. For God hath ſhut their eyes that they cannot ſee.* That which we ſay in this caſe of Idolatry, ſerueth for all other things, wherein the like kind of generall blindneſſe hath preuailed againſt the manifeſt Lawes of Reaſon. Within the compaſſe of which Lawes we doe not onely comprehend whatſoeuer may be eaſily knowne to belong to the duty of all men; but euen whatſoeuer may poſſibly be knowne to be of that qualitie, ſo that the ſame bee by *neceſſarie* conſequence deduced out of cleere and manifeſt principles. For if once wee deſcend vnto probable collections what is conuenient for men, we are then in the Territorie where free and arbitrarie determinations, the Territorie where humane Lawes take place, which Lawes are after to be conſidered.

Ephes. 4. 17.

Eſay 44. 18. 19.

9 Now the due obſeruation of this Law which Reaſon teacheth vs, cannot but be effectuall vnto their great good that obſerue the ſame. For wee ſee the whole World and each part thereof ſo compacted, that as long as each thing performeth onely that worke which is naturall vnto it, it thereby preſerueth both other things, and alſo it ſelfe. Contrariwiſe, let any principall thing, as the Sunne, the Moone, any one of the Heauens or Elements, but once ceaſe or faile, or ſwarue; and who doth not eaſily conceiue that the ſequell thereof would be ruine both to it ſelfe, and whatſoeuer dependeth on it? And is it poſſible that man, being not only the nobleſt Creature in the World, but euen a very World in himſelfe, his tranſgreſſing the Law of his Nature ſhould draw no manner of harme after it? Yes, *tribulation and anguiſh vnto euerie ſoule that doth euill.* Good doth follow vnto all things by obſeruing the courſe of their nature, and on the contrarie ſide euill by not obſeruing it: but not vnto naturall Agents that good which wee call *Reward*, not that euill which wee properly terme *Puniſhment.* The reaſon whereof is, becauſe amongſt creatures in this World, onely mans obſeruation of the Law of his nature is *Righteouſneſſe*, onely mans tranſgreſſion *Sinne.* And the reaſon of this is the difference in his manner of obſeruing or tranſgreſſing the Law of his nature. Hee doth not otherwiſe then voluntarily the one or the other. What wee doe againſt our wils, or conſtrainedly, wee are not properly ſaid to doe it; becauſe the motiue cauſe of doing it is not in our ſelues, but carrieth vs, as if the wind ſhould driue a Feather in the Aire, wee no whit furthering that whereby wee are driuen. In ſuch caſes therefore the euill which is done, mooueth compaſſion; men are pitied for it, as being rather miſerable in ſuch reſpect then culpable. Some things are likewiſe done by man, though not through outward force and impulſion, though not againſt, yet without their wils; as in alienation of mind, or any the like inuitable vtter abſence of wit and iudgement. For which cauſe, no man did euer thinke the hurtfull actions of furious Men and Innocents to bee puniſhable. Againe, ſome things wee doe neither againſt nor without, and yet not ſimply and meerely with

The benefit of keeping that law which reaſon teacheth.

with our wills; but with our wills in ſuch ſort moued, that albeit there be no impoſſibilitie but that wee might, neuertheleſſe wee are not ſo eaſily able to doe otherwiſe. In this conſideration one euill deede is made more pardonable then another. Finally, that which we doe being euill, is notwithſtanding by ſo much more pardonable, by how much the exigence of ſo doing, or the difficultie of doing otherwiſe is greater; vnleſſe this neceſſitie or difficultie haue originally riſen from our ſelues. It is no excuſe therefore vnto him, who being drunke committeth inceſt, and alleageth that his wits were not his owne; in as much as himſelfe might haue choſen whether his wits ſhould by that meane haue beene taken from him. Now rewards and puniſhments doe alwayes preſuppoſe ſome thing willingly done well or ill; without which reſpect though we may ſometimes receiue good or harme, yet then the one is onely a benefite, and not a reward; the other ſimply an hurt, not a puniſhment. From the ſundrie diſpoſitions of mans will, which is the roote of all his actions, there groweth varietie in the ſequele of rewards and puniſhments, which are by theſe and the like rules meaſured: *Take away the will, and all acts are equall: That which we doe not and would doe, is commonly accepted as done.* By theſe and the like Rules mens actions are determined of and iudged, whether they be in their owne nature rewardable or puniſhable. Rewards and puniſhments are not receiued, but at the hands of ſuch as being aboue vs, haue power to examine and iudge our deedes. How men come to haue this authoritie one ouer another in externall actions, wee ſhall more diligently examine in that which followeth. But for this preſent, ſo much all doe acknowledge, that ſith euery mans heart and conſcience doth in good or euill, euen ſecretly committed and knowne to none but it ſelfe, either like or diſallow it ſelfe, and accordingly either reioyce, very nature exulting as it were in certayne hope of reward, or elſe grieue as it were in a ſenſe of future puniſhment; neither of which can in this caſe bee looked for from any other, ſauing onely from him, who diſcerneth and iudgeth the very ſecrets of all hearts: therefore he is the onely Rewarder and Reuenger of all ſuch actions, although not of ſuch actions onely, but of all whereby the Law of nature is broken, whereof himſelfe is Author. For which cauſe, the Romane Lawes, called the Lawes of the twelue Tables, requiring offices of inward affection, which the eye of man cannot reach vnto, threaten the Neglecters of them with none but diuine puniſhment.

Voluntate ſublatâ omnem actum parem eſſe. l. fœdiſſimam C. de adult. Bonam voluntatem plerunq; pro facto reputari. l. ſi quis in Teſtamen.

Diuos caſtè adeunto, pietatem adhibento. Qui ſecus faxit, Deus ipſe vindex erit.

How Reaſon doth leade men vnto the making of humane Lawes, whereby politique ſocieties are gouerned, and to agreement about Lawes, whereby the Fellowſhip or Communion of independent ſocietie ſtãdeth. Εσὶ γὰρ ὁ μαντεύοντας τι πάντες φύσει κοινὸν δίκαιον καὶ ἄδικον κἂν μηδεμία κοινωνία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ᾖ μηδὲ συνθήκη. *Ariſt. Rhet. 1.*

10 That which hitherto we haue ſet downe, is (I hope) ſufficient to ſhew their brutiſhnes, which imagine that Religion & Vertue are only as men will account of them; that we might make as much account, if we would, of the contrarie, without any harme vnto our ſelues, and that in nature they are as indifferent one as the other. We ſee then how nature it ſelfe teacheth Lawes and Statutes to liue by. The lawes which haue bin hitherto mentioned, do bind men abſolutely, euen as they are men, although they haue neuer any ſettled fellowſhip, neuer any ſolemne agreement amongſt themſelues what to do or not to do. But for as much as we are not by our ſelues ſufficient to furniſh our ſelues with competent ſtore of things needfull for ſuch a life as our nature doth deſire, a life fit for the dignitie of man: therefore to ſupply thoſe defects and imperfections which are in vs liuing ſingle and ſolely by our ſelues, wee are naturally induced

to

to ſeeke communion and fellowſhip with others. This was the cauſe of mens vniting themſelues at the firſt in Politike Societies; which Societies could not be without gouernment, nor gouernment without a diſtinct kind of Law from that which hath beene already declared. Two foundations there are which beare vp publike Societies; the one, a naturall inclination, whereby all men deſire ſociable life & fellowſhip; the other, an order expreſly or ſecretly agreed vpon, touching the manner of their vnion in liuing together. The later is that which we call the Law of a Commonweale, the very ſoule of a politike body, the parts whereof are by Law animated, held together, & ſet on worke in ſuch actions as the common good requireth. Lawes Politike, ordained for externall Order and Regiment amongſt men, are neuer framed as they ſhould be, vnleſſe preſuming the will of man to be inwardly obſtinate, rebellious, and auerſe from all obedience vnto the Sacred Lawes of his nature; in a word, vnleſſe preſuming man to be in regard of his depraued mind, little better then a wild beaſt, they doe accordingly prouide notwithſtanding ſo to frame his outward actions, that they bee no hinderance vnto the common good for which Societies are inſtituted: vnleſſe they doe this, they are not perfect. It reſteth therfore, that we conſider how nature findeth out ſuch lawes of gouernmēt, as ſerue to direct euen nature depraued to a right end. All men deſire to lead in this World an happy life. The life is led moſt happily, wherin all vertue is exerciſed without impediment or let. The Apoſtle in exhorting men to contentment, although they haue in this World no more then very bare food and raiment, giueth vs thereby to vnderſtand, that thoſe are euen the loweſt of things neceſſary, that if we ſhould be ſtripped of all thoſe things without which we might poſſibly be, yet theſe muſt be left; that deſtitution in theſe is ſuch an impediment, as till it be remoued, ſuffereth not the mind of man to admit any other care. For this cauſe, firſt, God aſſigned *Adam* maintenance of life, & then appointed him a Law to obſerue. For this cauſe after men began to grow to a number, the firſt thing we read they gaue themſelues vnto, was the tilling of the Earth, and the feeding of Cattel. Hauing by this meane whereon to liue, the principall actions of their life afterward are noted by the exerciſe of their Religion. True it is that the Kingdome of God muſt be the firſt thing in our purpoſes and deſires. But in as much as righteous life preſuppoſeth life, in as much as to liue vertuouſly it is impoſſible except wee liue; therefore the firſt impediment, which naturally we endeuour to remoue, is penury and want of things without which we cannot liue. Vnto life many implements are neceſſary; moe, if we ſeeke (as all men naturally doe) ſuch a life as hath in it ioy, comfort, delight & pleaſure. To this end we ſee how quickly ſundry Arts Mechanical were found out in the very prime of the World. As things of greateſt neceſſitie are alwayes firſt prouided for, ſo things of greateſt dignitie are moſt accounted of by all ſuch as iudge rightly. Although therefore riches be a thing which euery man wiſheth; yet no man of iudgement can eſteeme it better to be rich, then Wiſe, Vertuous and Religious. If wee bee both or eyther of theſe, it is not becauſe wee are ſo borne. For into the World we come as emptie of the one as of the other, as naked in minde as we are in body. Both which neceſſities of man had at the firſt no other helpes and ſupplies, then onely Domeſticall; ſuch as that which the Prophet implieth, ſaying, *Can a Mother forget her Childe?* Such as that

1. Tim. 6. 8.

Gen. 1. 29.
Gen. 2. 17.
Gen. 4. 2.
Gen. 4. 26.

Mat. 6. 33.

Gen. 4. 20, 21, 22

Eſay 49. 15.

1.Tim.5.8. Gen.18.19. which the Apoſtle mentioneth, ſaying, *He that careth not for his owne, is worſe then an Infidel*; ſuch as that concerning *Abraham*, Abraham *will command his Sonnes, and his Houſhold after him, that they keepe the way of the Lord.* But neyther that which wee learne of our ſelues, nor that which others teach vs can preuaile, where wickedneſſe and malice haue taken deepe roote. If therefore when there was but as yet one onely Family in the World, no meanes of inſtruction humane or diuine, could preuent effuſion of bloud: how could it bee choſen but that when Families were multiplied and increaſed vpon Earth, after ſeparation, each prouiding for it ſelfe, enuie, ſtrife, contention, and violence muſt grow amongſt them? For hath not nature furniſht man with wit and valour, and as it were with armour, which may be vſed as well vnto extreme euill as good? yea, were they not vſed by the reſt of the World vnto euill; vnto the contrary onely by *Seth*, *Enoch*, and thoſe few the reſt in that Line? Wee all make complaint of the iniquitie of our times: not vniuſtly; for the dayes are euill. But compare them with thoſe times wherein there were no Ciuill Societies, with thoſe times wherein there was as yet no manner of publike Regiment eſtabliſhed, with thoſe times wherein there were not aboue eight righteous perſons liuing vpon the face of the Earth: and we haue ſurely good cauſe to thinke that God hath bleſſed vs exceedingly, and hath made vs behold moſt happie dayes. To take away all ſuch mutuall grieuances, iniuries and wrongs, there was no way but onely by growing vnto compoſition and agreement amongſt themſelues, by ordaining ſome kind of Gouernment publike, and by yeelding themſelues ſubiect thereunto; that vnto whom they granted authoritie to rule and gouerne, by them the peace, tranquillitie, and happy eſtate of the reſt might bee procured. Men alwayes knew that when force and iniurie was offered, they might be defendours of themſelues; they knew that howſoeuer men may ſeeke their owne commoditie, yet if this were done with iniurie vnto others, it was not to be ſuffered, but by all men and by all good meanes to be withſtood; finally, they knew that no man might in reaſon take vpon him to determine his owne right, and according to his owne determination proceed in maintenance thereof, in as much as euery man is towards himſelfe, and them whom hee greatly affecteth, partiall; and therefore that ſtrifes and troubles would be endleſſe, except they gaue their common conſent all to bee ordered by ſome whom they ſhould agree vpon: without which conſent, there were no reaſon that one man ſhould take vpon him to be Lord or Iudge ouer another; becauſe although there bee according to the opinion of ſome very great and iudicious men, a kind of naturall right in the noble, wiſe, and vertuous, to gouerne them which are of ſeruile diſpoſition; neuertheleſſe for manifeſtation of this their right, and mens more peaceable contentment on both ſides, the aſſent of them who are to bee gouerned, ſeemeth neceſſarie. To Fathers within their priuate Families nature hath giuen a Supreme power; for which cauſe wee ſee throughout the World, euen from the firſt foundation thereof, all men haue euer bin taken as Lords and lawfull Kings in their owne Houſes. Howbeit ouer a whole grand multitude, hauing no ſuch dependencie vpon any one, and conſiſting of ſo many Families as euery Politike Societie in the World doth, impoſſible it is that any ſhould haue complete lawfull power, but by conſent of men, or immediate appoint-

Gen.4.8.

Gen.6.5. Gen.5.

2.Pet.2.5.

Ariſt.Polit.3. & 4.

ment

ment of God; becauſe not hauing the natural ſuperiority of Fathers, their power muſt needes be eyther vſurped, and then vnlawfull; or if lawfull, then eyther granted or conſented vnto by them ouer whom they exerciſe the ſame, or elſe giuen extraordinarily from God, vnto whom all the World is ſubiect. It is no improbable opinion therefore which the Arch-Philoſopher was of, that as the chiefeſt perſon in euery houſhold was alwayes as it were a King; ſo when numbers of houſholds ioyned themſelues in Ciuil Societies together, Kings were the firſt kind of Gouernors amongſt them. Which is alſo as it ſeemeth the reaſon, why the name of *Father* continued ſtill in them, who of Fathers were made Rulers: as alſo the ancient cuſtome of Gouernors to doe as *Melchiſedec*, and being Kings to exerciſe the office of Prieſts, which Fathers did at the firſt, grew perhaps by the ſame occaſion. Howbeit not this the onely kind of Regiment that hath bin receiued in the World. The inconueniences, of one kind haue cauſed ſundry other to be deuiſed. So that in a word all publike Regiment, of what kind ſoeuer, ſeemeth euidently to haue riſen from deliberate aduice, conſultation and compoſition betweene men, iudging it conuenient and behoofefull; there being no impoſſibilitie in nature conſidered by it ſelfe, but that men might haue liued without any publike Regiment. Howbeit the corruption of our nature being preſuppoſed, we may not denie but that the Law of Nature doth now require of neceſſitie ſome kind of Regiment; ſo that to bring things vnto the firſt courſe they were in, and vtterly to take away all kind of publike Gouernment in the World, were apparantly to ouerturn the whole World. The caſe of mans nature ſtanding therfore as it doth, ſome kind of Regiment the Law of nature doth require, yet the kinds thereof being many, nature tyeth not to any one, but leaueth the choice as a thing arbitrary. At the firſt when ſome certain kind of Regiment was once approued, it may bee that nothing was then further thought vpon for the manner of gouerning, but all permitted vnto their wiſedome and diſcretion which were to rule; * till by experience they found this for all parts verie inconuenient, ſo as the thing which they had deuiſed for a remedie, did indeed but increaſe the ſore which it ſhould haue cured. They ſaw that to liue by one mans will, became the cauſe of all mens miſerie. This conſtrained them to come vnto Lawes, wherein all men might ſee their duties beforehand, and know the penalties of tranſgreſſing them. * If things be ſimply good or euill, and withall vniuerſally ſo acknowledged, there needs no new Law to be made for ſuch things. The firſt kind therefore of things appointed by Lawes humane, containeth whatſoeuer being in it ſelfe naturally good or euill, is notwithſtanding more ſecret then that it can be diſcerned by euery mans preſent conceit, without ſome deeper diſcourſe and iudgement. In which Diſcourſe, becauſe there is difficultie and poſſibility many waies to erre, vnleſſe ſuch things were ſet downe by Lawes, many would bee ignorant of their duties which now are not; and many that know what they ſhould do, would neuertheleſſe diſſemble it, and to excuſe themſelues pretend ignorance and ſimplicitie, which now they cannot. And becauſe the greateſt part of men are ſuch as preferre their owne priuate good before all things, euen that good which is ſenſuall, before whatſoeuer is moſt Diuine; and for that the labour of doing good, together with the pleaſure ariſing from the contrary, doth make men for the moſt part ſlower to the one, and proner to the other,

Ariſt. Polit. l. 1. cap. 3. Vide & Platonem in 3. de legibus.

* *Cùm premeretur initio multitudo ab iis qui maiorũ opes habebant, ad vnum aliquem confugiebant virtute præſtantem; qui cũ prohiberet iniuriâ tenuiores, æquitate conſtituendâ ſummos cum infimis pari iure retinebat. Cum id minus contingeret, leges ſunt inuentæ. Cic. Offic. lib. 2.*

τὸ γονέας τιμᾶν καὶ εἴλωτας εὐποιεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἐνεργέταις χάριν ἀποδιδόναι ταῦτα καὶ τούτοις ὅμοια ἐν προσάπτωσι τοῖς ἀθρώποις οἱ γεγραμμένοι νόμοι ποιεῖν ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπροφάσιστον καὶ κοινῶς νόμῳ νομίζεσθαι. Ariſt. Rhet. ad Alex.

Tanta eſt enim vis voluptatum, vt & ignorantiam protelet in occaſionem, & conſcientiam corrumpat in diſſimulationem. Tertull. lib. de Spectacul.

other then that duty preſcribed thē by Law can preuaile ſufficiently with them: therefore vnto Lawes that men doe make for the benefit of men, it hath ſeemed alwayes needfull to adde Rewards, which may more allure vnto good then any hardneſſe deterreth from it, and puniſhments, which may more deterre from euill then any ſweetneſſe thereto allureth. Wherein as the generalitie is naturall, *Vertue rewardable, and Vice puniſhable*: ſo the particular determination of the reward or puniſhment, belongeth vnto them by whom Lawes are made. Theft is naturally puniſhable, but the kind of puniſhment is Poſitiue, and ſuch lawfull as men ſhall thinke with diſcretion conuenient by Law to appoint. In Lawes that which is naturall bindeth vniuerſally, that which is poſitiue not ſo. To let goe thoſe kind of Poſitiue Lawes, which men impoſe vpon themſelues, as by vow vnto God, contract with men, or ſuch like; ſomewhat it will make vnto our purpoſe, a little more fully to conſider, what things are incident into the making of the Poſitiue Lawes for the Gouernment of them that liue vnited in publike Societie. Lawes doe not onely teach what is good, but they inioyne it, they haue in them a certaine conſtraining force. And to conſtraine men vnto any thing inconuenient doth ſeeme vnreaſonable. Moſt requiſite therefore it is, that to deuiſe Lawes which all men ſhall be forced to obey, none but Wiſemen be admitted. Lawes are matters of principall conſequence; men of common capacitie, and but ordinary iudgement, are not able (for how ſhould they?) to diſcerne what things are fitteſt for each kind and ſtate of Regiment. Wee cannot be ignorant how much our obedience vnto Lawes dependeth vpon this point. Let a man though neuer ſo iuſtly, oppoſe himſelfe vnto them that are diſordered in their wayes, and what one amongſt them commonly doth not ſtomake at ſuch contradiction, ſtorme at reproofe, and hate ſuch as would reforme them? Notwithſtanding euen they which brooke it worſt that men ſhould tell them of their duties, when they are told the ſame by a Law, thinke very well and reaſonably of it. For why? They preſume that the Law doth ſpeake with all indifferency, that the Law hath no ſide reſpect to their perſons, that the Law is as it were an Oracle proceeded from wiſdome & vnderſtanding. Howbeit Lawes do not take their conſtraining force from the qualitie of ſuch as deuiſe them, but from that power which doth giue them the ſtrength of Lawes. That which wee ſpake before concerning the power of Gouernment, muſt here be applyed vnto the power of making Lawes whereby to gouerne; which power God hath ouer all; and by the natural Law wherunto he hath made all ſubiect, the lawful power of making Lawes, to command whole Politike Societies of men, belongeth ſo properly vnto the ſame intire Societies, that for any Prince or Potentate of what kind ſoeuer vpon earth to exerciſe the ſame of himſelfe, and not eyther by expreſſe Commiſſion immediatly and perſonally receiued from God, or elſe by authoritie deriued at the firſt from their conſent vpon whoſe perſons they impoſe Lawes, it is no better then meere tyrannie. Lawes they are not therefore which publike Approbation hath not made ſo. But Approbation not only they giue who perſonally declare their aſſent by voyce, ſigne, or act, but alſo when others doe it in their names by right originally at the leaſt deriued from them. As in Parliaments, Councels, and the like Aſſemblies, although we be not perſonally our ſelues preſent, notwithſtanding our aſſent is by reaſon of others agents there in

in our behalfe. And what we doe by others, no reaſon but that it ſhould ſtand as our Deed, no leſſe effectually to bind vs then if our ſelues had done it in perſon. In many things aſſent is giuen, they that giue it not imagining they doe ſo, becauſe the manner of their aſſenting is not apparent. As for example, when an abſolute Monarch commandeth his Subiects that which ſeemeth good in his owne diſcretion, hath not his Edict the force of a Law, whether they approue or diſlike it? Againe, that which hath beene receiued long ſithence, and is by cuſtome now eſtabliſhed, we keepe as a Law which we may not tranſgreſſe; yet what conſent was euer thereunto ſought or required at our hands? Of this point therefore we are to note, that ſith men naturally haue no full and perfect power to command whole Politike multitudes of men; therefore vtterly without our conſent wee could in ſuch ſort be at no mans commandement liuing. And to bee commanded we doe conſent, when that Societie wherof we are part, hath at any time before conſented, without reuoking the ſame after by the like vniuerſal agreement. Wherefore as any mans Deed paſt is good as long as himſelfe continueth: ſo the Act of a publike Societie of men done fiue hundred yeeres ſithence, ſtandeth as theirs, who preſently are of the ſame Societies, becauſe Corporatiõs are immortall: we were then aliue in our Predeceſſors, and they in their Succeſſors do liue ſtill. Lawes therefore humane, of what kind ſoeuer, are auaileable by conſent. If here it be demanded how it commeth to paſſe, that this being common vnto all Lawes which are made, there ſhould bee found euen in good Lawes ſo great varietie as there is: we muſt note the reaſon hereof to bee, the ſundry particular ends, whereunto the different diſpoſition of that ſubiect or matter for which Lawes are prouided, cauſeth them to haue eſpeciall reſpect in making Lawes. A Law there is mentioned amongſt the Græcians, whereof *Pittacus* is reported to haue beene Author: and by that Law it was agreed, that he which being ouercome with drinke did then ſtrike any man, ſhould ſuffer puniſhment double as much as if he had done the ſame being ſober. No man could euer haue thought this reaſonable, that had intended thereby onely to puniſh the iniurie committed, according to the grauitie of the fact. For who knoweth not, that harme aduiſedly done is naturally leſſe pardonable, and therfore worthy of ſharper puniſhment? But for as much as none did ſo vſually this way offend as men in that caſe, which they wittingly fell into, euen becauſe they would bee ſo much the more freely outragious: it was for their publike good where ſuch diſorder was growne, to frame a Poſitiue Law for remedie thereof accordingly. To this appertaine thoſe knowne Lawes of making Lawes; as that Law-makers muſt haue an eye to the place where, and to the men amongſt whom; that one kind of Lawes cannot ſerue for all kinds of Regiment: that where the multitude beareth ſway, Lawes that ſhall tend vnto the preſeruation of that State, muſt make common ſmaller Offices to goe by lot, for feare of ſtrife and diuiſion likely to ariſe, by reaſon that ordinary qualities ſufficing for diſcharge of ſuch Offices, they could not but by many be deſired, & ſo with danger contended for, & not miſſed without grudge and diſcontentment, whereas at an vncertaine lot none can find themſelues grieued on whomſoeuer it lighteth, contrariwiſe the greateſt, whereof but few are capable, to paſſe by popular election, that neyther the people may enuie ſuch as haue thoſe Honours, in as much as themſelues beſtow them, and

Ariſt. Polit. lib. 2. cap. 12.

that the chiefeſt may bee kindled with deſire to exerciſe all parts of rare and beneficiall Vertue; knowing they ſhall not loſe their labour by growing in fame and eſtimation amongſt the people: if the Helme of chiefe Gouernment bee in the handes of a few of the wealthieſt, that then Lawes prouiding for continuance thereof, muſt make the puniſhment of contumely and wrong offered vnto any of the common ſort, ſharpe and grieuous, that ſo the euill may be preuented, whereby the rich are moſt likely to bring themſelues into hatred with the people, who are not wont to take ſo great offence when they are excluded from Honours and Offices, as when their perſons are contumeliouſly troden vpon. In other kinds of Regiment the like is obſerued concerning the difference of Poſitiue Lawes, which to bee euery where the ſame is impoſſible and againſt their nature. Now as the Learned in the Lawes of this Land obſerue, that our Statutes ſometimes are onely the affirmation or ratification of that which by Common Law was held before: ſo heere it is not to bee omitted, that generally all Lawes Humane which are made for the ordering of Politike Societies, bee eyther ſuch as eſtabliſh ſome dutie whereunto all men by the Law of Reaſon did before ſtand bound; or elſe ſuch as make that a dutie now which before was none. The one ſort wee may for diſtinctions ſake call *mixedly*, and the other *meerely* Humane. That which plaine or neceſſarie reaſon bindeth men vnto, may bee in ſundry conſiderations expedient to bee ratified by Humane Law. For example, if confuſion of bloud in marriage, the libertie of hauing many wiues at once, or any other the like corrupt and vnreaſonable cuſtome doth happen to haue preuailed farre, and to haue gotten the vpper hand of right reaſon with the greateſt part; ſo that no way is left to rectifie ſuch foule diſorder, without preſcribing by Law the ſame things which reaſon neceſſarily *doth* enforce, but is not perceiued that ſo it doth; or if many bee growne vnto that which the Apoſtle did lament in ſome, concerning whom hee writeth, ſaying, that, *Euen what things they naturally know, in thoſe very things as beaſts void of reaſon, they corrupted themſelues*; or if there bee no ſuch ſpeciall accident, yet for as much as the common ſort are led by the ſway of their ſenſual deſires, and therefore doe more ſhunne ſinne for the ſenſible euils which follow it amongſt men, then for any kind of ſentence which reaſon doth pronounce againſt it: this very thing is cauſe ſufficient why duties belonging vnto each kind of Vertue, albeit the Law of Reaſon teach them, ſhould notwithſtanding bee preſcribed euen by Humane Law. Which Law in this caſe wee terme *mixt*, becauſe the matter whereunto it bindeth, is the ſame which reaſon neceſſarily doth require at our hands, and from the Law of Reaſon it differeth in the manner of binding onely. For whereas men before ſtood bound in conſcience to doe as the Law of Reaſon teacheth; they are now by vertue of Humane Law become conſtrainable, and if they outwardly tranſgreſſe, puniſhable. As for Lawes which are *meerely* Humane, the matter of them is any thing which reaſon doth but probably teach to bee fit and conuenient; ſo that till ſuch time as Law hath paſſed amongſt men about it, of it ſelfe it bindeth no man. One Example whereof may bee this: Lands are by Humane Law in ſome places after the Owners deceaſe, diuided vnto all his Children; in ſome all deſcendeth to the eldeſt Sonne. If the Law of Reaſon did neceſſarily require but the one of theſe two

Staundf. Pref. to the Pleas of the Crowne.

Epiſ. Iud. v. 10. ὅτι πάντα ἀναίσθητα μᾶλλον ἢ λόγῳ πεφυσιάρχωσι καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις ἢ τῷ καλῷ. *Ariſt. Ethic. lib. 10. c. 10.*

to bee done, they which by Law haue receiued the other, ſhould bee ſubiect to that heauie Sentence, which denounceth againſt all that decree wicked, vniuſt, and vnreaſonable things, *Woe*. Whereas now, which ſoeuer bee receiued, there is no Law of Reaſon tranſgreſt; becauſe there is probable reaſon why either of them may be expedient, and for either of them more then probable reaſon there is not to be found. Lawes whether mixtly or meerly Humane are made by Politike Societies: ſome, onely as thoſe Societies are ciuilly vnited; ſome, as they are ſpiritually ioined & make ſuch a bodie as we cal the Church. Of Lawes Humane in this later kind we are to ſpeake in the third Booke following. Let it therefore ſuffice thus farre to haue touched the force wherewith Almightie God hath graciouſly endued our nature, and thereby inabled the ſame to find out both thoſe Lawes which all men generally are for euer bound to obſerue, and alſo ſuch as are moſt fit for their behoofe who lead their liues in any ordered State of Gouernment. Now, beſides that Law which ſimply concerneth men as men, and that which belongeth vnto them as they are men linked with others in ſome forme of Politike Societie; there is a third kind of Law which toucheth all ſuch ſeuerall bodies Politike, ſo farre forth as one of them hath publike commerce with another. And this third is the *Law of Nations*. Betweene men and beaſts there is no poſſibilitie of ſociable communion; becauſe the wel-ſpring of that communion is a naturall delight which man hath to transfuſe from himſelfe into others, and to receiue from others into himſelfe, eſpecially thoſe things wherein the excellencie of this kind doth moſt conſiſt. The chiefeſt Inſtrument of Humane Communion therefore is ſpeech, becauſe thereby we impart mutually one to another the conceits of our reaſonable vnderſtanding. And for that cauſe ſeeing beaſts are not hereof capable, for as much as with them we can vſe no ſuch conference, they being in degree although aboue other creatures on Earth to whom Nature hath denied ſenſe, yet lower then to bee ſociable companions of man to whom Nature hath giuen reaſon; it is of *Adam* ſaid that amongſt the beaſts *Hee found not for himſelfe any meet companion*. Ciuill Societie doth more content the nature of man, then any priuate kind of ſolitary liuing; becauſe in Societie this good of mutuall participation is ſo much larger then otherwiſe. Herewith, notwithſtanding wee are not ſatisfied, but wee couet (if it might bee) to haue a kind of Societie and Fellowſhip euen with all Mankind. Which thing *Socrates* intending to ſignifie, profeſſed himſelfe a Citizen, not of this or that Common-wealth, but of the World. And an effect of that very naturall deſire in vs, (a manifeſt token that wee wiſh after a ſort an Vniuerſall Fellowſhip with all men) appeareth by the wonderfull delight men haue, ſome to viſit forraine Countries, ſome to diſcouer Nations not heard of in former Ages; wee all to know the affaires and dealings of other people, yea to bee in League of Amitie with them: and this not only for Traffikes ſake, or to the end that when many are confederated, each may make other the more ſtrong; but for ſuch cauſe alſo as mooued the Queene of Saba to viſit *Salomon*; and in a word, becauſe Nature doth preſume that how many men there are in the World, ſo many Gods as it were there are, or at leaſtwiſe ſuch they ſhould bee towards men. Touching Lawes which are to ſerue men in this behalfe; euen as thoſe Lawes of Reaſon, which (man retaining his originall

Eſay 10.1.

Ariſt. Pol. 1.ca.2.

Gen. 2.20.

Cic. Thuſc. 5. & 1. *de legib.*

1. *Reg.* 10.1. 2 *Chron.* 9.1. *Matth.* 13.42. *Luk.* 11.31.

original integritie) had beene ſufficient to direct each particular perſon in all his affaires & duties, are not ſufficient, but require the acceſſe of other laws, now that man and his off-ſpring are growne thus corrupt and ſinfull; againe, as thoſe lawes of Politie and Regiment, which would haue ſerued men liuing in publike ſociety together with that harmeleſſe diſpoſition which then they ſhould haue had, are not able now to ſerue when mens iniquitie is ſo hardly reſtrayned within any tolerable bounds: in like manner the nationall Lawes of natural cõmerce between ſocieties of that former & better qualitie might haue been other then now, when Nations are ſo prone to offer violence, iniurie and wrong. Hereupon hath grown in euery of theſe three kindes, that diſtinction betweene *Primarie* and *Secundarie* Lawes; the one grounded vpon ſincere, the other built vpon depraued nature. Primarie lawes of Nations are ſuch as concerne Embaſſage, ſuch as belong to the courteous entertainment of Forrayners and Strangers, ſuch as ſerue for commodious traffick, and the like. Secundarie lawes in the ſame kind, are ſuch as this preſent vnquiet world is moſt familiarly acquainted with, I meane lawes of armes; which yet are much better known then kept. But what matter the law of nations doth containe I omit to ſearch. The ſtrength & vertue of that law is ſuch, that no particular nation can lawfully preiudice the ſame by any their ſeueral lawes and ordinances, more then a man by his priuate reſolutions the Law of the whole Common-wealth or State wherein he liueth. For as ciuill Law being the act of a whole body Politique, doth therefore ouer-rule each ſeuerall part of the ſame body: ſo there is no reaſon that any one Cõmon-wealth of it ſelfe, ſhould to the preiudice of another annihilate that whereupon the whole world hath agreed. For which cauſe the *Lacedæmonians* forbidding all acceſſe of Strangers into their Coaſts, are in that reſpect both by *Ioſephus* and *Theodoret* deſeruedly blamed, as being enemies to that hoſpitalitie which for cõmon humanities ſake all the Nations on earth ſhould embrace. Now as there is great cauſe of communion, and conſequently of lawes for the maintenance of communion amongſt Nations: ſo amongſt Nations Chriſtian the like in regard euen of Chriſtianitie hath beene alwayes iudged needful. And in this kinde of correſpondence amongſt Nations, the force of general Councels doth ſtand. For as one & the ſame Law diuine, whereof in the next place we are to ſpeake, is vnto all Chriſtian Churches a rule for the chiefeſt things, by meanes whereof they all in that reſpect make one Church, as hauing all but *one Lord, one Faith, and one Baptiſme*: ſo the vrgent neceſſitie of mutuall cõmunion for preſeruation of our vnitie in theſe things, as alſo for order in ſome other things conuenient to be euerywhere vniformely kept, maketh it requiſite that the Church of God here on earth haue her lawes of ſpirituall commerce betweene Chriſtian Nations, Lawes by vertue whereof all Churches may enioy freely the vſe of thoſe reuerend, religious, and ſacred Conſultations, which are termed Councels generall. A thing wherof Gods owne bleſſed Spirit was the Author; a thing practiſed by the holy Apoſtles themſelues; a thing alwayes afterwards kept and obſerued throughout the world; a thing neuer otherwiſe then moſt highly eſteemed of, til Pride, Ambition & Tyrannie began by factious and vile endeuors, to abuſe that diuine inuention vnto the furtherance of wicked purpoſes. But as the iuſt authoritie of ciuill Courts and Parliaments is not therefore to be aboliſhed, becauſe ſometime there is cunning vſed to frame them according

Ioſeph. lib. 2 contra Appion. *Theod. lib. 9. de Sanand. Græc. affect.*

Epheſ. 4. 5.

Act. 15. 28.

cording to the priuate intents of men ouer-potent in the Common-wealth: So the grieuous abuſe which hath beene of Councels, ſhould rather cauſe men to ſtudie how ſo gracious a thing may againe bee reduced to that firſt perfection, then in regard of ſtaines and blemiſhes ſithence growing be held for euer in extreme diſgrace. To ſpeake of this matter as the cauſe requireth, would require very long diſcourſe. All I will preſently ſay is this: Whether it bee for the finding out of any thing whereunto diuine Law bindeth vs, but yet in ſuch ſort, that men are not thereof on all ſides reſolued; or for the ſetting downe of ſome vniforme iudgement to ſtand touching ſuch things, as being neither way matters of neceſſitie, are notwithſtanding offenſiue and ſcandalous when there is open oppoſition about them; bee it for the ending of ſtrifes touching matters of Chriſtian beleefe, wherein the one part may ſeeme to haue probable cauſe of diſſenting from the other; or bee it concerning matters of Politie, order and regiment in the Church; I nothing doubt but that Chriſtian men ſhould much better frame themſelues to thoſe heauenly precepts, which our Lord and Sauiour with ſo great inſtancie gaue as concerning peace and vnitie, if we did all concurre in deſire to haue the vſe of ancient Councels againe renued, rather then theſe proceedings continued, which either make all contentions endleſſe, or bring them to one onely determination, and that of all other the worſt, which is by ſword. It followeth therefore that a new foundation being laid, we now adioyne hereunto that which commeth in the next place to be ſpoken of, namely, wherefore God hath himſelfe by Scripture made knowne ſuch lawes as ſerue for direction of men. *Ioh.* 14. 27.

11 All things (God onely excepted) beſides the nature which they haue in themſelues, receiue externally ſome perfection from other things, as hath beene ſhewed. In ſo much as there is in the whole world no one thing great or ſmall, but either in reſpect of knowledge or of vſe it may vnto our perfectiō adde ſomwhat. And whatſoeuer ſuch perfection there is which our nature may acquire, the ſame wee properly terme our good; our ſoueraigne *good* or *bleſſednes*, that wherin the higheſt degreee of al our perfection conſiſteth, that which being once attained vnto, there can reſt nothing further to be deſired, & therfore with it our ſoules are fully content & ſatisfied, in that they haue they reioyce & thirſt for no more: wherfore of good things deſired, ſome are ſuch that for themſelues we couet them not, but only becauſe they ſerue as inſtruments vnto that for which we are to ſeeke, of this ſort are riches: another kinde there is, which although we deſire for it ſelfe, as health, & vertue, & knowledge, neuertheles they are not the laſt marke wherat we aime, but haue their further end wherunto they are referred; ſo as in them we are not ſatisfied as hauing attained the vtmoſt wee may, but our deſires doe ſtill proceede. Theſe things are linked, and as it were chained one to another, wee labour to eate, and wee eate to liue, and wee liue to doe good, and the good which we doe, is as ſeede ſowne[a] with reference vnto a future harueſt. But we muſt come at the length to ſome pauſe. For if euery thing were to bee deſired for ſome other without any ſtint, there could bee no certaine end propoſed vnto our actions, we ſhould goe on we know not whither, yea whatſoeuer wee doe were in vaine, or rather nothing at all were poſſible to bee done. For as to take away the firſt efficient of our being, were to annihilate vtterly our perſons; Wherfore God hath by Scripture further made knowne ſuch ſupernaturall lawes as doe ſerue for mens direction.

a *Gal.* 6. 8. He that ſoweth to the ſpirit, ſhall of the ſpirit reap life euerlaſting.

persons; so we cannot remoue the last finall cause of our working, but we shall cause whatsoeuer we worke to cease. Therfore something there must be desired for it selfe simply and for no other. That is simply for it selfe desireable, vnto the nature whereof it is opposite and repugnant to be desired with relation vnto any other. The Oxe and the Asse desire their food, neither propose they vnto themselues any end wherefore; so that of them this is desired for it selfe; but why? By reason of their imperfection, which cannot otherwise desire it: whereas that which is desired simply for it selfe, the excellency thereof is such as permitteth it not in any sort to be referred vnto a further end. Now that which man doth desire with reference to a further end, the same he desireth in such measure as is vnto that end conuenient: but what he coueteth as good in it selfe, towards that his desire is euer infinite. So that vnlesse the last good of all which is desired altogether for it selfe, be also infinite; we doe euill in making it our end: euen as they who placed their felicitie in wealth, or honor, or pleasure, or any thing here attayned; because in desiring any thing as our finall perfection, which is not so, we doe amisse. Nothing may be infinitly desired, but that good which indeed is infinit. For the better, the more desireable; that therfore most desireable, wherin there is infinitie of goodnesse; so that if any thing desirable may be infinite, that must needes be the highest of all things that are desired. No good is infinite but only God: therefore he our felicitie and blisse. Moreouer desire tendeth vnto vnion with that it desireth. If then in him we be blessed, it is by force of participation and coniunction with him. Againe, it is not the possession of any good thing can make them happy which haue it, vnlesse they inioy the thing wherewith they are possessed. Then are we happy therefore, when fully we enioy God, as an obiect wherein the powers of our soules are satisfied euen with euerlasting delight: so that although we be men, yet by being vnto God vnited, we liue as it were the life of God. Happines therefore is that estate whereby we attayne, so far as possibly may be attayned the full possession of that which simply for it selfe is to be desired, and contayneth in it after an eminent sort the cõtentation of our desires, the highest degree of all our perfection. Of such perfection capable we are not in this life. For while we are in the world we are subiect vnto sundrie * imperfections, griefe of body, defects of minde; yea, the best things we doe are painfull, and the exercise of them grieuous, being continued without intermission; so as in those very actions whereby we are especially perfected in this life, we are not able to persist, forced we are with very wearinesse, and that often, to interrupt them; which tediousnesse cannot fall into those operations that are in the state of blisse, when our vnion with God is complete. Complete vnion with him must be according vnto euery power and facultie of our mindes, apt to receiue so glorious an obiect. Capable we are of God both by vnderstanding and will; by vnderstanding, as he is that Soueraigne truth, which comprehendeth the rich treasures of all wisedome: by will, as he is that Sea of goodnesse, whereof who so tasteth shall thirst no more. As the will doth now worke vpon that obiect by desire, which is as it were a motion towards the end as yet vnobtayned; so likewise vpon the same hereafter receiued it shall worke also by loue. *Appetitus inhiantis fit amor fruentis*, saith S. AVGVSTINE: *The longing disposition of them that thirst, is changed into the sweet affection of them that taste and are repleniſhed.*

Where-

Vide Arist. Eth. 10. cap. 10. & Metaph. 12. cap. 6. & cap. 4. & cap. 30.

* Μόνον ὦ Ασκλήπιε τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἔργον ὐδαμῶ, τὸ μὴ λίαν κακὸν, ἐνθάδε τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐστι. Τὸ δὲ ἐνθάδε ἀγαθὸν, μόριον τοῦ κακοῦ τὸ ἐλαχιστον. Ἀδύνατον ἓν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνθάδε καθαρεύειν τῆς κακίας, Καγὼ δὲ χάριν ἔχω τῷ θεῷ τῷ εἰς νοῦν μοι βαλόντι τὶ τε γνώσεως τὸ ἄγαθῶ, ὁτι ἀδύνατον ἐστιν αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἶναι. ὅ γὰρ κόσμος σύνθεσιμὰ ἐστι τῆς κακίας, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀγάθῶ, ἢ τὸ ἀγαθὸν θεῶ, *Mercur. Trismeg.*

Aug. de Trin. lib. 9. cap. vlt.

Whereas wee now loue the thing that is good, but good eſpecially in reſpect of benefit vnto vs; we ſhall then loue the thing that is good, only or principally for the goodneſſe of beauty in it ſelfe. The ſoule being in this ſort as it is actiue, perfected by loue of that infinite good; ſhall as it is receptiue, bee alſo perfected with thoſe ſupernaturall paſſions of ioy, peace, and delight. All this endleſſe and euerlaſting. Which perpetuitie, in regard whereof our bleſſedneſſe is termed a *crowne which withereth not*, doth neyther depend vpon the nature of the thing it ſelfe, nor proceed from any naturall neceſſitie that our ſoules ſhould ſo exerciſe themſelues for euer in beholding and louing God, but from the will of God, which doth both freely perfect our nature in ſo high a degree, and continue it ſo perfected. Vnder man no creature in the World is capable of felicitie and bliſſe; firſt, becauſe their chiefeſt perfection conſiſteth in that which is beſt for them, but not in that which is ſimply beſt, as ours doth; Secondly, becauſe whatſoeuer externall perfection they tend vnto, it is not better then themſelues, as ours is. How iuſt occaſion haue wee therefore euen in this reſpect with the Prophet to admire the goodneſſe of God; *Lord, what is man that thou ſhouldeſt exalt him aboue the workes of thy handes*, ſo farre as to make thy ſelfe the Inheritance of his reſt, and the ſubſtance of his felicitie? Now if men had not naturally this deſire to bee happie, how were it poſſible that all men ſhould haue it? All men haue. Therefore this deſire in man is naturall. It is not in our power not to doe the ſame: how ſhould it then be in our power to doe it coldly or remiſſely? So that our deſire being naturall, is alſo in that degree of earneſtneſſe whereunto nothing can bee added. And is it probable that God ſhould frame the hearts of all men ſo deſirous of that which no man may obtaine? It is an axiome of nature, that naturall deſire cannot vtterly be fruſtrate. This deſire of ours being naturall ſhould be fruſtrate, if that which may ſatisfie the ſame, were a thing impoſſible for man to aſpire vnto. Man doth ſeeke a triple perfection, firſt, a ſenſuall, conſiſting in thoſe things which very life it ſelfe requireth, eyther as neceſſary ſupplements, or as beauties and ornaments thereof; then an intellectuall, conſiſting in thoſe things which none vnderneath man is eyther capable of, or acquainted with; laſtly, a Spirituall and Diuine, conſiſting in thoſe things wherunto we tend by ſupernaturall meanes here, but cannot here attaine vnto them. They that make the firſt of theſe three the Scope of their whole life, are ſaid by the Apoſtle to haue no God, but only their belly, to bee earthly minded men. Vnto the ſecond they bend themſelues, who ſeeke eſpecially to excell in all ſuch knowledge and vertue as doth moſt commend men. To this branch belongeth the law of moral and ciuil perfection. That there is ſomewhat higher then eyther of theſe two, no other proofe doth need, then the very proceſſe of mans deſire, which being naturall ſhould be fruſtrate, if there were not ſome farther thing wherein it might reſt at the length contented, which in the former it cannot doe. For man doth not ſeeme to reſt ſatisfied eyther with fruition of that wherewith his life is preſerued, or with performance of ſuch actions as aduance him moſt deſeruedly in eſtimation; but doth further couet, yea oftentimes manifeſtly purſue with great ſedulity and earneſtneſſe, that which cannot ſtand him in any ſtead for vital vſe; that which exceedeth the reach of ſenſe; yea ſomewhat aboue capacitie of reaſon, ſomewhat Diuine and Heauenly, which with hidden exul-

Mat.25. The iuſt ſhall goe into life euerlaſting. *Mat.22.* They ſhall bee as the Angels of God. *2.Tim.4.8.* *1.Pet.1.4.*

Pſalme 8.

Comment in procem.2.Metaph.

Phil.3.19.

exultation it rather surmiseth then conceiueth; somewhat it seeketh, and what that is directly it knoweth not, yet very intentiue desire thereof doth so incite it, that all other knowne delights and pleasures are laid aside, they giue place to the search of this but onely suspected desire. If the soule of man did serue onely to giue him being in this life, then things appertayning vnto this life would content him, as we see they doe other creatures: which creatures inioying what they liue by, seeke no further, but in this contentation doe shew a kinde of acknowledgement, that there is no higher good which doth any way belong vnto them. With vs it is otherwise. For although the beauties, riches, honors, sciences, vertues, and perfections of all men liuing, were in the present possession of one: yet somewhat beyond and aboue all this there would still be sought and earnestly thirsted for. So that nature euen in this life doth plainly claime and call for a more diuine perfection, then either of these two that haue been mentioned. This last, and highest estate of perfection whereof we speake, is receiued of men in the nature of a * reward. Rewards doe alwaies presuppose such duties performed as are rewardable. Our naturall meanes therefore vnto blessednesse are our works: nor is it possible that nature should euer find any other way to saluation then onely this. But examine the workes which we doe, and since the first foundation of the world what one can say, My wayes are pure? Seeing then all flesh is guiltie of that for which God hath threatned eternally to punish, what possibilitie is there this way to be saued? There resteth therefore either no way vnto saluation, or if any, then surely, a way which is supernaturall, a way which could neuer haue entred into the heart of man as much as once to conceiue or imagine, if God himselfe had not reuealed it extraordinarily. For which cause we terme it the mysterie or secret way of saluation. And therefore S. *Ambrose* in this matter appealeth iustly from Man to God, [a] *Cœli mysterium doceat me Deus qui condidit, non homo qui seipsum ignorauit; Let God himselfe that made me, let not man that knowes not himselfe, be my instructer concerning the mysticall way to heauen.*

* *Matth.* 5. 12. Reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen, *August. de doct. Christ. cap.* 6. *Summa merces est vt ipso perfruamur.*

a *Ambros. contra Sym.*

b *Magno & excellenti ingenio viri, cum se doctrina penitus dedidissent, qui quid laboris poterat impendi (contemptis omnibus & priuatis & publicis actionibus) ad inquirendæ veritatis studium cõtulerunt, existimantes multò esse præclarius humanarũ diuinarumq; rerum inuestigare ac scire rationem, quàm struendis opibus aut cumulandis honoribus inhærere. Sed neq; adepti sunt id quod volebant, & operam simul atq; industriam perdiderunt; quia veritas, id est, arcanum summi Dei qui fecit omnia, ingenio ac propriis sensibus non potest comprehendi. Alioqui nihil inter Deum hominemq; distaret, si consilia & dispositiones illius maiestatis æternæ cogitatio assequeretur humana. Quod quia fieri non potuit vt homini per seipsum ratio diuina notesceret, non est passus hominem Deus lumen sapientiæ requirentem diutius aberrare, ac sine vllo laboris effectu vagari per tenebras inextricabiles. Aperuit oculos eius aliquando, & notionem veritatis munus suum fecit, vt & humanam sapientiam nullam esse monstraret, & errantis ac vago viam consequendæ immortalitatis ostenderet,* Lactan. l. 1. c. 1.

[b] *When men of excellent wit* (saith LACTANTIVS) *had wholly betaken themselues vnto studie, after farewell bidden vnto all kinde as well of priuate as publike action, they spared no labour that might be spent in the search of truth; holding it a thing of much more price to seeke and to finde out the reason of all affaires, as well diuine as humane, then to sticke fast in the toyle of piling vp riches, and gathering together heaps of honors. Howbeit they both did faile of their purpose, and got not as much as to quit their charges; because Truth, which is the secret of the most high God, whose proper handy-worke all things are, cannot be compassed with that wit and those senses which are our owne. For God and man should be very neere neighbors, if mans cogitations were able to take a surueay of the counsels & appointments of that Maiesty euerlasting. Which being vtterly impossible, that the eye of man by it selfe should looke into the bosome of diuine reason; God did not suffer him being desirous of the light of wisdome, to stray any longer vp and down, and with bootlesse expence of trauell, to wander in darkenesse that had no passage to get*

out

out by. His eyes at the length God did open, and beſtow vpon him the knowledge of the truth by way of Donatiue; to the end that man might both be cleerely conuicted of folly, and being through errour out of the way, haue the path that leadeth vnto immortalitie laid plaine before him. Thus far *Lactantius Firmianus*, to ſhew that God himſelfe is the Teacher of the Truth, whereby is made knowne the ſupernaturall way of Saluation and Law for them to liue in that ſhall be ſaued. In the naturall path of euerlaſting life, the firſt beginning is that abilitie of doing good, which God in the day of mans Creation indued him with; from hence obedience vnto the will of his Creator, abſolute righteouſneſſe and integritie in all his actions; and laſt of all, the Iuſtice of God rewarding the worthines of his deſerts with the Crowne of eternall glory. Had *Adam* continued in his firſt eſtate, this had beene the way of life vnto him and all his Poſteritie. Wherein I confeſſe notwithſtanding with the* wittieſt of the Schoole Diuines, that if we ſpeake of ſtrict Iuſtice, God could no way haue been bound to requite mans labours in ſo large and ample manner as humane felicitie doth import: in as much as the dignitie of this exceedeth ſo farre the others value. But be it that God of his great liberalitie had determined in lieu of mans endeuours to beſtow the ſame, by the rule of that Iuſtice which beſt beſeemeth him, namely, the iuſtice of one that requireth nothing mincingly, but all with preſſed and heaped and euen ouer-inlarged meaſure: yet could it neuer hereupon neceſſarily be gathered, that ſuch Iuſtice ſhould adde to the nature of that reward the propertie of euerlaſting continuance; ſith poſſeſſion of bliſſe, though it ſhould bee but for a moment, were an aboundant retribution. But wee are not now to enter into this conſideration, how gracious and bountifull our good God might ſtill appeare in ſo rewarding the ſonnes of men, albeit they ſhould exactly performe whatſoeuer dutie their Nature bindeth them vnto. Howſoeuer God did propoſe this reward, we that were to bee rewarded muſt haue done that which is required at our hands; wee failing in the one, it were in nature an impoſſibilitie that the other ſhould be looked for. The light of Nature is neuer able to find out any way of obtaining the reward of bliſſe, but by performing exactly the duties and workes of righteouſneſſe. From Saluation therefore and life all fleſh being excluded this way, behold, how the wiſedome of God hath reuealed a way myſticall and ſupernaturall, a way directing vnto the ſame end of life by a courſe which groundeth it ſelfe vpon the guiltineſſe of ſinne, and through ſinne deſert of condemnation and death. For in this way the firſt thing is the tender compaſſion of God reſpecting vs drowned and ſwallowed vp in miſerie; the next is Redemption out of the ſame by the precious death and merit of a mightie Sauiour, which hath witneſſed of himſelfe ſaying, [a] *I am the way*, the way that leadeth vs from miſerie into bliſſe. This ſupernaturall way had God in himſelfe prepared before all Worlds. The way of ſupernaturall dutie which to vs he hath preſcribed, our Sauiour in the Goſpell of Saint *Iohn* doth note, terming it by an excellencie the Worke of God: [b] *This is the Worke of God, that yee beleeue in him whom hee hath ſent.* Not that God doth require nothing vnto happineſſe at the hands of men ſauing onely a naked beliefe, (for Hope and Charitie we may not exclude:) but that without beliefe all other things are as nothing, and it the ground of thoſe other diuine Vertues. Concerning faith, the principall obiect whereof is that eternall Veritie which

* Scot. lib. 4. Sent. dist. 49. q. Loquendo de ſtrictâ iuſtitiâ, Deus nulli noſtrum propter quæcunque merita eſt debitor perfectionis reddendæ tam intenſæ, propter immoderatum exceſſum illius perfectionis vltra illa merita. Sed eò quod ex liberalitate ſuâ determinaſſit meritis conferre actum tam perfectum tanquam præmium tali quidem iuſtitiâ qualis decet eum, ſcilicet ſupereminentis in præmijs: tamen non ſequitur ex hoc neceſſariò quòd per illam iuſtitiam ſit reddenda perfectio perennis tanquã præmium; imò abundans fieret retributio in beatitudine vnius momenti.

a Iohn 14. 6.

b Iohn 6. 29.

hath discouered the Treasures of hidden Wisdome in Christ; concerning hope, the highest obiect whereof is that euerlasting goodnesse which in Christ doth quicken the dead; concerning Charitie, the finall obiect whereof is that incomprehensible beautie which shineth in the countenance of Christ the Son of the liuing God; concerning these vertues, the first of which beginning heere with a weake apprehension of things not seen, endeth with the intuitiue Vision of God in the World to come; the second beginning heere with a trembling expectation of things farre remoued, and as yet but onely heard of, endeth with reall and actuall fruition of that which no tongue can expresse; the third beginning heere with a weake inclination of heart towardes him vnto whom wee are not able to approch, endeth with endlesse vnion, the mysterie whereof is higher then the reach of the thoughts of men; concerning that Faith, Hope and Charitie, without which there can bee no Saluation; was there euer any mention made sauing only in that Law which God himselfe hath from heauen reuealed? There is not in the Word a syllable muttered with certaine truth concerning any of these three, more then hath beene supernaturally receiued from the mouth of the eternall God. Lawes therefore concerning these things are supernaturall, both in respect of the manner of deliuering them which is diuine, and also in regard of the things deliuered, which are such as haue not in nature any cause from which they flow, but were by the voluntary appointment of God ordained besides the course of Nature, to rectifie Natures obliquitie withall.

a The cause why so many naturall or rationall Lawes are set downe in holy Scripture.

b *Ius naturale est quod in lege & Euangelio continetur, pag.* 1.d.1.

12 [a] When supernaturall duties are necessarily exacted, naturall are not reiected as needlesse. The Law of God therefore is though principally deliuered for instruction in the one, yet fraught with Precepts of the other also. The Scripture is fraught euen with Lawes of Nature. In so much that [b] *Gratian* defining naturall right (whereby is meant the right which exacteth those generall duties, that concerne men naturally euen as they are men (termeth naturall) right that which the Bookes of the Law and the Gospell doe containe. Neither is it vaine that the Scripture aboundeth with so great store of Lawes in this kind. For they are either such as wee of our selues could not easily haue found out, and then the benefit is not small to haue them readily set downe to our hands; or if they bee so cleere and manifest that no man indued with reason can lightly bee ignorant of them, yet the Spirit as it were borrowing them from the Schoole of Nature as seruing to proue things lesse manifest, and to induce a perswasion of somewhat which were in it selfe more hard and darke, vnlesse it should in such sort be cleered, the very applying of them vnto cases particular is not without most singular vse and profit many wayes for mens instruction. Besides, bee they plaine of themselues or obscure, the euidence of Gods owne testimonie added vnto the naturall assent of Reason concerning the certaintie of them, doth not a little comfort and confirme the same. Wherefore in as much as our actions are conuersant about things beset with many circumstances, which cause men of sundry wits to bee also of sundrie iudgemens concerning that which ought to bee done: requisite it cannot but seeme the Rule of Diuine Law should herein helpe our imbecillitie, that wee might the more infallibly vnderstand what is good and what euill. The first Principles of the Law of Nature are easie, hard it were to find men ignorant of them: but concerning the

the dutie which Natures Law doth require at the hands of men in a number of things particular, ſo [a] farre hath the naturall vnderſtanding euen of ſundry whole Nations beene darkned, that they haue not diſcerned, no, not groſſe iniquitie to bee ſinne. Againe, being ſo prone as wee are to fawne vpon our ſelues, and to bee ignorant as much as may bee of our owne deformities, without the feeling ſenſe whereof wee are moſt wretched, euen ſo much the more, becauſe not knowing them we cannot as much as deſire to haue them taken away: how ſhould our feſtered ſores be cured, but that God hath deliuered a Law as ſharp as the two-edged Sword, piercing the very cloſeſt and moſt vnſearchable corners of the heart, which the Law of Nature can hardly, humane Lawes by no means poſſible reach vnto? Hereby wee know euen ſecret concupiſcence to be ſinne, and are made fearefull to offend though it bee but in a wandering cogitation. Finally, of thoſe things which are for direction of all the parts of our life needfull, and not impoſſible to be diſcerned by the Light of Nature it ſelfe, are there not many which few mens naturall capacitie, and ſome which no mans hath beene able to find out? They are, ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, but a few, and they indued with great ripeneſſe of wit and iudgement, free from all ſuch affaires as might trouble their Meditations, inſtructed in the ſharpeſt and the ſubtleſt points of Learning, who haue, and that very hardly, beene able to find out but onely the immortalitie of the Soule. The reſurrection of the fleſh what man did euer at any time dreame of, hauing not heard it otherwiſe then from the Schoole of Nature? Whereby it appeareth how much wee are bound to yeeld vnto our Creator the Father of all mercy eternall thankes, for that he hath deliuered his Law vnto the World, a Law wherein ſo many things are laid open, cleere and manifeſt; as a Light which otherwiſe would haue beene buried in darkneſſe, not without the hazard, or rather not with the hazard, but with the certaine loſſe of infinite thouſands of Soules moſt vndoubtedly now ſaued. Wee ſee therefore that our ſoueraigne good is deſired naturally; that God the Author of that naturall deſire had appointed naturall meanes whereby to fulfill it; that man hauing vtterly diſabled his nature vnto thoſe meanes, hath had other reuealed from God, and hath receiued from Heauen a Law to teach him how that which is deſired naturally muſt now ſupernaturally bee attained; finally, wee ſee that becauſe thoſe later exclude not the former quite and cleane as vnneceſſarie, therefore together with ſuch ſupernaturall duties as could not poſſibly haue beene otherwiſe knowne to the World, the ſame Law that teacheth them, teacheth alſo with them ſuch naturall duties as could not by Light of Nature eaſily haue beene knowne.

13 * In the firſt Age of the World God gaue Lawes vnto our Fathers, and by reaſon of the number of their daies, their memories ſerued in ſtead of Bookes; whereof the manifold imperfections and defects being knowne to God, he mercifully relieued the ſame by often putting them in mind of that whereof it behoued them to be ſpecially mindfull. In which reſpect we ſee how many times one thing hath beene iterated vnto ſundry euen of the beſt and wiſeſt amongſt them. After that the liues of Men were ſhortned, meanes more durable to preſerue the Lawes of God from obliuion and corruption grew in vſe, not without pre-

[a] Ioſephus *lib. ſecundo contra* Appio. *Lacædemony quomodo nõ ſunt ob inhoſpitalitatẽ reprehendendi, fœdũq; neglectum nuptiarum? Elienſes verò & Thebani ob coitum cum maſculis planè impudentem & contra naturam; quẽ recte & vtiliter exercere putabant? Cumque hæc omnia nõ perpetrarent, etiam ſuis legibus miſcuere. vide.* Th. 12. quæſt. 49. a. 5. 6. *Lex naturæ ſic corrupta fuit apud Germanos, vt latrocinium nõ reputarent peccatum.* Auguſtinus *quiſquis author eſt. lib. de quæſt. nou. & vet. teſt. quis neſciat quid bonæ vitæ cõueniat, aut ignoret, quia quod fieri fieri non vult, alijs minime debeat facere? At verò vbi naturalis lex euanuit oppreſſa conſuetudine delinquendi, tunc oportuit manifeſtari ſcripturis, vt Dei iudicijs omnes audirent: non quòd penitus obliterata eſt, ſed quia maximè eius authoritate carebat, idololatriæ ſtudebatur, timor Dei in terris non erat, fornicatio operabatur, circa rem proximi auida erat concupiſcentia. Data ergo lex eſt, vt quæ ſciebantur auctoritatem haberent, & quæ latere cœperant manifeſtarentur.*

* The benefit of hauing Diuine Lawes written.

cise direction from God himselfe. First therefore of *Moses* it is said, that hee *wrote all the words of God*; not by his owne priuate motion and deuice: for God taketh this act to himselfe, *I haue written*. Furthermore, were not the Prophets following commanded also to doe the like? Vnto the Holy Euangelist Saint *Iohn* how often expresse charge is giuen, *Scribe, write these things?* Concerning the rest of our Lords Disciples the words of Saint *Augustine* are, *Quicquid ille de suis factis & dictis nos legere voluit, hoc scribendum illis tanquam suis manibus imperauit.* Now although we doe not deny it to be a matter meerely accidentall vnto the Law of God to bee written; although writing bee not that which addeth authoritie and strength thereunto: finally, though his Lawes doe require at our hands the same obedience howsoeuer they bee deliuered; his prouidence notwithstanding which hath made principall choice of this way to deliuer them, who seeth not what cause we haue to admire and magnifie? The singular benefit that hath growne vnto the World by receiuing the Lawes of God; euen by his owne appointment committed vnto Writing, wee are not able to esteeme as the value thereof deserueth. When the question therefore is, whether wee bee now to seeke for any reuealed Law of God otherwhere then onely in the Sacred Scripture, whether wee doe now stand bound in the sight of God to yeeld to Traditions vrged by the Church of Rome the same obedience and reuerence wee doe to his written Law, honouring equally, and adoring both as diuine: our answer is, no. They that so earnestly plead for the authoritie of Tradition, as if nothing were more safely conueyed then that which spreadeth it selfe by report, & descendeth by relation of former Generations vnto the Ages that succeed, are not all of them (surely a miracle it were if they should be) so simple, as thus to perswade themselues; howsoeuer if the simple were so perswaded, they could bee content perhaps very well to enioy the benefit, as they account it, of that common errour. What hazard the truth is in when it passeth through the hands of report, how maimed and deformed it becommeth; they are not, they cannot possibly be ignorant. Let them that are indeed of this minde, consider but onely that little of things Diuine, which the * Heathen haue in such sort receiued. How miserable had the state of the Church of God beene long ere this, if wanting the Sacred Scripture, wee had no Record of his Lawes but onely the memory of man, receiuing the same by report and relation from his Predecessors? By Scripture it hath in the wisedome of God seemed meet to deliuer vnto the World much but personally expedient to bee practised of certaine men; many deepe and profound points of Doctrine, as being the maine originall ground whereupon the Precepts of dutie depend; many Prophesies, the cleere performance whereof might confirme the World in beliefe of things vnseene; many Histories to serue as looking Glasses to behold the mercy, the truth, the righteousnesse of God towards all that faithfully serue, obey and honour him; yea many itstire Meditations of Pietie, to be as Patternes and Presidents in cases of like nature; many things needfull for explication, many for application vnto particular occasions, such as the prouidence of God from time to time hath taken to haue the seuerall Bookes of his holy Ordinance written. Bee it then that together with the principall necessarie Lawes of God, there are sundrie other things written, whereof wee might happily bee ignorant, and yet bee saued:

What?

Exod.24.4. Ose.8.12.

Apoc.1.11. & 14.13. Aug. lib.1.de cons.Euang. cap.vlt.

* I meane those historicall matters concerning the ancient state of the first World, the Deluge, the Sonnes of *Noah*, the children of Israels deliuerance out of Egypt, the life and doings of *Moses* their Captain, with such like: the certaine truth whereof deliuered in holy Scripture, is of the Heathen which had them onely by report, so intermingled with fabulous vanities, that the most which remaineth in them to bee seene, is the shew of darke and obscure steps, where some part of the truth hath gone.

What? ſhall wee hereupon thinke them needleſſe? ſhall wee eſteeme them as riotous Branches wherewith we ſometimes behold moſt pleaſant Vines ouergrowne? Surely no more then we iudge our hands, or our eyes ſuperfluous, or what part ſoeuer, which if our bodies did want, we might notwithſtanding any ſuch defect retaine ſtill the complete being of men. As therefore a complete man is neyther deſtitute of any part neceſſarie, and hath ſome parts whereof though the want could not depriue him of his Eſſence, yet to haue them ſtandeth him in ſingular ſtead in reſpect of the ſpeciall vſes for which they ſerue: in like ſort all thoſe Writings which containe in them the Law of God, all thoſe Venerable Bookes of Scripture, all thoſe Sacred Tomes and Volumes of Holy Writ, they are with ſuch abſolute perfection framed, that in them there neither wanteth any thing, the lacke whereof might depriue vs of life; nor any thing in ſuch wiſe aboundeth, that as being ſuperfluous, vnfruitfull, and altogether needleſſe, we ſhould thinke it no loſſe or danger at all if we did want it.

14 Although the Scripture of God therefore be ſtored with infinite varietie of matter in all kinds, although it abound with all ſorts of Lawes, yet the principall intent of Scripture is to deliuer the Lawes of Duties ſupernatural. Oftentimes it hath bin in very ſolemne manner diſputed whether all things neceſſarie vnto Saluation be neceſſarily ſet downe in the Holy Scriptures or no. If we define that neceſſarie vnto ſaluation, whereby the way to Saluation is in any ſort made more plaine, apparant, and eaſie to bee knowne, then is there no part of true Philoſophie, no Art of account, no kind of Science rightly ſo called, but the Scripture muſt containe it. If only thoſe things bee neceſſary, as ſurely none elſe are without the knowledge and practice whereof it is not the will and pleaſure of God to make any ordinarie grant of Saluation; it may be notwithſtanding and oftentimes hath beene demanded, how the Bookes of Holy Scripture containe in them all neceſſarie things, when of things neceſſarie, the verie chiefeſt is to know what Bookes wee are bound to eſteeme holy; which point is confeſt impoſſible for the Scripture it ſelfe to teach. Whereunto wee may anſwere with truth, that there is not in the World any Arte or Science, which propoſing vnto it ſelfe an end (as euery one doth ſome end or other) hath beene therefore thought defectiue, if it haue not deliuered ſimply whatſoeuer is needfull to the ſame end: but all kindes of knowledge haue their certaine bounds and limits; each of them preſuppoſeth many neceſſary things learned in other Sciences and knowne before-hand. Hee that ſhould take vpon him to teach men how to bee eloquent in pleading cauſes, muſt needes deliuer vnto them whatſoeuer precepts are requiſite vnto that end, otherwiſe hee doth not the thing which hee taketh vpon him. Seeing then no man can plead eloquently, vnleſſe hee be able firſt to ſpeake, it followeth that abilitie of ſpeech is in this caſe a thing moſt neceſſary. Notwithſtanding euery man would thinke it ridiculous, that hee which vndertaketh by writing to inſtruct an Orator, ſhould therefore deliuer all the Precepts of Grammar; becauſe his Profeſſion is to deliuer Precepts neceſſarie vnto eloquent ſpeech, yet ſo, that they which are to receiue them, bee taught before-hand ſo much of that which is thereunto neceſſarie, as comprehendeth the skill of ſpeaking. In like ſort, albeit Scripture doe profeſſe to containe in it all things which are neceſſary vnto Saluation; yet

The ſufficiency of Scripture vnto the end for which it was inſtituted.

Vtrum cognitio ſupernaturalis neceſſaria viatori, ſit ſufficienter tradita in ſacrâ Scriptura.

This queſtion propoſed by *Scotus*, is affirmatiuely concluded.

the meaning cannot bee ſimply of all things which are neceſſarie, but all things that are neceſſarie in ſome certaine kind or forme; as all things that are neceſſarie, and either could not at all, or could not eaſily bee knowne by the light of naturall diſcourſe; all things which are neceſſary to bee knowne that wee may bee ſaued, but knowne with preſuppoſall of knowledge concerning certaine Principles whereof it receiueth vs alreadie perſwaded, and then inſtructeth vs in all the reſidue that are neceſſarie. In the number of theſe Principles one is the Sacred Authoritie of Scripture. Being therefore perſwaded by other meanes that theſe Scriptures are the Oracles of God, themſelues doe then teach vs the reſt, and lay before vs all the duties which God requireth at our hands as neceſſarie vnto Saluation. Further, there hath beene ſome doubt likewiſe, whether *containing in Scripture* doe import expreſſe ſetting downe in plaine termes, or elſe *comprehending* in ſuch ſort that by reaſon wee may from thence conclude all things which are neceſſarie. Againſt the former of theſe two conſtructions, inſtance hath ſundrie wayes beene giuen. For our beliefe in the Trinitie, the Coeternitie of the Sonne of God with his Father, the proceeding of the Spirit from the Father and the Sonne, the dutie of baptizing Infants, theſe with ſuch other principall points, the neceſſitie whereof is by none denied, are notwithſtanding in Scripture no where to bee found by expreſſe literall mention, onely deduced they are out of Scripture by collection. This kind of comprehenſion in Scripture being therefore receiued, ſtill there is no doubt how far we are to proceed by collection, before the full and complete meaſure of things neceſſary bee made vp. For let vs not thinke that as long as the World doth endure, the wit of man ſhall be able to ſound the bottome of that which may be concluded out of the Scripture; eſpecially if things contained by collection doe ſo farre extend, as to draw in whatſoeuer may be at any time out of Scripture but probably and coniecturally ſurmiſed. But let neceſſary collection be made requiſite, & we may boldly deny, that of all thoſe things which at this day are with ſo great neceſſitie vrged vpon this Church vnder the name of Reformed Church Diſcipline, there is any one which their Bookes hitherto haue made manifeſt to bee contained in the Scripture. Let them if they can alleage but one properly belonging to their cauſe, and not common to them and vs, and ſhew the deduction thereof out of Scripture to bee neceſſarie. It hath beene alreadie ſhewed, how all things neceſſary vnto Saluation in ſuch ſort as before wee haue maintained, muſt needes bee poſſible for men to know; and that many things are in ſuch ſort neceſſarie, the knowledge whereof is by the light of Nature impoſſible to bee attained. Whereupon it followeth, that eyther all fleſh is excluded from poſſibilitie of Saluation, which to thinke were moſt barbarous; or elſe that God hath by ſupernaturall meanes reuealed the way of life ſo farre forth as doth ſuffice. For this cauſe God hath ſo many times and wayes ſpoken to the Sonnes of men. Neither hath he by ſpeech onely, but by writing alſo inſtructed and taught his Church. The cauſe of writing hath beene to the end that things by him reuealed vnto the World, might haue the longer continuance, and the greater certaintie of aſſurance; by how much that which ſtandeth on Record, hath in both thoſe reſpects preeminence aboue that which paſſeth from hand to hand, and hath no Pennes but the Tongues, no Booke but the Eares

of

of men to record it. The ſeuerall Bookes of Scripture hauing had each ſome ſeuerall occaſion and particular purpoſe which cauſed them to bee written, the contents thereof are according to the exigence of that ſpeciall end whereunto they are intended. Hereupon it groweth, that euery Booke of holy Scripture doth take out of all kindes of truth, [a] Naturall, [b] Hiſtoricall, [c] Forrayne, [d] Supernaturall, ſo much as the matter handled requireth. Now for as much as there haue beene reaſons alleaged ſufficient to conclude, that all things neceſſary vnto ſaluation muſt bee made knowne, and that God himſelfe hath therefore reuealed his Will, becauſe otherwiſe men could not haue knowne ſo much as is neceſſary; his ſurceaſing to ſpeake to the World ſince the publiſhing of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, and the deliuery of the ſame in writing, is vnto vs a manifeſt token that the way of ſaluation is now ſufficiently opened, and that wee neede no other meanes for our full inſtruction, then God hath already furniſhed vs withall. The mayne drift of the whole new Teſtament, is that which Saint *Iohn* ſetteth downe as the purpoſe of his owne Hiſtorie, *Theſe things are written, that yee might beleeue that Ieſus is Chriſt the Sonne of God, and that in beleeuing yee might haue life through his name.* The drift of the old, that which the Apoſtle mentioneth to TIMOTHY, *The holy Scriptures are able to make thee wiſe vnto ſaluation.* So that the generall end both of Old and New is one; the difference betweene them conſiſting in this, that the Old did make wiſe by teaching ſaluation through Chriſt that ſhould come; the New by teaching that Chriſt the Sauiour is come, and that Ieſus whom the Iewes did crucifie, and whom God did rayſe againe from the dead, is hee. When the Apoſtle therefore affirmeth vnto *Timothie*, that the Old was able to make him wiſe to ſaluation, it was not his meaning that the Old alone can doe this vnto vs which liue ſithence the publication of the New. For hee ſpeaketh with preſuppoſall of the Doctrine of Chriſt knowne alſo vnto *Timothie*; and therefore firſt it is ſaid, *Continue thou in thoſe things which thou haſt learned and art perſwaded, knowing of whom thou haſt beene taught them.* Againe, thoſe Scriptures hee graunteth were able to make him wiſe to ſaluation; but hee addeth, *Through the faith which is in Chriſt.* Wherefore without the Doctrine of the new Teſtament teaching that Chriſt hath wrought the Redemption of the world, which Redemption the Old did foreſhew he ſhould worke; it is not the former alone which can on our behalfe performe ſo much as the Apoſtle doth auouch, who preſuppoſeth this when hee magnifieth that ſo highly. And as his wordes concerning the Bookes of ancient Scripture, doe not take place but with preſuppoſall of the Goſpell of Chriſt embraced: ſo our owne wordes alſo when wee extoll the complete ſufficiencie of the whole intire body of the Scripture, muſt in like ſort be vnderſtood with this caution, that the benefite of Natures light be not thought excluded as vnneceſſarie, becauſe the neceſſitie of a diuiner light is magnified. There is in Scripture therefore no defect, but that any man what place or calling ſoeuer hee hold in the Church of God, may haue thereby the light of his naturall vnderſtanding ſo perfected, that the one being releeued by the other, there can want no part of needfull inſtruction vnto any good worke which God himſelfe requireth, bee it naturall or ſupernaturall, belonging ſimply vnto

[a] *Epheſ.* 5. 29.
[b] 2. *Tim.* 3. 8.
[c] *Tit.* 1. 12.
[d] 2. *Pet.* 2. 4.
Iohn 23 31.
2. *Tim.* 3. 15.
2. *Tim.* 3. 14.
Verſ. 15.

to men as men, or vnto men as they are vnited in whatsoeuer kinde of societie. It sufficeth therefore that Nature and Scripture doe serue in such full sort, that they both ioyntly, and not seuerally either of them, be so complete, that vnto euerlasting felicitie we neede not the knowledge of any thing more, then these two may easily furnish our mindes with on all sides: and therefore they which adde Traditions as a part of supernaturall necessarie truth, haue not the truth, but are in error. For they onely pleade, that whatsoeuer God reuealeth as necessary for all Christian men to doe or beleeue, the same we ought to embrace, whether we haue receiued it by writing or otherwise; which no man denyeth: when that which they should confirme who claime so great reuerence vnto Traditions is, that the same Traditions are necessarily to be acknowledged diuine and holy. For wee doe not reiect them onely because they are not in the Scripture, but because they are neither in Scripture, nor can otherwise sufficiently by any reason be proued to be of God. That which is of God, and may be euidently proued to be so, we denie not but it hath in his kinde, although vnwritten, yet the selfe same force and authoritie with the written Lawes of God.

Whitakerus aduersus Bellarmin. quæst. 6. cap. 6.

It is by ours acknowledged, *That the Apostles did in euery Church institute and ordayne some Rites and Customes seruing for the seemelinesse of Church Regiment, which Rites and Customes they haue not committed vnto writing.* Those Rites and Customes being knowne to be Apostolicall, & hauing the nature of things changeable, were no lesse to be accounted of in the Church then other things of the like degree, that is to say, capable in like sort of alteration, although set downe in the Apostles writings. For both being knowne to be Apostolicall, it is not the manner of deliuering them vnto the Church, but the Author from whom they proceede, which doth giue them their force and credit.

Of lawes positiue, contained in Scripture, the mutability of certayne of them, and the generall vse of Scripture.

15 Lawes being imposed either by each man vpon himselfe, or by a publike societie vpon the particulars thereof, or by all the Nations of men vpon euery seuerall societie, or by the Lord himselfe vpon any or euery of these; there is not amongst these foure kindes any one, but contayneth sundrie both Naturall and Positiue Lawes. Impossible it is but that they should fall into a number of grosse errors, who onely take such Lawes for Positiue, as haue beene made or inuented of men, and holding this Position, hold also, that all Positiue and none but Positiue Lawes are mutable. Lawes naturall doe alwayes binde; Lawes Positiue not so, but onely after they haue beene expresly and wittingly imposed. Lawes Positiue there are in euery of those kindes before mentioned. As in the first kinde the promises which wee haue past vnto men, and the vowes we haue made vnto God; for these are Lawes which we tie our selues vnto, and till we haue so tyed our selues they binde vs not. Lawes Positiue in the second kinde are such as the ciuill Constitutions peculiar vnto each particular Common-weale. In the third kinde the Law of Heraldrie in warre is Positiue: and in the last al the Iudicials which God gaue vnto the people of *Israel* to obserue. And although no Lawes but Positiue be mutable, yet all are not mutable which be Positiue. Positiue Lawes are either permanent or else changeable, according as the matter it selfe is concerning which they were first made. Whether God or Man be the maker of them, alteration they so far forth admit, as the matter doth exact. Lawes that concerne supernaturall duties, are all

Positiue;

Poſitiue; and either concerne men ſupernaturally as men, or elſe as parts of a ſupernaturall Societie, which ſocietie wee call the Church. To concerne men as men ſupernaturally, is to concerne them as dueties which belong of neceſſitie to all, and yet could not haue beene knowne by any to belong vnto them, vnleſſe God had opened them himſelfe, in as much as they doe not depend vpon any naturall ground at all out of which they may bee deduced, but are appointed of God to ſupply the defect of thoſe naturall wayes of ſaluation, by which wee are not now able to attayne thereunto. The Church being a ſupernaturall ſocietie, doth differ from naturall ſocieties in this; that the perſons vnto whom wee aſſociate our ſelues, in the one are men ſimply conſidered as men; but they to whom wee bee ioyned in the other, are God, Angels, and holy Men. Againe, the Church being both a ſocietie, and a ſocietie ſupernaturall; although as it is a ſocietie, it haue the ſelfe-ſame originall grounds which other politique ſocieties haue, namely, the naturall inclination which all men haue vnto ſociable life, and conſent to ſome certayne bond of aſſociation, which bond is the Law that appointeth what kinde of order they ſhall be aſſociated in: yet vnto the Church as it is a ſocietie ſupernaturall this is peculiar, that part of the bond of their aſſociation which belong to the Church of God, muſt be a Law ſupernaturall, which God himſelfe hath reuealed concerning that kinde of worſhip which his people ſhall doe vnto him. The ſubſtance of the ſeruice of God therefore, ſo farre forth as it hath in it any thing more then the Law of reaſon doth teach, may not be inuented of men, as it is amongſt the Heathens; but muſt bee receiued from God himſelfe, as alwayes it hath beene in the Church, ſauing onely when the Church hath beene forgetfull of her duetie. Wherefore to end with a generall Rule concerning all the Lawes which God hath tyed men vnto: thoſe Lawes diuine that belong whether naturally or ſupernaturally, either to men as men, or to men as they liue in politique ſocietie, or to men as they are of that politique ſocietie which is the Church, without any further reſpect had vnto any ſuch variable accident, as the ſtate of men, and of ſocieties of men, and of the Church it ſelfe in this world is ſubiect vnto; all Lawes that ſo belong vnto men, they belong for euer, yea although they be poſitiue Lawes, vnleſſe being Poſitiue God himſelfe which made them alter them. The reaſon is, becauſe the ſubiect or matter of Lawes in generall is thus farre forth conſtant: which matter is that for the ordering whereof Lawes were inſtituted, and being inſtituted are not changeable without cauſe, neither can they haue cauſe of change, when that which gaue them their firſt inſtitution, remayneth for euer one and the ſame. On the other ſide, Lawes that were made for Men or Societies or Churches, in regard of their being ſuch as they doe not alwayes continue, but may perhaps bee cleane otherwiſe awhile after, and ſo may require to bee otherwiſe ordered then before: the Lawes of God himſelfe which are of this nature, no man indued with common ſenſe will euer denie to be of a different conſtitution from the former, in reſpect of the ones conſtancie, and the mutabilitie of the other. And this doth ſeeme to haue beene the very cauſe why S. *Iohn* doth ſo peculiarly terme the doctrine that teacheth ſaluation by Ieſus Chriſt, *Euangelium æternum*, *An eternall Goſpell*; becauſe there can be no reaſon wherefore

Eſa. 29. 13. Their feare towards me was taught by the precept of men.

Apoc. 14. 6.

wherefore the publishing thereof should bee taken away, and any other instead of it proclaymed, as long as the World doth continue: whereas the whole Law of Rites and Ceremonies, although deliuered with so great solemnitie, is notwithstanding cleane abrogated, in as much as it had but temporarie cause of Gods ordayning it. But that we may at the length conclude this first generall introduction vnto the nature and originall birth, as of all other Lawes, so likewise of those which the sacred Scripture contayneth, concerning the Author whereof, euen Infidels haue confessed, that he can neither erre nor deceiue; albeit about things easie and manifest vnto all men by common sense there needeth no higher consultation, because as a man whose wisedome is in waighty affaires admired, would take it in some disdayne to haue his counsell solemnely asked about a toy, so the meaneneſſe of some things is such, that to search the Scripture of God for the ordering of them, were to derogate from the reuerend authoritie and dignitie of the Scripture, no lesse then they doe by whom Scriptures are in ordinarie talke very idly applyed vnto vaine and childish trifles: yet better it were to be superstitious, then prophane; to take from thence our direction euen in all things great or small, then to wade through matters of principall waight and moment, without euer caring what the Law of God hath, either for or against our desseignes. Concerning the custome of the very Paynims, thus much *Strabo* witnesseth, * *Men that are ciuill doe leade their liues after one common Law appointing them what to doe. For that other wise a multitude should with harmonie amongst themselues, concurre in the doing of one thing, (for this is ciuilly to liue) or that they should in any sort menage communitie of life, it is not possible. Now Lawes or Statutes are of two sorts. For they are either receiued from gods, or else from men. And our ancient Predecessors did surely most honor and reuerence that which was from the gods; for which cause consultation with Oracles was a thing very vsuall and frequent in their times.* Did they make so much account of the voice of their gods, which in truth were no Gods: and shall wee neglect the precious benefite of conference with those Oracles of the true and liuing God, whereof so great store is left to the Church, and whereunto there is so free, so plaine, and so easie accesse for all men? [a] *By thy Commandements* (this was *Dauids* confession vnto God) *thou hast made mee wiser then mine Enemies.* Againe, *I haue had more vnderstanding then all my Teachers, because thy testimonies are my Meditations.* What paynes would not they haue bestowed in the studie of these Bookes, who trauailed Sea and Land to gaine the treasure of some few dayes talke with men, whose wisedome the World did make any reckoning of? [b] That little which some of the Heathens did chance to heare, concerning such matter as the sacred Scripture plentifully contayneth, they did in wonderfull sort affect; their speeches as oft as they make mention thereof are strange, and such as themselues could not vtter as they did other things, but still acknowledged that their wits which did euery-where else conquer hardneſſe, were with profoundneſſe here ouer-matched. Wherefore seeing that God hath indued vs with sense, to the end that wee might perceiue such things as this present life doth neede, and with reason, lest that which sense cannot reach vnto, being both now and also in regard of a future estate hereafter necessarie to bee knowne, should lye obscure: finally, with the heauenly

support

Κομιδῇ ἄρα ὁ θεὸς ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἀληθὲς ἐν τε ἔργῳ, καὶ ἐν λόγῳ, καὶ ὅτε αὐτὸς μεθίσταται, ὅτε ἄλλους ἐξαπατᾷ, ὅτε καὶ ἃ φαίνεται, ὅτε κατὰ λόγους, ὅτε καὶ ἃ σημείων πομπάς, ἐδ' ὑπὲρ ἐδ' ὄναρ, *Plato in fine 2. Polit.*

* Πολιτικοὶ ὄντες ἀπὸ προσάγματος κοινῆ ζῶσιν. Ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ οἰόντε τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν τι κατὰ ταυτὸ ποιεῖν ἡρμοσμένους ἀλλήλοις, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι, καὶ ἄλλως πῶς νόμιμον βίον κοινόν. Τὸ δὲ πρόσταγμα διττόν. ἢ γὰρ παρὰ θεῶν, ἢ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων. Καὶ οἱ γε ἀρχαῖοι τὸ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπρέσβευον μᾶλλον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ χρησηριάζόμενος ἐστὶ τοτε πολύς, *Stra. Geogr. lib. 16.*

a *Psal. 119. 98.*

b *Vide Orphei Carmina.*

ſupport of a propheticall reuelation, which doth open thoſe hidden myſteries that reaſon could neuer haue beene able to find out, or to haue knowne the neceſſitie of them vnto our euerlaſting good: vſe wee the precious gifts of God vnto his glorie and honour that gaue them, ſeeking by all meanes to know what the will of our God is, what righteous before him, in his ſight what holy, perfect, and good, that we may truely and faithfully doe it.

a ὧν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἀπολέλοιπεν, παρὸς ταῦθ' ἡ προφητεία φθάνει, *Philo de Moſ.*

16 Thus farre therefore we haue endeuoured in part to open, of what nature and force Lawes are, according vnto their ſeuerall kindes; the Law which God with himſelfe hath eternally ſet downe to follow in his owne workes; the Law which he hath made for his creatures to keepe, the Law of naturall and neceſſary Agents; the Law which Angels in heauen obey; the Law whereunto by the light of Reaſon men finde themſelues bound in that they are men; the Law which they make by compoſition for multitudes and politique Societies of men to be guided by; the Law which belongeth vnto each Nation; the Law that concerneth the fellowſhip of all; and laſtly, the Law which God himſelfe hath ſupernaturally reuealed. It might peraduenture haue beene more popular and more plauſible to vulgar eares, if this firſt diſcourſe had beene ſpent in extolling the force of Lawes, in ſhewing the great neceſſitie of them when they are good, and in aggrauating their offence by whom publique Lawes are iniuriouſly traduced. But for as much as with ſuch kind of matter the paſſions of men are rather ſtirred one way or other, then their knowledge any way ſet forward vnto the tryall of that whereof there is doubt made; I haue therefore turned aſide from that beaten path, and choſen though a leſſe eaſie, yet a more profitable way in regard of the end we propoſe. Leſt therefore any man ſhould maruaile whereunto all theſe things tend, the drift and purpoſe of all is this, euen to ſhew in what manner as euery good and perfect gift, ſo this very gift of good and perfect Lawes is deriued from the Father of lights; to teach men a reaſon why iuſt and reaſonable Lawes are of ſo great force, of ſo great vſe in the world; and to enforme their mindes with ſome method of reducing the Lawes whereof there is preſent controuerſie vnto their firſt originall cauſes, that ſo it may be in euery particular ordinance thereby the better diſcerned, whether the ſame be reaſonable, iuſt and righteous, or no. Is there any thing which can either be throughly vnderſtood, or ſoundly iudged of, till the very firſt cauſes and principles from which originally it ſpringeth bee made manifeſt? If all parts of knowledge haue beene thought by wiſe men to bee then moſt orderly deliuered and proceeded in, when they are drawne to their firſt originall; ſeeing that our whole queſtion concerneth the qualitie of Eccleſiaſticall Lawes, let it not ſeeme a labour ſuperfluous, that in the entrance thereunto all theſe ſeuerall kinds of lawes haue been conſidered; in as much as they all concurre as principles, they all haue their forcible operations therein, although not all in like apparent and manifeſt manner. By meanes whereof it commeth to paſſe, that the force which they haue, is not obſerued of many. Eaſier a great deale it is for men by law to be taught what they ought to doe, then inſtructed how to iudge as they ſhould doe of law; the one being a thing which belongeth generally vnto all, the other ſuch as none but the wiſer and more iudicious ſort can performe. Yea the wiſeſt are alwayes touching this point the readieſt to acknow-

A concluſion ſhewing how all this belongeth to the cauſe in queſtion.

*Iam.*1.17.

*Ariſt. Phyſic. lib.*1. *cap.*1.

Arist. Ethic. 10. τὸ κρίνειν ὀρθῶς, μέγιστον. *Intelligit de legum qualitate iudicium.*

acknowledge, that soundly to iudge of a Law, is the waightiest thing which any man can take vpon him. But if wee will giue iudgement of the Lawes vnder which we liue, first, let that Law eternall be alwayes before our eyes, as being of principall force and moment to breede in religious mindes a dutifull estimation of all Lawes, the vse and benefit whereof we see; because there can be no doubt but that Lawes apparantly good, are (as it were) things coppied out of the very Tables of that high euerlasting Law, euen as the Booke of that Law hath

Prou. 8. 15. said concerning it selfe, *By me Kings reigne, and by me Princes decree iustice*. Not as if men did behold that Booke, & accordingly frame their Lawes; but because it worketh in them, because it discouereth, and (as it were) readeth it selfe to the world by them, when the Lawes which they make are righteous. Furthermore, although we perceiue not the goodnesse of Lawes made; neuertheless, sith things in themselues may haue that which wee peraduenture discerne not; should not this breed a feare in our hearts, how we speake or iudge in the worse part concerning that, the vnaduised disgrace whereof may be no meane dishonor to him, towards whom we professe all submission and awe? Surely, there must be very manifest iniquitie in Lawes, against which we shal be able to iustifie our contumelious inuectiues. The chiefest roote whereof, when we vse them without cause, is ignorance, how Lawes inferior are deriued from that supreme or highest Law. The first that receiue impression from thence are natural agents. The Law of whose operations might be haply thought lesse pertinent, when the question is about Lawes for humane actions, but that in those very actions which most spiritually and supernaturally concerne men, the Rules & Axiomes of naturall operations haue their force. What can be more immediate to our saluation, then our perswasion concerning the Law of Christ towards his Church? What greater assurance of loue towards his Church, then the knowledge of that mysticall Vnion whereby the Church is become as neere vnto Christ, as any one part of his flesh is vnto other? That the Church being in such sort his, he must needes protect it; what proofe more strong, then if a manifest Law so require, which Law it is not possible for Christ to violate? And what other Law doth the Apostle for this alleage, but such as is both common vn-

Ephes. 5. 29. to Christ with vs, and vnto vs with other things naturall, *No man hateth his owne flesh, but doth loue and cherish it*? The Axiomes of that Law therefore, whereby naturall Agents are guided, haue their vse in the morall, yea, euen in the spirituall actions of men, and consequently in all Lawes belonging vnto men howsoeuer. Neither are the Angels themselues so farre seuered from vs in their kinde and manner of working, but that betweene the Law of their heauenly operations, and the actions of men in this our state of mortalitie, such correspondence there is, as maketh it expedient to know in some sort

Apoc. 19. 10. the one, for the others more perfect direction. Would Angels acknowledge themselues Fellow-seruants with the sonnes of men, but that both hauing one One Lord, there must be some kinde of Law which is one and the same to both, whereunto their obedience being perfecter, is to our weaker both a

1. Pet. 1. 12. Ephes. 3. 10. 1. Tim. 5 21. patterne and a spurre? Or would the Apostles, speaking of that which belongeth vnto Saints, as they are linked together in the bond of spirituall societie, so often make mention how Angels are therewith delighted, if in things publiquely

publikely done by the Church we are not ſomewhat to reſpect what the Angels of Heauen doe? Yea ſo farre hath the Apoſtle S. *Paul* proceeded, as to ſignifie that euen about the outward orders of the Church which ſerue but for comelineſſe, ſome regard is to be had of Angels; who beſt like vs when wee are moſt like vnto them in all parts of decent demeanor. So that the Law of Angels wee cannot iudge altogether impertinent vnto the affaires of the Church of God. Our largeneſſe of ſpeech how men doe find out what things reaſon bindeth them of neceſſity to obſerue, and what it guideth them to chuſe in things which are left as arbitrary; the care we haue had to declare the different nature of Lawes which ſeuerally concerne all men, from ſuch as belong vnto men eyther ciuilly or ſpiritually aſſociated, ſuch as pertain to the fellowſhip which nations, or which Chriſtian nations haue amongſt themſelues, and in the laſt place ſuch as concerning euery or any of theſe, God himſelfe hath reuealed by his holy Word; all ſerueth but to make manifeſt, that as the actions of men are of ſundry diſtinct kinds, ſo the Lawes thereof muſt accordingly be diſtinguiſhed. There are in men operations ſome naturall, ſome rationall, ſome ſupernaturall, ſome politique, ſome finally Eccleſiaſticall. Which if wee meaſure not each by his owne proper Law, whereas the things themſelues are ſo different; there will be in our vnderſtanding and iudgement of them confuſion. As that firſt errour ſheweth whereon our oppoſites in this cauſe haue grounded themſelues. For as they rightly maintaine, that God muſt bee glorified in all things, and that the actions of men cānot tend vnto his glory, vnleſſe they be framed after his Law: So it is their error, to think that the only Law which God hath appointed vnto men in that behalfe is the ſacred Scripture. By that which we worke naturally, as when we breathe, ſleepe, mooue, we ſet forth the glory of God as naturall agents doe, albeit wee haue no expreſſe purpoſe to make that our end, nor any aduiſed determination therin to follow a Law, but do that we do (for the moſt part) not as much as thinking thereon. In reaſonable and morall actions another Law taketh place, a law by the obſeruation whereof we glorifie God in ſuch ſort, as no creature elſe vnder men is able to doe; becauſe other creatures haue not iudgement to examin the qualitie of that which is done by them, and therfore in that they doe, they neyther can accuſe nor approue themſelues. Men do both as the Apoſtle teacheth; yea thoſe men which haue no written Law of God to ſhew what is good or euill, carrie written in their hearts the vniuerſall law of mankind, the law of reaſon, whereby they iudge as by a rule which God hath giuen vnto men for that purpoſe. The law of reaſon doth ſomewhat direct men how to honour God as their Creator; but how to glorifie God in ſuch ſort as is required to the end he may be an euerlaſting Sauiour, this we are taught by Diuine Law, which law both aſcertaineth the truth, and ſupplieth vnto vs the want of that other law. So that in moral actions, Diuine Law helpeth exceedingly the Law of reaſon to guide mans life; but in ſupernaturall it alone guideth. Proceed wee further, let vs place man in ſome publike ſocietie with others, whether Ciuill or Spirituall: and in this caſe there is no remedie but we muſt adde yet a further Law. For although euen here likewiſe the Lawes of nature and reaſon be of neceſſary vſe; yet ſomewhat ouer and beſides them is neceſſary, namely humane and poſitiue Law, together with that Law which is

1. Cor. 11. 10.

Pſal. 148. 7. 8. 9.

Rom. 1. 21.

Rom. 2. 15.

of commerce betweene grand ſocieties, the law of Nations & of Nations Chriſtian. For which cauſe the Law of God hath likewiſe ſaid, *Let euery ſoule be ſubiect to the higher powers.* The publike power of all ſocieties is aboue euery ſoule contayned in the ſame ſocieties. And the principall vſe of that power is to giue Lawes vnto al that are vnder it; which Lawes in ſuch caſe we muſt obey, vnleſſe there be reaſon ſhewed which may neceſſarily enforce, that the Law of reaſon or of God doth inioyne the contrarie. Becauſe except our owne priuate, and but probable reſolutions, be by the Law of publike determinations ouer-ruled; we take away all poſſibilitie of ſociable life in the world. A playner example whereof then our ſelues we cannot haue. How commeth it to paſſe that we are at this preſent day ſo rent with mutuall contentions, and that the Church is ſo much troubled about the Politie of the Church? No doubt, if men had beene willing to learne how many Lawes their actions in this life are ſubiect vnto, and what the true force of each Law is, all theſe controuerſies might haue dyed the very day they were firſt brought forth. It is both commonly ſaid, and truly, that the beſt men otherwiſe are not alwayes the beſt in regard of ſocietie. The reaſon whereof is, for that the Law of mens actions is one, if they be reſpected only as men; and another, when they are conſidered as parts of a politike body. Many men there are, then whom nothing is more commendable when they are ſingled. And yet in ſocietie with others, none leſſe fit to anſwere the duties which are looked for at their hands. Yea, I am perſwaded, that of them with whom in this cauſe wee ſtriue, there are whoſe betters among men would be hardly found, if they did not liue amongſt men, but in ſome Wilderneſſe by themſelues. The cauſe of which their diſpoſition ſo vnframeable vnto ſocieties wherein they liue, is for that they diſcerne not aright what place and force theſe ſeuerall kindes of Lawes ought to haue in all their actions. Is there queſtion either concerning the Regiment of the Church in generall, or about conformitie betweene one Church and another, or of ceremonies, offices, powers, iuriſdictions in our owne Church? Of all theſe things they iudge by that rule which they frame to themſelues with ſome ſkew of probabilitie; and what ſeemeth in that ſort conuenient, the ſame they thinke themſelues bound to practiſe, the ſame by all meanes they labour mightily to vphold; whatſoeuer any Law of man to the contrarie hath determined they weigh it not. Thus by following the Law of priuate reaſon, where the Law of publike ſhould take place, they breede diſturbance. For the better inuring therefore of mens mindes with the true diſtinction of Lawes and of their ſeuerall force, according to the different kind and qualitie of our actions, it ſhall not peraduenture be amiſſe to ſhew in ſome one example how they all take place. To ſeeke no further, let but that be conſidered then which there is not any thing more familiar vnto vs, our foode. What things are foode, and what are not, we iudge naturally by ſenſe, neither need we any other Law to be our directer in that behalfe then the ſelfe ſame which is common vnto vs with beaſts. But when we come to conſider of foode, as of a benefit which God of his bounteous goodneſſe hath prouided for all things liuing; the Law of reaſon doth here require the dutie of thankefulneſſe at our hands, towards him at whoſe hands we haue it. And leſt appetite in the vſe of foode, ſhould leade vs beyond that which is meete; we owe in this

Rom. 13. 1.

Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις τῇ ἀρετῇ δύανται χρῆσθαι ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς ἕτερον ἀδύνατοι, Ariſt. Eth. 5. cap. 3.

Iob 34. 3.

Pſal. 145. 15, 16.

this caſe obedience to that law of reaſon, which teacheth mediocritie in meats and drinkes. The ſame things diuine Law teacheth alſo, as at large we haue ſhewed it doth all parts of morall dutie, whereunto we all of neceſſitie ſtand bound, in regard of the life to come. But of certayne kindes of foode the Iewes ſometime had, and we our ſelues likewiſe haue a myſticall, religious, and ſupernaturall vſe; they of their Paſchall Lambe and Oblations; we of our bread and wine in the Euchariſt; which vſe, none but diuine Law could inſtitute. Now as we liue in ciuill ſocietie, the ſtate of the common-wealth wherein we liue, both may and doth require certayne lawes concerning foode; which lawes, ſauing only that we are members of the common-wealth where they are of force, we ſhould not neede to reſpect as rules of action, whereas now in their place and kinde they muſt be reſpected and obeyed. Yea, the ſelfe ſame matter is alſo a ſubiect wherein ſometime Eccleſiaſticall Lawes haue place; ſo that vnleſſe we will be Authors of confuſion in the Church, our priuate diſcretion, which otherwiſe might guide vs a contrarie way, muſt here ſubmit it ſelfe to be that way guided, which the publike iudgement of the Church hath thought better. In which caſe that of *Zonaras* concerning faſts may be remembred. *Faſtings are good, but let good things be done in good and conuenient manner. He that tranſgreſſeth in his faſting the orders of the holy Fathers*, the poſitiue lawes of the Church of Chriſt, muſt be plainely told, *that good things doe loſe the grace of their goodneſſe, when in good ſort they are not performed.* And as here mens priuate phanſies muſt giue place to the higher iudgement of that Church, which is in authoritie a Mother ouer them: ſo the very actions of whole Churches, haue in regard of commerce and fellowſhip with other Churches, beene ſubiect to lawes concerning food, the contrarie vnto which lawes had elſe beene thought more conuenient for them to obſerue; as by that order of abſtinence from ſtrangled and bloud may appeare; an order grounded vpon that fellowſhip which the Churches of the Gentiles had with the Iewes. Thus we ſee how euen one and the ſelfe ſame thing is vnder diuers conſiderations conueyed through many lawes, and that to meaſure by any one kinde of law all the actions of men, were to confound the admirable order wherein God hath diſpoſed all lawes, each as in nature, ſo in degree, diſtinct from other. Wherefore that here we may briefly end, of law there can be no leſſe acknowledged, then that her ſeate is the boſome of God, her voice the harmonie of the world, all things in heauen and earth doe her homage, the very leaſt as feeling her care, and the greateſt as not exempted from her power; both Angels, and Men, and Creatures, of what condition ſoeuer, though each in different ſort and manner, yet, all with vniforme conſent, admiring her as the Mother of their peace and ioy.

ὅτι ἐ καλὸν τὸ καλὸν, ὁ ταν μὴ καλῶς γίνηται, *Zonor. in Can. Apoſt. 66.*

Act. 15. 20.

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE.

The ſecond Booke.

Concerning their firſt Poſition who vrge Reformation in the Church of England.

Namely, That Scripture is the only rule of all things which in this life may be done by men.

The matter contayned in this ſecond Booke.

1 AN anſwere to their firſt proofe brought out of Scripture, Prou. 2.9.
2 To their ſecond, 1.Cor.10.31.
3 To their third, 1.Tim.4.5.
4 To their fourth, Rom.14.23.
5 To their proofes out of Fathers, who diſpute negatiuely from the authoritie of holy Scripture.
6 To their proofe by the Scriptures cuſtome of diſputing from Diuine authoritie negatiuely.
7 An examination of their opinion concerning the force of arguments, taken from humane authoritie, for the ordering of mens actions and perſwaſions.
8 A declaration what the truth is in this matter.

AS that which in the title hath beene propoſed for the matter whereof we treate, is only the Eccleſiaſticall Law whereby we are gouerned; So neither is it my purpoſe to maintayne any other thing, then that which therein truth and reaſon ſhall approue. For concerning the dealings of men who adminiſter gouernement, and vnto whom the execution of that law belongeth; they haue their Iudge who ſitteth in heauen, and before whoſe Tribunal ſeate they are accomptable for whatſoeuer abuſe or corruption, which (being worthily miſliked in this Church) the want either of care or of conſci-

ence in them hath bred. Wee are no Patrones of thoſe things therefore; the beſt defence whereof is ſpeedy redreſſe and amendment. That which is of God we defend, to the vttermoſt of that habilitie which he hath giuen: that which is otherwiſe, let it wither euen in the root from whence it hath ſprung. Wherefore all theſe abuſes being ſeuered and ſet apart, which riſe from the corruption of men, and not from the Lawes themſelues: come wee to thoſe things which in the very whole intire forme of our Church-Politie haue bin (as wee perſwade our ſelues) iniuriouſly blamed by them who indeuour to ouerthrow the ſame, and in ſtead thereof to eſtabliſh a much worſe; onely through a ſtrong miſconceit they haue, that the ſame is grounded on Diuine authoritie. Now, whether it bee that through an earneſt longing deſire to ſee things brought to a peaceable end, I do but imagine the matters whereof we contend, to be fewer then indeed they are; or elſe for that in truth they are fewer when they come to bee diſcuſt by reaſon, then otherwiſe they ſeeme, when by heat of contention they are deuided into many ſlips, and of euery branch an heape is made: ſurely, as now wee haue drawne them together, chooſing out thoſe things which are requiſite to bee ſeuerally all diſcuſt, and omitting ſuch meane ſpecialties as are likely (without any great labour) to fall afterwards of themſelues; I know no cauſe why eyther the number or the length of theſe Controuerſies ſhould diminiſh our hope of ſeeing them end with concord and loue on all ſides; which of his infinite loue and goodnes the Father of all peace and vnitie grant. Vnto which ſcope that our indeuour may the more directly tend, it ſeemeth fitteſt that firſt thoſe things be examined, which are as ſeedes from whence the reſt that enſue haue growne. And of ſuch the moſt generall is that, wherewith wee are here to make our entrance; a queſtion not mooued (I thinke) any where in other Churches, and therefore in ours the more likely to bee ſoone (I truſt) determined: the rather for that it hath growne from no other root, then only a deſire to enlarge the neceſſarie vſe of the Word of God; which deſire hath begotten an errour, enlarging it further then (as wee are perſwaded) ſoundneſſe of truth will beare. For whereas God hath left ſundrie kinds of Lawes vnto men, and by all thoſe Lawes the actions of men are in ſome ſort directed: they hold that one onely Law, the Scripture, muſt be the rule to direct in all things, euen ſo farre as to the *taking vp of a Ruſh or Straw*. About which point there ſhould not need any queſtion to grow, and that which is growne might preſently end, if they did yeeld but to theſe two reſtraints: the firſt is, not to extend the actions whereof they ſpeake, ſo low as that inſtance doth import, of taking vp a Straw, but rather keepe themſelues at the leaſt within the compaſſe of morall actions, actions which haue in them vice or vertue; the ſecond, not to exact at our hands for euery action the knowledge of ſome place of Scripture out of which we ſtand bound to deduce it, as by diuers teſtimonies they ſeeke to enforce; but rather as the truth is, ſo to acknowledge, that it ſufficeth if ſuch actions be framed according to the Law of reaſon; the generall axiomes, rules, and principles of which Law being ſo frequent in holy Scripture, there is no let but in that regard, euen out of Scripture ſuch duties may be deduced by ſome kind of conſequence, (as by long circuit of deduction it may be that euen all truth out of any truth may be concluded) howbeit

T.C.l.1.p.59.60.

howbeit no man bound in ſuch ſort to deduce all his actions out of Scripture, as if either the place be to him vnknowne whereon they may be concluded, or the reference vnto that place not preſently conſidered of, the action ſhall in that reſpect be condemned as vnlawfull. In this we diſſent, and this we are preſently to examine.

The firſt pretended proofe of the firſt Poſition out of Scripture. *Pro.* 2.9. *T.C.l.*1.*p.*20. I ſay that the Word of God contayneth whatſoeuer things can fall into any part of mans life. For ſo *Salomon* ſaith in the ſecond chapter of the Prouerbs, *My Sonne, if thou receiue my wordes, &c. then thou ſhalt vnderſtand iuſtice and iudgement, and equitie, and euery good way.*

1 In all parts of knowledge rightly ſo termed, things moſt generall are moſt ſtrong: Thus it muſt be, in as much as the certainty of our perſwaſion touching particulars, dependeth altogether vpon the credit of thoſe generalities out of which they grow. Albeit therefore euery cauſe admit not ſuch infallible euidence of proofe, as leaueth no poſſibility of doubt or ſcruple behind it; yet they who claime the general aſſent of the whole world vnto that which they teach, and doe not feare to giue very hard and heauy ſentence vpon as many as refuſe to embrace the ſame, muſt haue ſpeciall regard that their firſt foundations and grounds be more then ſlender probabilities. This whole queſtion which hath beene moued about the kinde of Church regiment, we could not but for our owne reſolutions ſake, endeuour to vnrip and ſift; following therein as neere as we might, the conduct of that iudiciall method which ſerueth beſt for inuention of truth. By meanes whereof hauing found this the head Theoreme of all their diſcourſes, who pleade for the change of Eccleſiaſticall gouernement in England, namely, *That the Scripture of God is in ſuch ſort the rule of humane actions, that ſimply whatſoeuer we do, and are not by it directed thereunto, the ſame is ſinne*; we hold it neceſſary that the proofes hereof be waighed: be they of waight ſufficient or otherwiſe, it is not ours to iudge and determine: onely what difficulties there are, which as yet with-hold our aſſent, till we be further and better ſatisfied, I hope, no indifferent amongſt them will ſcorne or refuſe to heare. Firſt therefore, whereas they alleage *that wiſdome* doth teach men *euery good way*; and haue therupon inferred, that no way is good in any kind of action, vnleſſe wiſedome doe by Scripture lead vnto it: ſee they not plainly how they reſtraine the manifold wayes which wiſedome hath to teach men by, vnto one only way of teaching, which is by Scripture? The bounds of wiſdome are large, and within them much is contained. Wiſdome was *Adams* inſtructer in Paradiſe: Wiſdome indued the Fathers, who liued before the Law, with the knowledge of holy things: by the wiſdome of the Law of God, *Dauid* attained to excel others in vnderſtanding; and *Salomon* likewiſe to excell *Dauid*, by the ſelfe ſame wiſdome of God, teaching him many things beſides the Law. The wayes of well-doing are in number euen as many, as are the kinds of voluntary actions: ſo that whatſoeuer we doe in this world and may doe it ill, we ſhew our ſelues therein by well-doing to be wiſe. Now if wiſedome did teach men by Scripture not only all the wayes that are right and good in ſome certayne kind, according to that of * S. *Paul*, concerning the vſe of Scripture; but did ſimply without any māner of exception, reſtraint, or diſtinction, teach euery way of doing wel; there is no arte but ſcripture ſhuld teach it, becauſe euery arte doth teach the way how to doe ſomething or other wel. To teach men therefore wiſedome profeſſeth, and to teach them euery good way: but not euery good

*Pſal.*119.99.

* 2.Tim.3.16. *The whole Scripture is giuen by inſpiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to improue, to correct, and to inſtruct in righteouſneſſe, that the man of God may be abſolute, being made perfect vnto all good workes.* He meaneth all and only thoſe good workes which belong vnto vs as we are men of God, and which vnto ſaluation are neceſſary. Or if we vnderſtand by men of God, Gods Miniſters, there is not required in them an vniuerſall skill of euery good worke or way, but an abilitie to teach whatſoeuer men are bound to do that they may be ſaued. And with this kind of knowledge the Scripture ſufficeth to furniſh them as touching matter.

way

way by one way of teaching. Whatſoeuer eyther men on Earth, or the Angels of Heauen doe know, it is as a drop of that vnemptiable Fountaine of wiſdome; which wiſedome hath diuerſly imparted her treaſures vnto the World. As her wayes are of ſundry kinds, ſo her manner of teaching is not meerely one and the ſame. Some things ſhee openeth by the Sacred Bookes of Scripture; ſome things by the glorious workes of nature: with ſome things ſhee inſpireth them from aboue by ſpirituall influence; in ſome things ſhee leadeth and traineth them onely by worldly experience and practice. Wee may not ſo in any one ſpeciall kind admire her, that wee diſgrace her in any other; but let all her wayes be according vnto their place and degree adored.

The ſecond proofe out of Scripture. 1. *Cor.* 10. 31. *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 26. S. *Paul* ſayth, that whether we eat or drink or whatſoeuer we do, we muſt doe it to the glorie of God.

2 That *all things bee done to the glory of God*, the bleſſed Apoſtle (it is true) exhorteth. The glory of God is the admirable excellency of that vertue diuine, which being made manifeſt, cauſeth Men and Angels to extoll his greatneſſe, and in regard thereof to feare him. By being glorified, it is not meant that he doth receiue any augmentation of glory at our hands; but his name wee glorifie, when we teſtifie our acknowledgement of his glory. Which albeit wee moſt effectually doe by the vertue of obedience: neuertheleſſe it may bee perhaps a queſtion, whether S^t. *Paul* did meane that we ſinne as oft as euer we goe about any thing, without an expreſſe intent and purpoſe to obey God therein. He ſayth of himſelfe, *I doe in all things pleaſe all men, ſeeking not mine owne commoditie, but* rather the good *of many, that they may bee ſaued*. Shall it hereupon be thought, that Saint *Paul* did not mooue either hand or foot, but with expreſſe intent euen thereby to further the common ſaluation of men? Wee mooue, wee ſleepe, wee take the Cup at the hand of our friend, a number of things wee oftentimes doe, onely to ſatisfie ſome naturall deſire, without preſent expreſſe and actuall reference vnto any Commandement of God. Vnto his glorie euen theſe things are done which wee naturally performe, and not onely that which morally and ſpiritually we doe. For by euery effect proceeding from the moſt concealed inſtincts of nature, his power is made manifeſt. But it doth not therefore follow, that of neceſſitie wee ſhall ſinne, vnleſſe wee expreſly intend this in euery ſuch particular. But be it a thing which requireth no more then onely our generall preſuppoſed willingneſſe to pleaſe God in all things; or bee it a matter wherein wee cannot ſo glorifie the Name of God as wee ſhould, without an actuall intent to doe him in that particular ſome ſpeciall obedience: yet for any thing there is in this ſentence alleaged to the contrarie, God may be glorified by obedience, and obeyed by performance of his will, and his will bee performed with an actuall intelligent deſire to fulfill that Law which maketh knowne what his will is, although no ſpeciall clauſe or ſentence of Scripture be in euery ſuch action ſet before mens eyes to warrant it. For Scripture is not the onely Law wherby God hath opened his wil touching all things that may be done; but there are other kind of Lawes which notifie the will of God, as in the former Booke hath bin prooued at large: Nor is there any Law of God, whereunto he doth not account our obedience his glorie. *Doe therefore all things vnto the glorie of God* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *be inoffenſiue both to the* Iewes *and* Græcians, *and the Church of God; euen as I pleaſe all men in all things, not ſeeking mine owne commoditie, but manies that they may bee ſaued*. In the leaſt

The reaſon why no man can glorifie God in any thing but by obedience; & there is no obedience but in reſpect of the Commandement and Word of God: Therefore it followeth that the Word of God directeth a man in all his actions.

thing

thing done diſobediently towards God, or offenſiuely againſt the good of men, whoſe benefite we ought to ſeeke for as for our owne, we plainely ſhew that we doe not acknowledge God to be ſuch as indeede he is, and conſequently, that we glorifie him not. This the bleſſed Apoſtle teacheth: but doth any Apoſtle teach, that we cannot glorifie God otherwiſe, then onely in doing what we finde that God in Scripture commandeth vs to doe? The Churches diſperſed amongſt the Heathen in the Eaſt part of the World, are by the Apoſtle S. *Peter* exhorted, to haue their *conuerſation honeſt amongſt the Gentiles, that they which ſpake euill of them as of euill doers, might by the good workes which they ſhould ſee, glorifie God in the day of viſitation.* As long as that which Chriſtians did was good, and no way ſubiect vnto iuſt reproofe, their vertuous conuerſation was a meane to worke the Heathens conuerſion vnto Chriſt. Seeing therefore this had beene a thing altogether impoſſible, but that Infidels themſelues did diſcerne, in matters of life and conuerſation, when Beleeuers did well, and when otherwiſe; when they glorified their heauenly Father, and when not: it followeth that ſome things wherein God is glorified, may be ſome other way knowne, then onely by the ſacred Scripture; of which Scripture the Gentiles being vtterly ignorant, did notwithſtanding iudge rightly of the qualitie of Chriſtian mens actions. Moſt certayne it is, that nothing but onely ſinne, doth diſhonor God. So that to glorifie him in all things, is to doe nothing whereby the name of God may be blaſphemed; nothing whereby the ſaluation of Iew or Grecian, or any in the Church of Chriſt may be let or hindred; nothing whereby his Law is tranſgreſt. But the queſtion is, whether onely Scripture doe ſhew what ſoeuer God is glorified in.

1. *Pet.* 2. 12.

Rom. 2. 24.

1. *Cor.* 10. 32.

Rom. 2. 23.

3 And though meates and drinkes be ſaid to be ſanctified by the Word of God, and by Prayer: yet neither is this a reaſon ſufficient to proue, that by Scripture we muſt of neceſſitie be directed in euery light and common thing which is incident into any part of mans life. Onely it ſheweth that vnto vs the Word, that is to ſay, the Goſpell of Chriſt, hauing not deliuered any ſuch difference of things cleane and vncleane, as the Law of *Moſes* did vnto the Iewes; there is no cauſe but that we may vſe indifferently all things, as long as we doe not (like Swine) take the benefite of them, without a thankefull acknowledgement of his liberalitie and goodneſſe, by whoſe prouidence they are inioyed: and therefore the Apoſtle gaue warning before-hand, to take heed of ſuch as ſhould inioyne to *abſtayne from meates, which God hath created to be receiued with thanks-giuing, by them which beleeue and know the truth. For euery creature of God is good, and nothing to be refuſed, if it be receiued with thanks-giuing, becauſe it is ſanctified by the word of God and Prayer.* The Goſpell by not making many things vncleane, as the Law did, hath ſanctified thoſe things generally to all, which particularly each man vnto himſelfe muſt ſanctifie by a reuerend and holy vſe: which will hardly be drawne ſo farre, as to ſerue their purpoſe, who haue imagined the Word in ſuch ſort to ſanctifie all things, that neither foode can be taſted, nor rayment put on, nor in the world any thing done, but this deede muſt needes be ſinne in them, which doe not firſt know it appointed vnto them by Scripture before they doe it.

The third Scripture proofe. 1. *Tim* 4. 5.

And that which S *Paul* ſaid of meates and drinkes, that they are ſanctified vnto vs by the Word of God, the ſame is to be vnderſtood of all things elſe whatſoeuer we haue the vſe of. *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 20. 1. *Tim.* 4.

4 But

The fourth Scripture proofe.

4 But to come vnto that which of all other things in Scripture is moſt ſtood vpon; that place of S. *Paul*, they ſay, is *of all other moſt cleere, where ſpeaking of thoſe things which are called indifferent, in the end he concludeth, that whatſoeuer is not of faith, is ſinne. But Faith is not but in reſpect of the Word of God. Therefore, whatſoeuer is not done by the Word of God, is ſinne.* Whereunto wee anſwere, That albeit the name of Faith being properly and ſtrictly taken, it muſt needs haue reference vnto ſome vttered word, as the obiect of beliefe: neuertheleſſe, ſith the ground of credit is the credibilitie of things credited; and things are made credible, either by the knowne Condition and qualitie of the Vtterer, or by the manifeſt likelihood of truth which they haue in themſelues; hereupon it riſeth, that whatſoeuer we are perſwaded of, the ſame we are generally ſaid to beleeue. In which generalitie, the obiect of faith may not ſo narrowly be reſtrayned, as if the ſame did extend no further then to the only Scriptures of God. *Though* (ſaith our Sauiour) *ye beleeue not me, beleeue my works, that yee may know and beleeue that the Father is in me, and I in him. The other Diſciples ſaid vnto* THOMAS, *We haue ſeene the Lord*; but his anſwere vnto them was, *Except I ſee in his hands the print of the nayles, and put my finger into them, I will not beleeue.* Can there be any thing more plaine, then that which by theſe two ſentences appeareth, namely, that there may be a certayne beliefe grounded vpon other aſſurance then Scripture; any thing more cleere, then that wee are ſaid not onely to beleeue the things which we know by anothers relation, but euen whatſoeuer we are certainely perſwaded of, whether it be by reaſon, or by ſenſe? For as much therefore as *it is granted, that S. *Paul* doth meane nothing elſe by *Faith*, but onely *a full perſwaſion that that which we doe is well done*; againſt which kinde of faith or perſwaſion, as S. *Paul* doth count it ſinne to enterprize any thing, [a] ſo likewiſe ſome of the very Heathen haue taught, as TVLLY, *That nothing ought to be done whereof thou doubteſt whether it be right or wrong; whereby it appeareth that euen thoſe which had no knowledge of the Word of God, did ſee much of the equitie of this which the Apoſtle requireth of a Chriſtian man*: I hope we ſhall not ſeeme altogether vnneceſſarily to doubt of the ſoundneſſe of their opinion, who thinke ſimply that nothing but onely the Word of God, can giue vs aſſurance in any thing we are to doe, and reſolue vs that we doe well. For might not the Iewes haue been fully perſwaded that they did wel to thinke (if they had ſo thought) that in Chriſt God the father was, although the only ground of this their faith, had beene the wonderfull workes they ſaw him doe? Might not, yea, did not *Thomas* fully in the end perſwade himſelfe, that he did well to thinke that body, which now was rayſed, to be the ſame which had beene crucified? That which gaue *Thomas* this aſſurance was his ſenſe; THOMAS, *becauſe thou haſt ſeene, thou beleeueſt*, ſaith our Sauiour. What Scripture had *Tully* for his aſſurance? Yet I nothing doubt but that they who alleage him, thinke he did well to ſet downe

Pſal.10.8. Apoc.3.14. 2.Cor.1.18.

Iob.10.38.

Iob.20.25.

Rom.14.23. T.C.lib.1.p.27.

Iob.20.21.

* And if any will ſay, that Saint *Paul* meaneth there a full πληροφορίαν and perſwaſion, that that which he doth is well done, I grant it. But from whence can that ſpring, but from Faith? How can we perſwade and aſſure our ſelues that we doe well, but whereas we haue the Word of God for our warrant? *T.C.lib.1.cap.27.* [a] What alſo that ſome euen of thoſe Heathen men haue taught, that nothing ought to be done, whereof thou doubteſt whether it be right or wrong? Whereby it appeareth, that euen thoſe which had no knowledge of the Word of God, did ſee much of the equitie of this which the Apoſtle requireth of a Chriſtian man, and that the chiefeſt difference is, that where they ſent men for the difference of good and euill to the light of Reaſon, in ſuch things the Apoſtle ſendeth them to the Schoole of Chriſt in his Word, which onely is able through Faith to giue them aſſurance and reſolution in their doings. *T.C.lib.1.pag.60.*

downe in writing a thing ſo conſonant vnto truth. Finally, we all beleeue that the Scriptures of God are Sacred, and that they haue proceeded from God, our ſelues we aſſure that wee doe right well in ſo beleeuing. We haue for this point a demonſtration ſound and infallible. But it is not the Word of God which doth or poſſibly can aſſure vs, that wee doe well to thinke it his Word. For if any one Booke of Scripture did giue teſtimonie to all; yet ſtill that Scripture which giueth credit to the reſt, would require another Scripture to giue credit vnto it: neyther could we euer come vnto any pauſe whereon to reſt our aſſurance this way: ſo that vnleſſe beſides Scripture there were ſome thing which might aſſure vs that we doe well, we could not thinke we doe well, no not in being aſſured that Scripture is a ſacred and holy Rule of well doing. On which determination wee might bee contented to ſtay our ſelues without further proceeding herein, but that we are drawne on into larger ſpeech by reaſon of their ſo great earneſtneſſe, who beate more and more vpon theſe laſt alleaged words, as being of all other moſt pregnant. Whereas therefore, they ſtill argue, that *whereſoeuer Faith is wanting, there is ſinne*, and *in euery action not commanded, Faith is wanting*; Ergo, *in euery action not commanded, there is ſinne*: I would demand of them, firſt, for as much as the nature of things indifferent is neyther to be commanded nor forbidden, but left free and arbitrarie; how there can be any thing indifferent, if for want of faith ſinne be committed, when any thing not commanded is done. So that of neceſſitie they muſt adde ſomewhat, and at leaſtwiſe thus ſet it downe: In euerie action not commanded of God or permitted with approbation, Faith is wanting, and for want of Faith there is ſinne. The next thing wee are to enquire is, what thoſe things bee which God permitteth with approbation, and how wee may know them to bee ſo permitted. When there are vnto one end ſundrie meanes, as for example, for the ſuſtenance of our bodies many kinds of food, many ſorts of rayment to cloath our nakednеſſe, and ſo in other things of like condition: here the end it ſelfe being neceſſarie, but not ſo any one meane thereunto; neceſſarie that our bodies ſhould be both fed and clothed, howbeit no one kind of food or rayment neceſſary; therefore we hold theſe things free in their owne nature and indifferent. The choice is left to our owne diſcretion, except a principal bond of ſome higher dutie remooue the indifferencie that ſuch things haue in themſelues. Their indifferencie is remooued, if eyther wee take away our owne libertie, as *Ananias* did, for whom to haue ſold or held his poſſeſſions it was indifferent, till his ſolemne Vow and Promiſe vnto God had ſtrictly bound him one onely way: or if God himſelfe haue preciſely abridged the ſame, by reſtraining vs vnto, or by barring vs from ſome one or more things of many, which otherwiſe were in themſelues altogether indifferent. Many faſhions of Prieſtly attire there were, whereof *Aaron* and his Sonnes might haue had their free choice without ſinne, but that God expreſſely tyed them vnto one. All meats indifferent vnto the Iew, were it not that God by name excepted ſome, as Swines fleſh. Impoſſible therefore it is we ſhould otherwiſe thinke, then that what things God doth neyther command nor forbid, the ſame hee permitteth with approbation eyther to be done or left vndone. *All things are lawfull vnto me*, ſayth the Apoſtle, ſpeaking as it ſeemeth, in the perſon of the Chriſtian Gentile for maintenance of libertie in things indifferent: whereunto his

T.C.l.2.p.58.

Act.5.

Exod.39.1.43.

Leuit.11.

1.Cor.6.12.

anſwere

anſwere is, that neuertheleſſe *All things are not expedient*; in things indifferent there is a choice, they are not alwayes equally expedient. Now in things although not commanded of God, yet lawfull becauſe they are permitted, the queſtion is, what light ſhall ſhew vs the conueniencie which one hath aboue another. For anſwere, their finall determination is, that *whereas the Heathen did ſend men for the difference of good and euill to the light of reaſon, in ſuch things the Apoſtle ſendeth vs to the ſchoole of Chriſt in his word, which onely is able through faith to giue vs aſſurance and reſolution in our doings.* Which word *Only*, is vtterly without poſſibility of euer being proued. For what if it were true concerning things indifferent, that vnleſſe the Word of the Lord had determined of the free vſe of them, there could haue bin no lawful vſe of them at all; which notwithſtanding is vntrue; becauſe it is not the Scriptures ſetting downe ſuch things as indifferent, but their not ſetting downe as neceſſary, that doth make them to be indifferent: yet this to our preſent purpoſe ſerueth nothing at all. Wee inquire not now whether any thing be free to be vſed, which Scripture hath not ſet down as free: but concerning things knowne and acknowledged to bee indifferent, whether particularly in chooſing any one of them before another we ſinne, if any thing but Scripture direct vs in this our choice. When many meates are ſet before me, all are indifferent, none vnlawfull; I take one as moſt conuenient. If Scripture require me ſo to doe, then is not the thing indifferent, becauſe I muſt doe what Scripture requireth. They are all indifferent, I might take any; Scripture doth not require of me to make any ſpeciall choice of one: I doe notwithſtanding make choice of one, my diſcretion teaching me ſo to doe. A hard caſe, that hereupon I ſhould be iuſtly condemned of ſin. Nor let any man think, that following the iudgement of naturall diſcretion in ſuch caſes, we can haue no aſſurance that we pleaſe God. For to the author and God of our nature, how ſhal any operation proceeding in naturall ſort, be in that reſpect vnacceptable? The nature which himſelfe hath giuen to work by, he cannot but be delighted with, when wee exerciſe the ſame any way without Commandement of his to the contrary. My deſire is to make this cauſe ſo manifeſt, that if it were poſſible, no doubt or ſcruple concerning the ſame might remaine in any mans cogitation. Some truths there are, the veritie whereof time doth alter: as it is now true that Chriſt is riſen from the dead; which thing was not true at ſuch time as Chriſt was liuing on earth, and had not ſuffered. It would be knowne therefore, whether this which they teach concerning the ſinfull ſtaine of all actions not commanded of God, be a truth that doth now appertaine vnto vs only, or a perpetual truth, in ſuch ſort that from the firſt beginning of the world vnto the laſt conſummation thereof, it neither hath bin, nor can be otherwiſe. I ſee not how they can reſtraine this vnto any particular time, how they can think it true now and not alwayes true, that in euery action not commanded there is for want of faith ſinne. Then let them caſt backe their eies vnto former generations of men, and marke what was done in the prime of the World. *Seth*, *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Iob*, and the reſt that liued before any ſyllable of the Law of God was written, did they not ſinne as much as we doe in euery action not commanded? That which God is vnto vs by his Sacred Word, the ſame hee was vnto them by ſuch like meanes as *Eliphas* in *Iob* deſcribeth. If therefore wee ſinne in euery action which the Scripture commandeth vs not, it followeth that they did the

Iob. 4. 19.

like

like in all ſuch actions as were not by Reuelation from Heauen exacted at their hands. Vnleſſe God from Heauen did by Viſion ſtil ſhew them what to doe, they might doe nothing, not eate, not drinke, not ſleepe, not mooue. Yea, but euen as in darkeneſſe, candlelight may ſerue to guide mens ſteps, which to vſe in the day were madneſſe; ſo when God had once deliuered his Law in Writing, it may be they are of opinion, that then it muſt needes bee ſinne for men to doe any thing, which was not there commanded them to doe, whatſoeuer they might doe before. Let this bee granted, and it ſhall hereupon plainely enſue, either that the light of Scripture once ſhining in the World, all other light of nature is therwith in ſuch ſort drowned, that now wee need it not, neither may we longer vſe it; or if it ſtand vs in any ſtead, yet as *Ariſtotle* ſpeaketh of men whom nature hath framed for the ſtate of ſeruitude, ſaying, *They haue reaſon ſo farre forth as to conceiue when others direct them*, but little or none in directing themſelues by themſelues; ſo likewiſe our naturall capacitie and iudgement muſt ſerue vs only for the right vnderſtanding of that which the Sacred Scripture teacheth. Had the Prophets who ſucceeded *Moſes*, or the bleſſed Apoſtles which followed them, bin ſettled in this perſwaſion, neuer would they haue taken ſo great paines in gathering together naturall Arguments, thereby to teach the faithfull their duties. To vſe vnto them any other motiue then *Scriptum eſt, Thus it is written*, had bin to teach them other grounds of their actions then Scripture; which I grant, they alleage commonly but not onely. Onely Scripture they ſhould haue alleaged, had they bin thus perſwaded, that ſo farre forth we doe ſin, as we doe any thing otherwiſe directed then by Scripture. Saint *Auguſtine* was reſolute in points of Chriſtianity to credit none, how godly and learned ſoeuer he were, vnleſſe he confirmed his ſentence by the Scriptures, *or by ſome reaſon not contrary to them*. Let them therefore with Saint *Auguſtine*, reiect and condemne that which is not grounded either on the Scripture, or on ſome reaſon not contrarie to Scripture, and wee are readie to giue them our hands in token of friendly conſent with them.

Ariſt. Pol. 1.

Auguſt. Ep. 18.

5 But againſt this it may bee obiected, and is, that the Fathers doe nothing more vſually in their Books, then draw arguments from the Scripture negatiuely in reproofe of that which is euill; *Scriptures teach it not, auoid it therefore*; theſe Diſputes with the Fathers are ordinarie, neither is it hard to ſhew that the Prophets themſelues haue ſo reaſoned. Which Arguments being ſound and good, it ſhould ſeeme that it cannot be vnſound or euill to hold ſtill the ſame aſſertion, againſt which hitherto we haue diſputed. For if it ſtand with reaſon thus to argue, Such a thing is not taught vs in Scripture, therefore wee may not receiue or allow it: how ſhould it ſeeme vnreaſonable to thinke, that whatſoeuer wee may lawfully doe, the Scripture by commanding it muſt make it lawfull? But how far ſuch Arguments doe reach, it ſhall the better appeare by conſidering the matter wherein they haue beene vrged. Firſt therefore, this we conſtantly denie, that of ſo many teſtimonies as they are able to produce for the ſtrength of negatiue Arguments, any one doth generally (which is the point in queſtion) condemne either all opinions as falſe, or all actions as vnlawfull, which the Scripture teacheth vs not. The moſt that can be collected out of them is onely, that in ſome caſes a negatiue argument taken from Scripture is ſtrong; wherof no man indued with iudgement can doubt. But doth the ſtrength of ſome negatiue Argument

The firſt aſſertion indeuoured to be proued by the vſe of taking arguments negatiuely from the authoritie of Scripture: which kind of diſputing is vſuall in the Fathers.

prooue this kind of negatiue Argument ſtrong, by force whereof all things are denied which Scripture affirmeth not, or all things which Scripture preſcribeth not, condemned? The queſtion betweene vs is concerning matter of action, what things are lawfull or vnlawfull for men to doe. The ſentences alleaged out of the Fathers, are as peremptorie and as large in euery reſpect for matter of opinion, as of action: which argueth that in truth they neuer meant any otherwiſe to tye the one then the other vnto Scripture, both being thereunto equally tyed, as farre as each is required in the ſame kind of neceſſitie vnto Saluation. If therefore it be not vnlawfull to know, and with full perſwaſion to beleeue, much more then Scripture alone doth teach; if it be againſt all ſenſe and reaſon to condemne the knowledge of ſo many Artes and Sciences as are otherwiſe learned then in Holy Scripture, notwithſtanding the manifeſt ſpeeches of ancient Catholike Fathers which ſeeme to cloſe vp within the boſome thereof all manner good and lawfull knowledge: wherefore ſhould their wordes be thought more effectuall, to ſhew that we may not in deeds and practice, then they are to proue that in ſpeculation and knowledge, wee ought not to goe any farther then the Scripture? Which Scripture, being giuen to teach matters of beliefe no leſſe then of action; the Fathers muſt needes bee, and are euen as plaine againſt credit, beſides the relation; as againſt practice, without the Iniunction of the Scripture.

Aug. contr. liter. Petil. l. 3. c. 6. Saint *Auguſtine* hath ſaid, *Whether it be queſtion of Chriſt, or whether it be queſtion of his Church, or of what thing ſoeuer the queſtion be; I ſay not if we, but if an Angell from Heauen ſhall tell vs any thing beſide that you haue receiued in the Scripture vnder the Law and the Goſpell, let him be accurſed.* In like ſort TERTVLLIAN, *We may not giue our ſelues this libertie to bring in any thing of our will, nor chooſe any thing that other men bring in of their will; we haue the Apoſtles themſelues for Authors, which themſelues brought nothing of their owne will, but the diſcipline which they receiued of Chriſt they deliuered faithfully vnto the people.* In which place the name of Diſcipline importeth not as they who alleage it would faine haue it cõſtrued; but as any man who noteth the circumſtance of the place, and the occaſion of vttering the words, wil eaſily acknowledge; euen the ſelfe-ſame thing it ſignifieth which the name of Doctrine doth, and as well might the one as the other there haue bin vſed. To helpe them farther, doth not S. *Ierome* after the ſelfe-ſame manner diſpute, *We beleeue it not becauſe we read it not?* Yea, *We ought not ſo much as to know the things which the Booke of the Law containeth not*, ſaith S. *Hilarie*. Shal we hereupon then cõclude that we may not take knowledge of, or giue credit vnto any thing, which ſenſe, or experience, or report, or arte doth propoſe, vnleſſe wee find the ſame in Scripture? No, it is too plaine that ſo farre to extend their ſpeeches, is to wreſt them againſt their true intent and meaning. To vrge any thing vpon the Church, requiring thereunto that Religious aſſent of Chriſtian beliefe, wherewith the words of the Holy Prophets are receiued; to vrge any thing as part of that ſupernaturall and Celeſtially reuealed Truth which God hath taught, and not to ſhew it in Scripture, this did the ancient Fathers euermore thinke vnlawfull, impious, execrable. And thus as their ſpeeches were meant, ſo by vs they muſt be reſtrained. As for for thoſe alleged words

Tertull. de præſcrip. aduerſ.

T. C. l. 2. p. 81. *Auguſtine* ſaith, whether it be queſtion of Chriſt, or whether it bee queſtion of his Church, &c. And leſt the Anſwerer ſhould reſtraine the generall ſaying of *Auguſtine* vnto the Doctrine of the Goſpell, ſo that hee would thereby ſhut out the Diſcipline; euen *Tertullian* himſelfe before hee was embrued with the Hereſie of *Montanus*, giueth teſtimonie vnto the Diſcipline in theſe words, *We may not giue our ſelues, &c.*

Hieron. contra Heluid.
Hilar. in Pſ. 132.

of

of CYPRIAN, *The Chriſtian Religion ſhall find, that out of this Scripture Rules of all Doctrines haue ſprung, and that from hence doth ſpring, and hither doth returne whatſoeuer the Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline doth containe:* ſurely this place would neuer haue bin brought forth in this cauſe, if it had bin but once read ouer in the Authour himſelfe, out of whom it is cited. For the words are vttered concerning that one principall Commandement of loue, in the honor whereof he ſpeaketh after this ſort: *Surely this Commandement containeth the Law and the Prophets, and in this one Word is the Abridgement of all the Volumes of Scripture: This Nature, and Reaſon, and the authoritie of thy Word, O Lord, doth proclaime, this we haue heard out of thy mouth, herein the perfection of all Religion doth conſiſt. This is the firſt Commandement and the laſt: this being written in the Booke of Life, is (as it were) an euerlaſting leſſon both to Men and Angels. Let Chriſtian Religion read this one Word, and meditate vpon this Commandement, and out of this Scripture it ſhall find the Rules of all Learning to haue ſprung, and from hence to haue riſen, and hither to returne whatſoeuer the Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline containeth; and that in all things it is vaine and bootleſſe which Charitie confirmeth not.* Was this a ſentence (trow you) of ſo great force to proue that Scripture is the onely rule of all the actions of men? Might they not hereby euen as well proue, that one Commandement of Scripture is the onely rule of all things, and ſo exclude the reſt of the Scripture, as now they doe all meanes beſides Scripture? But thus it fareth, when too much deſire of contradiction cauſeth our ſpeech rather to paſſe by number, then to ſtay for waight. Well, but *Tertullian* doth in this caſe ſpeake yet more plainely: *The Scripture* (ſaith he) *denieth what it noteth not:* which are indeed the words of *Tertullian*. But what? the Scripture reckoneth vp the Kings of Iſrael, and amongſt thoſe Kings *Dauid:* the Scripture reckoneth vp the ſonnes of *Dauid*, and amongſt thoſe ſonnes *Salomon*. To proue that amongſt the Kings of Iſrael, there was no *Dauid* but only one, no *Salomon* but one in the ſonnes of *Dauid*, *Tertullians* Argument will fitly proue. For in as much as the Scripture did propoſe to reckon vp all, if there were moe, it would haue named them. In this caſe *the Scripture doth denie the thing it noteth not.* Howbeit I could not but thinke that man to doe mee ſome piece of manifeſt iniury, which would hereby faſten vpon mee a generall opinion, as if I did thinke the Scripture to denie the very Raigne of King *Henry* the Eight, becauſe it no where noteth that any ſuch King did raigne. *Tertullians* ſpeech is probable concerning ſuch matter as he there ſpeaketh of. There was, ſaith *Tertullian*, no ſecond *Lamech*, like to him that had two Wiues; the Scripture denieth what it noteth not. As therefore it noteth one ſuch to haue bin in that Age of the World; ſo had there bin moe, it would by likelihood as well haue noted many as one. What infer we now hereupon? *There was no ſecond Lamech; the Scripture denieth what it noteth not.* Were it conſonant vnto reaſon to diuorce theſe two ſentences, the former of which doth ſhew how the later is reſtrained; and not marking the former, to conclude by the later of them, that ſimply whatſoeuer any man at this day doth thinke true, is by the Scripture denied, vnleſſe it bee there affirmed to bee true? I wonder that a caſe ſo weake and feeble hath

T.C.lib.2.pag 8. Let him heare what *Cyprian* ſayth: The Chriſtian Religion (ſayth hee) ſhall find, that, &c.

Verè hoc mandatum legem complectitur & Prophetas, & in hoc verbo omnium Scripturarum volumina coarctantur. Hoc natura, hoc ratio, hoc Domine, verbi tui clamat authoritas, hoc ex ore tuo audiuimus, hic inuenit conſummationem omnis Religio. Primum eſt hoc mandatum & vltimum; hoc in libro vitæ conſcriptum indeficientem & hominibus & Angelis exhibet lectionem. Legat hoc vnum verbum & in hoc mandato meditetur Chriſtiana Religio, & inueniet ex HAC Scriptura omnium doctrinarum regulas emanaſſe, & hinc naſci & huc reuerti quicquid Eccleſiaſtica continet diſciplina, & in omnibus irritum eſſe & friuolum quicquid dilectio non confirmat.

Tertull.lib.de Monog. *T.C.lib.2.p.81.* And in another place *Tertullian* ſayth that the Scripture denieth that which it noteth not.

bin ſo much perſiſted in. But to come vnto thoſe their ſentences, wherin matters of action are more apparantly touched, the name of *Tertullian* is as before, ſo here againe pretended; who writing vnto his Wife two Bookes, and exhorting her in the one to liue a widow, in caſe God before her ſhould take him vnto his mercy; and in the other, if ſhe did marry, yet not to ioyne her ſelfe to an Infidel, as in thoſe times ſome Widowes Chriſtian had done for the aduancement of their eſtate in this preſent World, he vrgeth very earneſtly S. *Pauls* words, *only in the Lord*: whereupon hee demandeth of them that thinke they may doe the contrary, what Scripture they can ſhew where God hath diſpenſed and granted licence to doe againſt that which the bleſſed Apoſtle ſo ſtrictly doth inioyne. And becauſe in defence it might perhaps be replied, ſeeing God doth will that couples which are married when both are Infidels, if either partie chance to bee after conuerted vnto Chriſtianity, this ſhould not make ſeparation between them, as long as the vnconuerted was willing to retaine the other on whom the grace of Chriſt had ſhined; wherefore then ſhould that let the making of marriage, which doth not diſſolue marriage being made? after great reaſons ſhewed why God doth in Conuerts being married, allow continuance with Infidels, and yet diſallow that the faithfull when they are free ſhould enter into bonds of Wedlocke with ſuch, concludeth in the end concerning thoſe women that ſo marry, *They that pleaſe not the Lord, do euen thereby offend the Lord, they doe euen thereby throw themſelues into euill*: that is to ſay, while they pleaſe him not by marrying in him, they doe that whereby they incurre his diſpleaſure, they make an offer of themſelues into the ſeruice of that enemy with whoſe ſeruants they linke themſelues in ſo neere a bond. What one ſyllable is there in all this, preiudiciall any way to that which we hold? For the words of *Tertullian* as they are by them alleaged, are two waies miſunderſtood; both in the former part, where that is extended generally to *all things* in the neuter gender, which hee ſpeaketh in the feminine gender of womens perſons; & in the later, where *receiued with hurt*, is put in ſtead of *wilfull incurring that which is euil*. And ſo in ſumme, *Tertullian* doth neither mean nor ſay as is pretended, *Whatſoeuer pleaſeth not the Lord diſpleaſeth him, and with hurt is receiued*; but *Thoſe women that pleaſe not the Lord* by their kind of marrying, *doe euen thereby offend the Lord, they do euen therby throw themſelues into euill*. Somewhat more ſhew there is in a ſecond place of *Tertullian*, which notwithſtanding when we haue examined it, will be found as the reſt are. The Romane Emperours cuſtome was at certaine ſolemne times to beſtow on his Souldiers a Donatiue; which Donatiue they receiued, wearing Garlands vpon their heads. There were in the time of the Emperours *Seuerus* & *Antoninus*, many who being Souldiers, had bin conuerted vnto Chriſt, & notwithſtanding continued ſtill in that Militarie courſe of life. In which number, one man there was amongſt all the reſt, who at ſuch a time comming

*T.C.l.*2. *p.*80. And that in indifferent things it is not enough that they be not againſt the Word, but that they be according to the Word, it may appeare by other places, where he ſaith, that whatſoeuer pleaſeth not the Lord, diſpleaſeth him, and with hurt is receiued, *Lib.*2. *ad vxorem.*

Quæ Domino non placent, vtiq; Dominum offendunt, vtiq; malo ſe inferunt.

*T.C.l.*2. *p.*81. And to come yet neerer, where he diſputeth againſt the wearing of Crowne or Garland (which is indifferent in it ſelfe) to thoſe which obiecting asked, where the Scripture ſaith that a man might not weare a Crown; hee anſwereth by asking where the Scripture ſaith that they may weare? And vnto them replying that it is permitted, which is not forbidden, hee anſwereth that it is forbidden which is not permitted. Whereby appeareth, that the argument of the Scriptures negatiuely, holdeth not only in the Doctrine and Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline, but euen in matters arbitrary and variable by the aduice of the Church. Where it is not enough that they bee not forbidden, vnleſſe there be ſome word which doth permit the vſe of them: it is not enough that the Scripture ſpeaketh not againſt them, vnleſſe it ſpeake for them; and finally, where it diſpleaſeth the Lord which pleaſeth him not, we muſt of neceſſitie haue the word of his mouth to declare his pleaſure.

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to the Tribune of the Army to receiue his Donatiue, came but with a Garland in his hand, & not in ſuch ſort as others did. The Tribune offended hereat, demandeth what this great ſingularitie ſhould meane. To whom the Souldier, *Chriſtianus ſum, I am a Chriſtian.* Many there were ſo beſides him, which yet did otherwiſe at that time; whereupon grew a queſtion, whether a Chriſtian Souldier might herein doe as the vnchriſtian did, and weare as they wore. Many of them which were very ſound in Chriſtian Beliefe, did rather commend the zeale of this man, then approue his action. *Tertullian* was at the ſame time a *Montaniſt*, and an enemie vnto the Church for condemning that propheticall ſpirit, which *Montanus* and his followers did boaſt they had receiued; as if in them Chriſt had performed his laſt promiſe; as if to them he had ſent the Spirit that ſhould be their perfecter and finall inſtructer in the myſteries of Chriſtian truth. Which exulceration of minde made him apt to take all occaſions of contradiction. Wherefore in honor of that action, and to gall their minds who did not ſo much commend it, he wrote his Booke *De corona militis*, not diſſembling the ſtomake wherewith he wrote it. For firſt the man he commendeth as one more conſtant then the reſt of his Brethren, *Who preſumed*, ſaith hee, *that they might well enough ſerue two Lords.* Afterwards choler ſomewhat riſing within him, he addeth, *It doth euen remaine that they ſhould alſo deuiſe how to rid themſelues of his Martyrdomes, towards the Propheſies of whoſe Holy Spirit they haue alreadie ſhewed their diſdaine. They mutter that their good and long peace is now in hazard. I doubt not but ſome of them ſend the Scriptures before, truſſe vp bagge and baggage, make themſelues in a readineſſe, that they may flye from Citie to Citie. For that is the only point of the Goſpell which they are careful not to forget. I know euen their Paſtors very well what men they are, in peace Lions, Harts in time of trouble and feare.* Now theſe men, ſaith *Tertullian*, *They muſt be anſwered where we doe find it written in Scripture*, that a Chriſtian man may not weare a Garland. And as mens ſpeeches vttred in heat of diſtempered affection, haue oftentimes much more eagerneſſe then waight; ſo he that ſhall marke the proofes alleaged, and the anſwers to things obiected in that Booke, wil now and then perhaps eſpy the like imbecillitie. Such is that argument wherby they that wore on their heads Garlands, are charged as tranſgreſſors of Natures Law, and guilty of Sacriledge againſt God the Lord of Nature, in as much as Flowers in ſuch ſort worne, can neither bee ſmelt nor ſeene well by thoſe that weare them: and God made Flowers ſweet and beautifull, that being ſeene and ſmelt vnto, they might ſo delight. Neither doth *Tertullian* bewray this weakneſſe in ſtriking onely, but alſo in repelling their ſtrokes with whom he contendeth. They aske, ſaith he, *What Scripture is there which doth teach that we ſhould not be crowned? And what Scripture is there which doth teach that we ſhould? For in requiring on the contrary part the aide of Scripture, they doe giue ſentence before-hand that their part ought alſo by Scripture to be aided.* Which anſwer is of no great force. There is no neceſſity, that if I confeſſe I ought not to doe that which the Scripture forbiddeth mee, I ſhould thereby acknowledge my ſelfe bound to doe nothing which the Scripture commandeth me not. For many inducements beſides Scripture may lead me to that, which if Scripture be againſt, they all giue place, and are of no value; yet otherwiſe are ſtrong and effectuall to perſwade. Which thing himſelfe well enough vnderſtanding, and being not ignorant that Scripture in many things

Tert. de corona militis.

doth neyther command nor forbid, but vſe ſilence; his reſolution in fine is that in the Church a number of things are ſtrictly obſerued, whereof no Law of Scripture maketh mention one way or other; that of things once receiued and confirmed by vſe, long vſage is a Law ſufficient; that in ciuill affaires when there is no other Law, cuſtome it ſelfe doth ſtand for Law; that in as much as Law doth ſtand vpon reaſon, to alleage reaſon ſerueth as well as to cite Scripture; that whatſoeuer is reaſonable, the ſame is lawfull whoſoeuer is Author of it; that the authoritie of cuſtome is great; finally, that the cuſtome of Chriſtians was then and had bin a long time not to weare Garlands, and therefore that vndoubtedly they did offend, who preſumed to violate ſuch a cuſtome by not obſeruing that thing: the very inueterate obſeruation whereof was a Law ſufficient to bind all men to obſerue it, vnleſſe they could ſhew ſome higher Law, ſome Law of Scripture to the contrarie. This preſuppoſed, it may ſtand then very wel with ſtrength and ſoundneſſe of reaſon, euen thus to anſwere; *Whereas they aske what Scripture forbiddeth them to weare a Garland, we are in this caſe rather to demand what Scripture commandeth them. They cannot here alleage that it is permitted which is not forbidden them: no, that is forbidden them which is not permitted.* For long receiued cuſtome forbidding them to doe as they did (if ſo be it did forbid them) there was no excuſe in the World to iuſtifie their act, vnleſſe in the Scripture they could ſhew ſome Law that did licenſe them thus to breake a receiued cuſtome. Now wheras in al the Bookes of *Tertullian* beſides, there is not ſo much found as in that one, to proue not only that we may doe, but that we ought to doe ſundry things which the Scripture commandeth not; out of that verie Booke theſe ſentences are brought to make vs beleeue that *Tertullian* was of a cleane contrarie minde. Wee cannot therefore hereupon yeeld, we cannot grant, that hereby is made manifeſt the argument of Scripture negatiue to be of force, not only in Doctrine and Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline, but euen in matters arbitrarie. For *Tertullian* doth plainly hold euen in that Book, that neither the matter which he intreateth of was arbitrary but neceſſary, in as much as the receiued cuſtome of the Church did tye & bind them not to weare Garlands as the Heathens did; yea, & further alſo he reckoneth vp particularly a number of things, whereof he expreſly concludeth, *Harum & aliarum eiuſmodi diſciplinarum ſi legem expoſtules Scripturarum, nullam inuenies*; which is as much as if he had ſaid in expreſſe words, Many things there are which cõcerne the diſcipline of the Church & the duties of men, which to abrogate & take away, the Scriptures negatiuely vrged may not in any caſe perſwade vs, but they muſt be obſerued, yea although no Scripture be found which requireth any ſuch thing. *Tertullian* therfore vndoubtedly doth not in this Booke ſhew himſelfe to be of the ſame mind with them by whom his name is pretended.

The firſt aſſertion endeuoured to be confirmed by the Scriptures cuſtome of diſputing from Diuine authority negatiuely. 1.

6 But ſith the Sacred Scriptures themſelues affoord oftentimes ſuch Arguments as are taken from diuine authority both one way and other, *The Lord hath commanded, therefore it muſt be*: And againe, in like ſort, *He hath not, therefore it muſt not be*: ſome certainty concerning this point ſeemeth requiſite to be ſet downe. God himſelfe can neither poſſibly erre, nor lead into errour. For this cauſe his teſtimonies, whatſoeuer he affirmeth, are alwayes truth and moſt infallible cer-

*Iob.*12.5. God is light, and there is in him no darkneſſe at all. *Heb.*6.18. It is impoſſible that God ſhould lye, *Numb.*23.19. God is not as man that he ſhould lye.

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tainty. Yea further, becauſe the things that proceed from him are perfect without any manner of defect or maime; it cānot be but that the words of his mouth are abſolute, & lacke nothing which they ſhould haue, for performance of that thing wherunto they tend. Whereupon it followeth, that the end being knowne whereunto he directeth his ſpeech, the argument negatiuely is euermore ſtrong and forcible, concerning thoſe things that are apparantly requiſit vnto the ſame end. As for example, God intending to ſet downe ſundrie times that which in Angels is moſt excellent, hath not any where ſpoken ſo highly of them as he hath of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt; therefore they are not in dignitie equall vnto him. It is the Apoſtle S. *Pauls* argument. The purpoſe of God was to teach his People, both vnto whom they ſhould offer ſacrifice, and what ſacrifice was to be offered. To burne their ſons in fire vnto *Baal* he did not command them, hee ſpake no ſuch thing, neither came it into his minde: therefore this they ought not to haue done. Which argument the Prophet *Ieremie* vſeth more then once, as being ſo effectual & ſtrong, that although the thing he reproueth were not only commanded but forbidden them, and that expreſly; yet the Prophet chooſeth rather to charge them with the fault of making a Law vnto themſelues, then the crime of tranſgreſſing a Law which God had made. For when the Lord had once himſelfe preciſely ſet downe a forme of executing that wherein we are to ſerue him, the fault appeareth greater to doe that which we are not, then not to doe that which we are commanded. In this we ſeeme to charge the Law of God with hardneſſe only, in that with fooliſhneſſe; in this we ſhew our ſelues weake and vnapt to be doers of his Will, in that we take vpon vs to be Controllers of his wiſedome: in this we faile to performe the thing which God ſeeth meete, conuenient and good; in that we preſume to ſee what is meete and conuenient better then God himſelfe. In thoſe actions therefore the whole forme whereof God hath of purpoſe ſet downe to be obſerued, we may not otherwiſe doe then exactly, as he hath preſcribed: in ſuch things negatiue Arguments are ſtrong. Againe, with a negatiue argument *Dauid* is preſſed concerning the purpoſe he had to build a Temple vnto the Lord: *Thus ſaith the Lord, Thou ſhalt not build me an houſe to dwell in. Whereſoeuer I haue walked with all Iſrael, ſpake I one word to any of the Iudges of Iſrael, whom I commanded to feede my people, ſaying, Why haue yee not built me an houſe?* The Iewes vrged with a negatiue argument touching the aide which they ſought at the hands of the King of Egypt, *Woe to thoſe rebellious children* (ſaith the Lord) *which walke forth to goe downe into Egypt, and haue not asked counſell at my mouth, to ſtrengthen themſelues with the ſtrength of* PHARAO. Finally, the league of *Ioſhua* with the Gabeonites is likewiſe with a negatiue argument touched. It

T.C.l.2.p.48. It is not hard to ſhew that the Prophets haue reaſoned negatiuely. As when in the perſon of the Lord the Prophet ſaith, Whereof I haue not ſpoken. *Ieremy* 19.5. and, Which neuer entred into my heart, *Ieremy* 7.31,32. and where he condemneth them becauſe they haue not asked counſell at the mouth of the Lord, *Eſay* 30.2. And it may be ſhewed, that the ſame kinde of argument hath beene vſed, in things which are not of the ſubſtance of Saluation or Damnation, and whereof there was no cōmandement to the contrarie (as in the former there was, *Leuit.*18.21. & 20.3. *Deut.*17.16.) In *Ioſua* the children of Iſrael are charged by the Prophet that they asked not counſell of the mouth of the Lord, when they entred into couenant with the Gabeonites, *Joſh.*9.14. And yet that couenant was not made contrarie vnto any Commandement of God. Moreouer, we reade that when *Dauid* had taken this counſell to build a Temple vnto the Lord, albeit the Lord had reuealed before in his Word that there ſhould be ſuch a ſtanding place, where the Arke of the Couenant and the ſeruice ſhould haue a certayne abiding, and albeit there was no Word of God which forbad *Dauid* to build the Temple: yet the Lord (with commendation of his good affection & zeale he had to the aduancement of his glorie) cōcludeth againſt *Dauids* reſolution to build the Tēple, with this reaſon, namely, that he had giuen no cōmandement of this who ſhould build it, 1.*Chr.*17.6.

*Leuit.*18.21. & 20.3. *Deut.*28.10.

1.*Chron.*17.6.

Eſay 30.1.

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Ioſh.9.14. was not as it ſhould be: And why? The Lord gaue them not that aduice: *They ſought not counſell at the mouth of the Lord.* By the vertue of which examples, if any man ſhould ſuppoſe the force of negatiue arguments approued, when they are taken from Scripture in ſuch ſort as wee in this queſtion are preſſed therewith, they greatly deceiue themſelues. For vnto which of all theſe was it ſaid, that they had done amiſſe in purpoſing to doe, or in doing any thing at all which *the Scripture* commanded them not? Our queſtion is, whether all be ſinne which is done without direction by Scripture, and not whether the Iſraelites did at any time amiſſe by following their owne mindes, without asking counſell of God. No, it was that peoples ſingular priuiledge, a fauour which God vouchſafed them aboue the reſt of the world, that in the affaires of their eſtate, which were not determinable one way or other by the Scripture, himſelfe gaue them extraordinarily direction and counſell, as oft as they ſought it at his hands. Thus God did firſt by ſpeech vnto *Moſes*; after by *Vrim* and *Thummim* vnto Prieſts; laſtly, by dreames and viſions vnto Prophets, from whom in ſuch caſes they were to receiue the anſwere of God. Concerning *Ioſua* therefore, thus ſpake the Lord Num.27.21. vnto *Moſes*, ſaying, *He ſhall ſtand before* ELEAZAR *the Prieſt, who ſhall aske counſell for him by the iudgement of* VRIM *before the Lord*: whereof had *Ioſua* beene mindfull, the fraud of the Gabeonites could not ſo ſmoothly haue paſt vneſpied till there was no helpe. The Iewes had Prophets to haue reſolued them from the mouth of God himſelfe, whether Egyptian aides ſhould profit them, yea or no: but they thought themſelues wiſe enough, and him vnworthy to be of their counſell. In this reſpect therefore was their reproofe, though ſharpe, yet iuſt, albeit there had beene no charge preciſely giuen them that they ſhould alwayes take heede of Egypt. But as for *Dauid*, to thinke that he did euill in determining to build God a Temple, becauſe there was in Scripture no commandement that he ſhould build it, were very iniurious: the purpoſe of his heart was religious and godly, the act moſt worthy of honor and renowne; neither could 1.*Chron.*17. *Nathan* chooſe but admire his vertuous intent, exhort him to goe forward, and beſeech God to proſper him therein. But God ſaw the endleſſe troubles which *Dauid* ſhould be ſubiect vnto during the whole time of his Regiment, and therefore gaue charge to deferre ſo good a worke till the dayes of tranquillitie and peace, wherein it might without interruption be performed. *Dauid* ſuppoſed that it could not ſtand with the duetie which he owed vnto God, to ſet himſelfe in an houſe of Cedar trees, and to behold the Arke of the Lords Couenant vnſettled. This opinion the Lord abateth, by cauſing *Nathan* to ſhew him plainely, that it ſhould be no more imputed vnto him for a fault, then it had beene vnto the Iudges of Iſrael before him, his caſe being the ſame which theirs was, their times not more vnquiet then his, nor more vnfit for ſuch an action. Wherefore concerning the force of negatiue Arguments ſo taken from the authoritie of Scripture as by vs they are denyed, there is in all this leſſe then nothing. And touching that which vnto this purpoſe is borrowed from the Controuerſies ſometime handled betweene Mr. *Harding*, and the worthyeſt Diuine that Chri-

T.C. lib.2. p.50. *M. Harding* reprocheth the B. of Salisburie with this kinde of reaſoning: vnto whom the B. anſwereth, The argument of authoritie negatiuely, is taken to be good, whenſoeuer proofe is taken of Gods Word, & is vſed not onely by vs, but alſo by many of the Catholike Fathers. A litle after he ſheweth the reaſon why the argument of authoritie of the Scripture negatiuely is good, namely, for that the Word of God is perfect. In another place vnto *M. Harding*, caſting him in the teeth with negatiue arguments, he alleageth places out of *Irenæ'*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Leo*, which reaſoned negatiuely of the authoritie of the Scriptures. The places which he alleageth be very full and plaine in generalitie, without any ſuch reſtraint as the Anſwerer imagineth, as they are there to be ſeene.

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ſtendome hath bred for the ſpace of ſome hundreds of yeeres, who being brought vp together in one Vniuerſitie, it fell out in them which was ſpoken of two others; * *They learned in the ſame, that which in contrary Camps they did practiſe.* Of theſe two, the one obiecting that with vs Arguments taken from authoritie negatiuely are ouer-common, the Biſhops anſwere hereunto is, that *this kinde of argument is thought to be good, whenſoeuer proofe is taken of Gods Word, and is vſed not only by vs, but alſo by* S. PAVL, *and by many of the Catholike Fathers.* S. PAVL *ſaith, God ſaid not vnto* ABRAHAM, *In thy ſeedes all the Nations of the earth ſhall be bleſſed, but, In thy ſeed, which is Chriſt, and thereof he thought he made a good argument. Likewiſe, ſaith* ORIGEN, *The bread which the Lord gaue vnto his Diſciples, ſaying vnto them, Take and eate, he deferred not, nor commanded to be reſerued till the next day. Such arguments* ORIGEN *and other learned Fathers thought to ſtand for good, whatſoeuer miſliking Maſter* HARDING *hath found in them. This kinde of proofe is thought to hold in Gods Commandements, for that they be full and perfect; and God hath ſpecially charged vs, that we ſhould neither put to them, nor take fro them: and therefore it ſeemeth good vnto them that haue learned of Chriſt,* Vnus eſt Magiſter veſter Chriſtus, *and haue heard the voice of God the Father from heauen,* Ipſum audite. *But vnto them that adde to the Word of God what them liſteth, and make Gods will ſubiect vnto their will, and breake Gods Commandements for their owne Traditions ſake, vnto them it ſeemeth not good.* Againe, the Engliſh Apologie alleaging the example of the Greekes, how they haue neither priuate Maſſes, nor mangled Sacraments, nor Purgatories, nor Pardons; it pleaſeth Maſter *Harding* to ieſt out the matter, to vſe the helpe of his wits where ſtrength of truth fayled him, and to anſwere with ſcoffing at negatiues. The Biſhops defence in this caſe is, *The ancient learned Fathers hauing to deale with politique Heretikes, that in defence of their errors auouched the iudgement of all the old Biſhops and Doctors that had beene before them, and the generall conſent of the Primitiue and whole vniuerſall Church, and that with as good regard of truth, and as faithfully as you doe now; the better to diſcouer the ſhameleſſe boldneſſe, and nakedneſſe of their doctrine, were often-times likewiſe forced to vſe the negatiue, and ſo to driue the ſame Heretikes as we doe you, to proue their affirmatiues; which thing to doe it was neuer poſſible. The ancient Father* IRENAEVS *thus ſtayed himſelfe, as we doe by the negatiue,* Hoc neq; Prophetæ prædicauerunt, neq; Dominus docuit, neq; Apoſtoli tradiderunt; *This thing neither did the Prophets publiſh, nor our Lord teach, nor the Apoſtles deliuer. By a like negatiue* CHRYSOSTOME *ſaith, This Tree neither* PAVL *planted, nor* APOLLO *watered, nor* GOD *increaſed. In like ſort* LEO *ſaith, What needeth it to beleeue that thing that neither the Law hath taught, nor the Prophets haue ſpoken, nor the Goſpell hath preached, nor the Apoſtles haue deliuered? And againe, How are the new deuices brought in that our Fathers neuer knew?* S. AVGVSTINE *hauing reckoned vp a great number of the Biſhops of Rome, by a generall negatiue ſaith thus, In all this order of ſucceſſion of Biſhops, there is not one Biſhop found, that was a Donatiſt.* Saint GREGORIE *being himſelfe a Biſhop of Rome, and writing againſt the Title of vniuerſall Biſhop, ſaith thus, None of all my Predeceſſors euer conſented to vſe this vngodly Title; No Biſhop of Rome euer tooke vpon him this name of Singularitie. By ſuch negatiues, Maſter* HARDING, *wee reproue the vanitie and noueltie of your Religion; wee tell you, none of the Catholike ancient learned Fathers*

* *Vell. Paterc. Iugurtha ac Marius ſub eodem Africano militantes, in iiſdem caſtris didicere quæ poſtea in contrarys facerent.*

Art. 1. Diuiſ. 29. Gal. 3. Orig. in Leuit. Hom. 5.

Matth. 23. Matth. 17.

Defen. par. 5. tol. 15. diuiſ. 1.

Lib. 1. cap. 1.

De incomp. nat. Dei, hom. 3. Epiſt. 93. c. 12.

Epiſt. 97. cap. 3. Epiſt. 165.

Lib. 4. Ep. 32.

Fathers either Greeke or Latine, euer vſed either your priuate Maſſe, or your halfe Communion, or your barbarous vnknowne prayers. PAVL *neuer planted them,* APOLLO *neuer watered them,* GOD *neuer increaſed them, they are of your ſelues, they are not of God.* In all this there is not a ſyllable which any way croſſeth vs. For concerning argumẽts negatiue taken from humane authoritie, they are here proued to be in ſome caſes very ſtrong and forcible. They are not in our eſtimation idle reproofs, when the Authors of needleſſe innouations are oppoſed with ſuch negatiues, as that of LEO, *How are theſe new deuices brought in which our fathers neuer knew?* when their graue & reuerend Superiors doe reckon vp vnto them, as *Auguſtine* did vnto the *Donatiſts*, large Catalogues of Fathers, wondred at for their wiſdome, pietie, and learning, amongſt whom for ſo many ages before vs, no one did euer ſo thinke of the Churches affaires, as now the world doth begin to be perſwaded; ſurely, by vs they are not taught to take exception hereat, becauſe ſuch arguments are negatiue. Much leſſe when the like are taken from the ſacred authority of Scripture, if the matter it ſelfe do beare them. For in truth the queſtion is not, whether an argument from Scripture negatiuely may be good, but whether it be ſo generally good, that in al actions men may vrge it. The Fathers, I grant, do vſe very generall and large termes, euen as *Hiero* the King did in ſpeaking of ARCHIMEDES, *From henceforward whatſoeuer* ARCHIMEDES *ſpeaketh, it muſt be beleeued.* His meaning was not that *Archimedes* could ſimply in nothing be deceiued, but that he had in ſuch ſort approued his skill, that he ſeemed worthy of credit for euer after in matters appertayning vnto the ſcience he was skilfull in. In ſpeaking thus largely it is preſumed, that mens ſpeeches will be taken according to the matter whereof they ſpeake. Let any man therefore that carrieth indifferency of iudgement, peruſe the Biſhops ſpeeches, and conſider well of thoſe negatiues concerning Scripture, which he produceth out of *Irenæus*, *Chryſoſtome*, and *Leo*; which three are choſen from amongſt the reſidue, becauſe the ſentences of the others (euen as one of theirs alſo) doe make for defence of negatiue arguments taken from humane authoritie, and not from diuine only. They mention no more reſtraint in the one then in the other; yet I thinke themſelues will not hereby iudge, that the Fathers tooke both to be ſtrong, without reſtraint vnto any ſpeciall kinde of matter, wherein they held ſuch argument forcible. Nor doth the Biſhop either ſay or proue any more, then that an argument in ſome kindes of matter may be good, although taken negatiuely from Scripture.

Their opinion cõcerning the force of Arguments, taken from humane authoritie for the ordering of mens actions or perſwaſions.

7 An earneſt deſire to draw all things vnto the determination of bare & naked ſcripture, hath cauſed here much paynes to be taken in abating the eſtimation & credit of man. Which if we labour to maintaine as far as truth & reaſon wil beare, let not any thinke that we trauel about a matter not greatly needfull. For the ſcope of all their pleading againſt mans authoritie is, to ouer-throw ſuch Orders, Lawes, and Cõſtitutions in the Church, as depending thereupon, if they ſhould therefore be taken away, would peraduenture leaue neither face nor memorie of Church to continue long in the world, the world eſpecially being ſuch as now it is. That which they haue in this caſe ſpoken,

T.C.l.1.p.25. When the queſtion is of the authoritie of a man, it holdeth neither affirmatiuely nor negatiuely. The reaſon is, becauſe the infirmitie of man can neither attaine to the perfection of any thing whereby he might ſpeake all things that are to be ſpoken of it; neither yet be free from error in thoſe things which he ſpeaketh or giueth out. And therefore this argument neither affirmatiuely nor negatiuely cõpelleth the Hearer, but only induceth him to ſome liking or diſliking of that for which it is brought, and is rather for an Orator to perſwade the ſimpler ſort, then for a diſputer to enforce him that is learned.

ken, I would for breuities ſake let paſſe, but that the drift of their ſpeech being ſo dangerous, their words are not to be neglected. Wherefore to ſay that ſimply an Argument taken from mans authoritie doth hold no way, neither affirmatiuely nor negatiuely, is hard. By a mans authoritie we here vnderſtād, the force which his word hath for the aſſurance of anothers minde that buildeth vpon it; as the Apoſtle ſomewhat did vpon their report of the houſe of *Cloe*, and the Samaritanes in a matter of farre greater moment vpon the report of a ſimple woman. 1.Cor.1.11. For ſo it is ſaid in S. *Iohns* Goſpell, *Many of the Samaritanes of that Citie beleeued in him for the ſaying of the woman, which teſtified, He hath told me all things that euer I did.* Ioh.4.35. The ſtrength of mans authoritie is affirmatiuely ſuch, that the waightieſt affaires in the world depend thereon. In Iudgement and Iuſtice are not hereupon proceedings grounded? Saith not the Law, that *in the mouth of two or three witneſſes, euery word ſhall be confirmed?* Deut.19.15. Matth.18.16. This the law of God would not ſay, if there were in a mans teſtimonie no force at all to proue any thing. And if it be admitted that in matter of fact there is ſome credit to be giuen to the teſtimonie of man, but not in matter of opinion and iudgement; we ſee the contrarie both acknowledged, and vniuerſally practiſed alſo throughout the world. The ſentences of wiſe and expert men were neuer but highly eſteemed. Let the title of a mans right be called in queſtion; are we not bold to relie and build vpon the iudgement of ſuch as are famous for their skill in the lawes of this Land? In matter of State, the waight many times of ſome one mans authoritie is thought reaſon ſufficient, euen to ſway ouer whole Nations. And this not onely with the ſimpler ſort; but the learneder and wiſer wee are, the more ſuch arguments in ſome caſes preuaile with vs. The reaſon why the ſimpler ſort are moued with authoritie, is the conſcience of their owne ignorance; whereby it commeth to paſſe, that hauing learned men in admiration, they rather feare to diſlike them, then know wherefore they ſhould allow and follow their iudgements. Contrariwiſe with them that are skilfull, authoritie is much more ſtrong and forcible; becauſe they only are able to diſcerne how iuſt cauſe there is, why to ſome mens authoritie ſo much ſhould be attributed. For which cauſe the name of *Hippocrates* (no doubt) were more effectuall to perſwade euen ſuch men as *Galen* himſelfe, then to moue a ſilly Empirick. So that the very ſelfe ſame argument in this kinde, which doth but induce the vulgar ſort to like, may conſtraine the wiſer to yeeld. And therefore not Orators onely with the people, but euen the very profoundeſt Diſputers in all faculties haue hereby often with the beſt learned preuailed moſt. As for arguments taken from humane authoritie, and that negatiuely; for example ſake, if we ſhould thinke the aſſembling of the people of God together by the ſound of a Bell, the preſenting of Infants at the holy Font, by ſuch as commonly we cal their Godfathers, or any other the like receiued cuſtome to be impious, becauſe ſome men of whom we thinke very reuerendly, haue in their bookes and writings no where mentioned or taught that ſuch things ſhould be in the Church; this reaſoning were ſubiect vnto iuſt reproofe, it were but feeble, weake and vnſound. Notwithſtanding euen negatiuely an argument from humane authoritie may be ſtrong, as namely thus; The Chronicles of England mention no moe then onely ſix Kings bearing the name of *Edward*, ſince the time of the laſt Conqueſt; therefore it cannot be there

ſhould

ſhould be more. So that if the queſtion be of the authoritie of a mans teſtimonie, we cannot ſimply auouch, either that affirmatiuely it doth not any way hold, or that it hath onely force to induce the ſimpler ſort, and not to conſtrayne men of vnderſtanding and ripe iudgement to yeeld aſſent, or that negatiuely it hath in it no ſtrength at all. For vnto euery of theſe the contrarie is moſt plaine. Neither doth that which is alleaged concerning the infirmitie of men, ouerthrow or diſproue this. Men are blinded with ignorance and error; many things may eſcape them, and in many things they may be deceiued; yea, thoſe things which they doe know, they may either forget, or vpon ſundrie indirect conſiderations let paſſe, and although themſelues do not erre, yet may they through malice or vanitie, euen of purpoſe deceiue others. How beit infinite caſes there are wherin all theſe impediments and lets are ſo manifeſtly excluded, that there is no ſhew or colour whereby any ſuch exception may be taken, but that the teſtimonie of man will ſtand as a ground of infallible aſſurance. That there is a Citie of Rome, that *Pius Quintus* and *Gregorie* the Thirteenth, and others, haue beene Popes of Rome, I ſuppoſe we are certainly enough perſwaded. The ground of our perſwaſion, who neuer ſaw the place nor perſons beforenamed, can be nothing but mans teſtimonie. Will any man here notwithſtanding alleage thoſe mentioned humane infirmities as reaſons, why theſe things ſhould be miſtruſted or doubted of? Yea, that which is more, vtterly to infringe the force and ſtrength of mans teſtimonie, were to ſhake the very Fortreſſe of Gods truth. For whatſoeuer we beleeue concerning ſaluation by Chriſt, although the Scripture be therein the ground of our beliefe; yet the authoritie of man is, if we marke it, the key which openeth the dore of entrance into the knowledge of the Scripture. The Scripture doth not teach vs the things that are of God, vnleſſe we did credit men who haue taught vs that the words of Scripture doe ſignifie thoſe things. Some way therefore, notwithſtãding mans infirmitie, yet his authoritie may enforce aſſent. Vpon better aduice and deliberation ſo much is perceiued, and at the length confeſt, that Arguments taken from the authoritie of men, may not only ſo farre forth as hath beene declared, but further alſo be of ſome force in *humane ſciences*; which force be it neuer ſo ſmal, doth ſhew that they are not vtterly naught. But in *matters diuine* it is ſtill maintayned ſtifly, that they haue no manner force at all. Howbeit the very ſelfe ſame reaſon, which cauſeth to yeeld that they are of ſome force in the one, wil at the length conſtraine alſo to acknowledge, that they are not in the other altogether vnforcible. For if the naturall ſtrength of mans wit may by experience and ſtudie attayne vnto ſuch ripeneſſe in the knowledge of things humane, that men in this reſpect may preſume to build ſomewhat vpon their iudgement; what reaſon haue we to thinke but that euen in matters diuine, the like wits furniſht with neceſſarie helps, exerciſed in Scripture with like

T.C.l.1.p.10. Although that kinde of argument of authoritie of men is good, neither in humane nor diuine ſciences: yet it hath ſome ſmall force in humane ſciences, for as much as naturally and in that he is a man, he may come to ſome ripenes of iudgement in thoſe ſciences, which in diuine matters hath no force at all: as of him which naturally, and as he is a man, can no more iudge of them then a blinde man of colours. Yea, ſo farre is it from drawing credit, if it be barely ſpoken without reaſon and teſtimonie of Scripture, that it carrieth alſo a ſuſpition of vntruth whatſoeuer proceedeth from him: which the Apoſtle did well note, when to ſignifie a thing corruptly ſpoken and againſt the truth, he ſaith, that it is ſpoken according to man, *Rom.* 3. He ſaith not as a wicked and lying man, but ſimply as a man. And although this corruption be reformed in many, yet for ſo much as in whom the knowledge of the truth is moſt aduanced, there remayneth both ignorance and diſordered affections (whereof either of them turneth him from ſpeaking of the truth:) no mans authoritie, with the Church eſpecially, and thoſe that are called and perſwaded of the authoritie of the Word of God, can bring any aſſurance vnto the conſcience.

like diligence, and aſſiſted with the grace of Almightie God, may grow vnto ſo much perfection of Knowledge, that men ſhall haue iuſt cauſe, when any thing pertinent vnto Faith and Religion is doubted of, the more willingly to incline their minds towards that which the ſentence of ſo graue, wiſe, and learned in that faculty ſhall iudge moſt ſound. For the controuerſie is of the waight of ſuch mens iudgements. Let it therefore bee ſuſpected, let it bee taken as groſſe, corrupt, repugnant vnto the truth, whatſoeuer concerning things Diuine aboue Nature ſhall at any time be ſpoken as out of the mouthes of meere natural men, which haue not the eyes wherewith heauenly things are diſcerned. For this wee contend not. But whom God hath indued with principall gifts to aſpire vnto Knowledge by, whoſe exerciſes, labors, and Diuine Studies he hath ſo bleſt, that the World for their great and rare Skil that way, hath them in ſingular admiration, may we reiect euen their iudgement likewiſe, as being vtterly of no moment? For mine own part I dare not ſo lightly eſteeme of the Church, and of the principall Pillars therein. The truth is, that the mind of man deſireth euermore to know the Truth according to the moſt infallible certaintie which the nature of things can yeeld. The greateſt aſſurance generally with all men, is that which we haue by plaine aſpect and intuitiue beholding. Where wee cannot attaine vnto this; there what appeareth to bee true by ſtrong and inuincible demonſtration, ſuch as wherein it is not by any way poſſible to be deceiued, therunto the mind doth neceſſarily aſſent, neyther is it in the choice thereof to doe otherwiſe. And in caſe theſe both doe faile; then which way greateſt probability leadeth, thither the mind doth euermore incline. Scripture with Chriſtian men being receiued as the Word of God; that for which we haue probable, yea that which we haue neceſſary reaſon for, yea that which we ſee with our eyes, is not thought ſo ſure as that which the Scripture of God teacheth; becauſe wee hold that his ſpeech reuealeth there what himſelfe ſeeth, and therefore the ſtrongeſt proofe of all, and the moſt neceſſarily aſſented vnto by vs (which doe thus receiue the Scripture,) is the Scripture. Now, it is not required nor can be exacted at our hands, that we ſhould yeeld vnto any thing other aſſent, then ſuch as doth anſwere the euidence which is to be had of that we aſſent vnto. For which cauſe euen in matters Diuine, concerning ſome things wee may lawfully doubt and ſuſpend our iudgement, inclining neither to one ſide or other, as namely, touching the time of the fall both of Man and Angels; of ſome things we may verie well retaine an opinion that they are probable and not vnlikely to be true, as when we hold that men haue their ſoules rather by Creation then Propagation, or that the Mother of our Lord liued alwayes in the ſtate of Virginitie as well after his birth as before (for of theſe two, the one her Virginitie before, is a thing which of neceſſitie we muſt beleeue; the other, her continuance in the ſame ſtate alwaies, hath more likelihood of truth then the contrary,) finally, in all things then are our conſciences beſt reſolued, and in moſt agreeable ſort vnto God and Nature ſettled, when they are ſo farre perſwaded as thoſe grounds of perſwaſion which are to be had will beare. Which thing I doe ſo much the rather ſet downe, for that I ſee how a number of ſoules are, for want of right information in this point, oftentimes grieuouſly vexed. When bare and vnbuilded concluſions are put into their mindes, they finding not themſelues to haue thereof any great certaintie, imagine that this proceedeth onely from lacke of faith, and that the Spirit of God

doth not worke in them, as it doth in true Beleeuers; by this meanes their hearts are much troubled, they fall into anguiſh and perplexitie: whereas the Truth is, that how bold and confident ſoeuer we may be in words, when it commeth to the point of trial, ſuch as the euidence is which the Truth hath either in it ſelfe or through proofe, ſuch is the hearts aſſent thereunto, neither can it be ſtronger, being grounded as it ſhould bee. I grant that proofe derined from the authority of mans iudgement, is not able to work that aſſurance which doth grow by a ſtronger proofe; and therefore although tenne thouſand generall Councels would ſet downe one and the ſame definitiue ſentence concerning any point of Religion whatſoeuer, yet one demonſtratiue reaſon alleaged, or one manifeſt Teſtimonie cited from the mouth of God himſelfe to the contrary, could not chooſe but ouerweigh them all; in as much as for them to haue bin deceiued, it is not impoſſible; it is, that demonſtratiue reaſon or Teſtimonie Diuine ſhould deceiue. Howbeit, in defect of proofe infallible, becauſe the mind doth rather follow probable perſwaſions, then approue the things that haue in them no likelihood of truth at all; ſurely if a queſtion concerning matter of Doctrine were propoſed, and on the one ſide no kind of proofe appearing, there ſhould on the other bee alleaged and ſhewed, that ſo a number of the learnedeſt Diuines in the World haue euer thought; although it did not appeare what reaſon or what Scripture led them to be of that iudgement, yet to their very bare iudgement ſomewhat a reaſonable man would attribute, notwithſtanding the common imbecilities which are incident into our nature. And whereas it is thought, that eſpecially with the Church, and thoſe that are called and perſwaded of the authoritie of the Word of God, mans authoritie with them eſpecially ſhould not preuaile; it muſt and doth preuaile euen with them, yea with them eſpecially as far as equitie requireth, and farther we maintaine it not. For men to be tyed and led by authoritie, as it were with a kind of Captiuitie of iudgement, and though there bee reaſon to the contrary, not to liſten vnto it, but to follow like beaſts, the firſt in the Herd, they know not nor care not whither, this were brutiſh. Againe, that authoritie of men ſhould preuaile with men eyther againſt or aboue reaſon, is no part of our beliefe. Companies of Learned men, be they neuer ſo great and reuerend, are to yeeld vnto reaſon; the waight whereof is no whit preiudiced by the ſimplicitie of his perſon which doth alleage it, but being found to be ſound and good, the bare opinion of men to the contrary, muſt of neceſſitie ſtoope and giue place. *Irenæus* writing againſt *Marcion*, which held one God Author of the Old Teſtament, and another of the New, to proue that the Apoſtles preached the ſame God which was knowne before to the Iewes, he copiouſly allegeth ſundry their Sermons

T.C.l.2.p.21. Of diuers ſentences of the Fathers themſelues (wherby ſome haue likened them to brute Beaſts without reaſon, which ſuffer themſelues to be led by the iudgement and authoritie of others, ſome haue preferred the iudgement of one ſimple rude man alleaging reaſon vnto Companies of Learned men) I will content my ſelfe at this time with two or three Sentences. *Irenæus* ſayth, whatſoeuer is to bee ſhewed in the Scripture, cannot bee ſhewed but out of the Scriptures themſelues, *l.3.c.12. Ierome* ſaith, No man be he neuer ſo holy or eloquent, hath any authoritie after the Apoſtles, in *Pſal.86. Auguſtine* ſaith, that he will beleeue none, how godly and learned ſoeuer he be, vnleſſe he confirme his ſentence by the Scriptures, or by ſome reaſon not contrarie to them, *Epiſt.* 18. And in another place, Heare this, the Lord ſayth; heare not this, *Donatus* ſaith, *Rogatus* ſaith, *Vincentius* ſaith, *Hilarius* ſaith, *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Auguſtine* ſaith, but harken vnto this, the Lord ſaith, *Epiſt.*48. And againe, hauing to doe with an Arrian, he affirmeth, that neither he ought to bring forth the Councell of Nice, nor the other the Councel of Arimine, therby to bring preiudice each to other; neither ought the Arrian to bee holden by the authority of the one, nor himſelfe by the authoritie of the other, but by the Scriptures which are Witneſſes proper to neither, but common to both; matter with matter, cauſe with cauſe, reaſon with reaſon ought to be debated, *contra Maxim. Arian.3.14.cap.* And in another place againſt *Petilian* the Donatiſt, hee ſaith, Let not theſe words be heard betweene vs, I ſay, you ſay; let vs heare this, Thus ſaith the Lord. And by and by ſpeaking of the Scriptures, hee ſaith, There let vs ſeeke the Church, there let vs try the cauſe. *De vnita Eccleſ.c.3.* Hereby it is manifeſt, that the Argument of the authoritie of man affirmatiuely is nothing worth.

mons and ſpeeches vttered concerning that matter, and recorded in Scripture. And leſt any ſhould bee wearied with ſuch ſtore of allegations, in the end hee concludeth, *While wee labour for theſe demonſtrations out of Scripture, and doe ſummarily declare the things which many wayes haue beene ſpoken, bee contented quietly to heare, & doe not thinke my ſpeech tedious: Quoniam oſtenſiones quæ ſunt in Scripturis, non poſſunt oſtendi niſi ex ipſis Scripturis; Becauſe demonſtrations that are in Scripture may not otherwiſe be ſhewed, then by citing them out of the Scriptures themſelues where they are.* Which wordes make ſo little vnto the purpoſe, that they ſeeme as it were offended at him which hath called them thus ſolemnely forth to ſay nothing. And concerning the Verdict of *Ierome*, If no man, be hee neuer ſo well learned, haue after the Apoſtles any authoritie to publiſh new Doctrine as from Heauen, and to require the Worlds aſſent as vnto Truth receiued by Propheticall Reuelation; doth this preiudice the credit of Learned mens iudgements in opening that truth, which by being conuerſant in the Apoſtles Writings, they haue themſelues from thence learned? Saint *Auguſtine* exhorteth not to heare men; but to hearken what God ſpeaketh. His purpoſe is not (I thinke) that wee ſhould ſtop our eares againſt his owne Exhortation, and therefore hee cannot meane ſimply that audience ſhould altogether bee denied vnto men; but eyther that if men ſpeake one thing, and God himſelfe teach another, then hee, not they to bee obeyed; or if they both ſpeake the ſame thing, yet then alſo mans ſpeech vnworthy of hearing, not ſimply, but in compariſon of that which proceedeth from the mouth of God. Yea, but wee doubt what the will of God is. Are wee in this caſe forbidden to heare what men of iudgement thinke it to bee? If not, then this allegation alſo might very well haue beene ſpared. In that ancient ſtrife which was betweene the Catholike Fathers and Arrians, Donatiſts, and others of like peruerſe and froward diſpoſition, as long as to Fathers or Councels alleaged on the one ſide, the like by the contrary ſide were oppoſed, impoſſible it was that euer the queſtion ſhould by this meane grow vnto any iſſue or end. The Scripture they both beleeued, the Scripture they knew could not giue ſentence on both ſides, by Scripture the Controuerſie betweene them was ſuch as might be determined. In this caſe what madneſſe was it with ſuch kinds of proofes to nouriſh their contention, when there were ſuch effectuall meanes to end all Controuerſie that was betweene them? Hereby therfore it doth not as yet appeare, that an argument of authoritie of man affirmatiuely is in matters Diuine nothing worth. Which opinion being once inſerted into the mindes of the vulgar ſort, what it may grow vnto God knoweth. Thus much wee ſee, it hath alreadie made thouſands ſo head-ſtrong euen in groſſe and palpable errours, that a man whoſe capacitie will ſcarce ſerue him to vtter fiue words in ſenſible manner, bluſheth not in any doubt concerning matter of Scripture, to thinke his own bare *Yea*, as good as the *Nay* of all the wiſe, graue and learned iudgements that are in the whole World. Which inſolencie muſt be repreſt, or it will be the very bane of Chriſtian Religion. Our Lords Diſciples marking what ſpeech hee vttered vnto them, and at the ſame time calling to minde a common opinion held by the Scribes, betweene which opinion and the wordes of their Maſter, it ſeemed vnto them that there was ſome contradiction, which they could not

themselues answere with full satisfaction of their owne mindes; the doubt they suppose to our Sauiour saying, *Why then say the Scribes that* Elias *must first come?* They knew that the Scribes did erre greatly, and that many wayes euen in matters of their owne profession. They notwithstanding thought the iudgement of the verie Scribes in matters Diuine to bee of some value; some probabilitie they thought there was that *Elias* should come, in as much as the Scribes sayd it. Now no truth can contradict any truth; desirous therefore they were to bee taught, how both might stand together; that which they knew could not bee false, because Christ spake it; and this which to them did seeme true, onely because the Scribes had said it. For the Scripture from whence the Scribes did gather it, was not then in their heads. Wee doe not find that our Sauiour reproued them of errour, for thinking the iudgement of Scribes to bee worth the obiecting, for esteeming it to bee of any moment or value in matters concerning God. Wee cannot therefore bee perswaded that the will of God is, we should so farre reiect the authoritie of men, as to reckon it nothing. No, it may bee a question, whether they that vrge vs vnto this be themselues so perswaded indeed. Men doe sometimes bewray that by deedes, which to confesse they are hardly drawne. Marke then if this bee not generall with all men for the most part. When the iudgements of Learned men are alleaged against them; what doe they but eyther eleuate their credit, or oppose vnto them the iudgements of others as learned? Which thing doth argue that all men acknowledge in them some force and waight, for which they are loth the cause they maintaine should be so much weakned as their testimonie is auaileable. Againe what reason is there why alleaging testimonies as proofes, men giue them some title of credit, honour and estimation whom they alleage, vnlesse beforehand it bee sufficiently knowne who they are; what reason hereof but only a common ingrafted perswasion, that in some men there may be found such qualities as are able to counteruaile those exceptions which might bee taken against them, and that such mens authoritie is not lightly to be shaken off? Shal I adde further, that the force of arguments drawne from the authoritie of Scripture it selfe, as Scriptures commonly are alleaged, shall (being sifted) bee found to depend vpon the strength of this so much despised and debased authoritie of man? Surely it doth, and that oftner then we are aware of. For although Scripture be of God, and therefore the proofe which is taken from thence must needes be of all other most inuincible; yet this strength it hath not, vnlesse it auouch the selfe-same thing for which it is brought. If there bee eyther vndeniable apparance that so it doth, or reason such as cannot deceiue, then Scripture-proofe (no doubt) in strength and value exceedeth all. But for the most part, euen such as are readiest to cite for one thing fiue hundred sentences of Holy Scripture; what warrant haue they, that any one of them doth meane the thing for which it is alleaged? Is not their surest ground most commonly, eyther some probable coniecture of their owne, or the iudgement of others taking those Scriptures as they doe? Which notwithstanding to meane otherwise then they take them, it is not still altogether impossible. So that now and then they ground themselues on humane authoritie, euen when they most pretend Diuine. Thus it fareth euen cleane throughout the whole Controuersie about that Discipline which

Mat.17.10.

which is ſo earneſtly vrged and laboured for. Scriptures are plentifully alleaged to prooue that the whole Chriſtian World for euer ought to embrace it. Hereupon men terme it, *The Diſcipline of God.* Howbeit, examine, ſift and reſolue their alleaged prooſes, till you come to the verie roote from whence they ſpring, the heart wherein their ſtrength lyeth; and it ſhall cleerely appeare vnto any man of iudgement, that the moſt which can bee inferred vpon ſuch plentie of Diuine Teſtimonies is onely this, That *ſome things* which they maintaine as farre as *ſome men* can *probably coniecture*, doe *ſeeme* to haue bin out of Scripture *not abſurdly* gathered. Is this a warrant ſufficient for any mans conſcience to build ſuch proceedings vpon, as haue beene and are put in vre for the eſtabliſhment of that cauſe? But to conclude, I would gladly vnderſtand how it commeth to paſſe, that they which ſo peremptorily doe maintaine that Humane authoritie is nothing worth, are in the cauſe which they fauour ſo carefull to haue the common ſort of men perſwaded, that the wiſeſt, the godlieſt, and the beſt Learned in all Chriſtendome are that way giuen, ſeeing they iudge this to make nothing in the World for them? Againe, how commeth it to paſſe, they cannot abide that Authoritie ſhould be alleaged on the other ſide, if there be no force at all in Authorities on one ſide or other? Wherefore labour they to ſtrip their Aduerſaries of ſuch furniture as doth not help? Why take they ſuch needleſſe paines to furniſh alſo their owne cauſe with the like? If it be void and to no purpoſe that the names of men are ſo frequent in their Bookes; what did moue them to bring them in, or doth to ſuffer them there remaining? Ignorant I am not how this is ſalued, *They doe it but after the truth made manifeſt, firſt, by reaſon or by Scripture, they doe it not but to controule the enemies of truth, who beare themſelues bold vpon humane Authoritie making not for them but againſt them rather.* Which anſweres are nothing. For in what place or vpon what conſideration ſoeuer it bee they doe it, were it in their owne opinion of no force being done, they would vndoubtedly refraine to doe it.

T.C.l.2.21. If at any time it happened vnto *Auguſtine* (as it did againſt the Donatiſts and others) to alleage the authoritie of the Ancient Fathers which had beene before him; yet this was not done before hee had laid a ſure foundation of his cauſe in the Scriptures, and that alſo being prouoked by the Aduerſaries of the truth, who bare themſelues high of ſome Councel, or of ſome man of name that had fauoured that part.

8 But to the end it may more plainly appeare, what wee are to iudge of their ſentences, and of the cauſe it ſelfe wherein they are alleaged; firſt, it may not well be denied, that all actions of men indued with the vſe of reaſon, are generally either good or euill. For, although it be granted that no action is properly termed good or euill, vnleſſe it be voluntarie; yet this can be no let to our former aſſertion, that al actions of men indued with the vſe of reaſon are generally either good or euill; becauſe euen thoſe things are done voluntarily by vs, which other creatures doe naturally, in as much as wee might ſtay our doing of them if wee would. Beaſtes naturally doe take their food and reſt, when it offereth it ſelfe vnto them. If men did ſo too, and could not doe otherwiſe of themſelues; there were no place for any ſuch reproofe as that of our Sauiour Chriſt vnto his Diſciples, *Could yee not watch with mee one houre?* That which is voluntarily performed in things tending to the end, if it bee well done, muſt needes bee done with deliberate conſideration of ſome reaſonable cauſe, wherefore wee rather ſhould doe it then not. Whereupon it ſeemeth, that in ſuch actions onely thoſe are ſaid to be good or euill, which are capable of deliberation: ſo that many things being hourely done by men, wherein they neede not vſe with themſelues any manner of conſultation at all, it may perhaps hereby ſeeme

A Declaration what the Truth is in this matter.

Matth.26.40.

that well or ill doing belongeth onely to our waightier affaires, and to thoſe deedes which are of ſo great importance that they require aduice. But thus to determine were perillous, and peraduenture vnſound alſo. I doe rather incline to thinke, that ſeeing all the vnforced actions of men are voluntary; and all voluntary actions tending to the end haue choice; and all choice preſuppoſeth the knowledge of ſome cauſe wherefore we make it: where the reaſonable cauſe of ſuch actions ſo readily offereth it ſelfe, that it needeth not to be ſought for; in thoſe things though wee doe not deliberate, yet they are of their nature apt to bee deliberated on, in regard of the will which may incline eyther way, & would not any one way bend it ſelfe, if there were not ſome apparent Motiue to lead it. Deliberation actuall we vſe, when there is doubt what wee ſhould incline our wils vnto. Where no doubt is, deliberation is not excluded as impertinent vnto the thing, but as needleſſe in regard of the agent, which ſeeth already what to reſolue vpon. It hath no apparent abſurditie therfore in it to thinke, that all actions of men indued with the vſe of reaſon, are generally either good or euill. Whatſoeuer is good; the ſame is alſo approued of God: and according vnto the ſundry degrees of goodneſſe, the kinds of Diuine approbation are in like ſort multiplyed. Some things are good, yet in ſo meane a degree of goodneſſe, that men are only not diſprooued nor diſallowed of God for them. No man hateth his owne fleſh. If yee doe good vnto them that doe ſo to you, the very Publicans themſelues doe as much. They are worſe then Infidels that haue no care to prouide for their owne. In actions of this ſort, the very light of Nature alone may diſcouer that which is ſo farre forth in the ſight of God allowable. Some things in ſuch ſort are allowed, that they be alſo required as neceſſary vnto Saluation, by way of direct, immediate and proper neceſſitie finall; ſo that without performance of them we cannot by ordinary courſe be ſaued, nor by any means be excluded from life obſeruing them. In actions of this kind, our chiefeſt direction is from Scripture, for Nature is no ſufficient Teacher what we ſhould do that we may attaine vnto life euerlaſting. The vnſufficiencie of the light of Nature, is by the light of Scripture ſo fully and ſo perfectly herein ſupplyed, that further light then this hath added, there doth not need vnto that end. Finally, ſome things although not ſo required of neceſſitie, that to leaue them vndone excludeth from ſaluation, are notwithſtanding of ſo great dignitie and acceptation with God, that moſt ample reward in Heauen is laid vp for them. Hereof wee haue no commandement either in Nature or Scripture which doth exact them at our hands: yet thoſe Motiues there are in both, which draw moſt effectually our minds vnto them. In this kind there is not the leaſt action but it doth ſomewhat make to the acceſſory augmentation of our bliſſe. For which cauſe our Sauiour doth plainely witneſſe, that there ſhall not bee as much as a cup of cold water beſtowed for his ſake without reward. Hereupon dependeth whatſoeuer difference there is betweene the ſtates of Saints in glorie: hither we referre whatſoeuer belongeth vnto the higheſt perfection of man by way of ſeruice towards God: hereunto that feruour and firſt loue of Chriſtians did bend it ſelfe, cauſing them to ſell their poſſeſſions, and lay down the price at the bleſſed Apoſtles feet: hereat S. *Paul* vndoubtedly did aime, in ſo farre abridging his owne libertie, and exceeding that which the bond of neceſſary and enioyned duty tyed him vnto.

Epheſ.5.29. *Matth.5.46.* *1.Tim.5.8.*

Matth.10.42.

Act.4.31. *1.Theſſ.2.7.9.*

Where-

Wherefore ſeeing that in all theſe ſeuerall kinds of actions, there can be nothing poſſibly euill which God approueth; and that he approueth much more then he doth command; and that his very Commandements in ſome kind, as namely, his Precepts comprehended in the Law of Nature, may be otherwiſe knowne then onely by Scripture; and that to doe them, howſoeuer wee know them, muſt needs bee acceptable in his ſight: let them with whom wee haue hitherto diſputed conſider well, how it can ſtand with reaſon to make the bare mandate of Sacred Scripture the only rule of all good and euill in the actions of mortall men. The Teſtimonies of God are true, the Teſtimonies of God are perfect, the Teſtimonies of God are al-ſufficient vnto that end for which they were giuen. Therefore accordingly we do receiue them, we do not thinke that in them God hath omitted any thing needful vnto his purpoſe, and left his intent to be accompliſhed by our deuiſings. What the Scripture purpoſeth, the ſame in all points it doth performe. Howbeit, that here wee ſwerue not in iudgement, one thing eſpecially we muſt obſerue, namely, that the abſolute perfection of Scripture is ſeene by Relation vnto that end whereto it tendeth. And euen hereby it commeth to paſſe, that firſt ſuch as imagine the generall and maine drift of the bodie of Sacred Scripture not to be ſo large as it is, nor that God did thereby intend to deliuer, as in truth he doth, a full inſtruction in all things vnto Saluation neceſſary, the knowledge whereof man by nature could not otherwiſe in this life attaine vnto: they are by this very meane induced, either ſtill to looke for new Reuelations from Heauen, or elſe dangerouſly to adde to the Word of God vncertaine Tradition, that ſo the Doctrine of mans Saluation may be complete; which Doctrine we conſtantly hold in all reſpects without any ſuch thing added to be ſo complete, that we vtterly refuſe as much as once to acquaint our ſelues with any thing further. Whatſoeuer to make vp the Doctrine of mans Saluation is added as in ſupply of the Scriptures vnſufficiēcy, we reiect it. Scripture purpoſing this, hath perfectly and fully done it. Againe, the ſcope and purpoſe of God in deliuering the holy Scripture, ſuch as do take more largely then behoueth, they on the contrary ſide racking and ſtretching it further then by him was meant, are drawne into ſundry as great inconueniences. Theſe pretending the Scriptures perfection, inferre thereupon that in Scripture all things lawfull to be done muſt needs be contained. Wee count thoſe things perfect which want nothing requiſite for the end wherto they were inſtituted. As therfore God created euery part & particle of man exactly perfect, that is to ſay, in all points ſufficient vnto that vſe for which he appointed it; ſo the Scripture, yea euery ſentēce therof is perfect and wanteth nothing requiſite vnto that purpoſe for which God deliuered the ſame. So that if hereupon wee conclude, that becauſe the Scripture is perfect, therfore all things lawful to be done are comprehended in the Scripture; we may euen as wel conclude ſo of euery ſentence, as of the whole ſumme & body thereof, vnleſſe we firſt of all proue that it was the drift, ſcope and purpoſe of Almightie God in holy Scripture, to cōpriſe all things which man may practiſe. But admit this, and marke, I beſeech you, what would follow. God in deliuering Scripture to his Church, ſhould cleane haue abrogated amongſt them the law of nature; which is an infallible knowledge imprinted in the mindes of all the children of men, whereby both generall principles for directing of humane actions are

T.C. lib. 2. pag. 6. Where this doctrine is accuſed of bringing men to deſpaire, it hath wrong. For when doubting is the way to deſpaire, against which this Doctrine offereth the remedie; it muſt needs be that it bringeth comfort and ioy to the conſcience of man.

are comprehended, and concluſions deriued from them; vpon which concluſions groweth in particularitie the choice of good and euill in the daily affaires of this life: Admit this; and what ſhal the Scripture be but a ſnare and a torment to weake Conſciences, filling them with infinite perplexities, ſcrupuloſities, doubts inſoluble, and extreme deſpaires? Not that the Scripture it ſelfe doth cauſe any ſuch thing, (for it tendeth to the cleane contrarie, and the fruit thereof is reſolute aſſurance and certainty in that it teacheth:) but the neceſſities of this life vrging men to doe that which the light of Nature, common diſcretion and iudgement of it ſelfe directeth them vnto; on the other ſide, this Doctrine teaching them that ſo to doe were to ſinne againſt their owne ſoules, and that they put forth their hands to iniquity, whatſoeuer they goe about and haue not firſt the Sacred Scripture of God for direction; how it can chooſe but bring the ſimple a thouſand times to their wits end; how can it chooſe but vex and amaze them? For in euery action of common life to find out ſome ſentence cleerely and infallibly ſetting before our eyes what we ought to doe, (ſeeme we in Scripture neuer ſo expert) would trouble vs more then we are aware. In weake and tender minds we little know what miſery this ſtrict opinion would breed, beſides the ſtops it would make in the whole courſe of all mens liues and actions. Make all things ſin which we doe by direction of Natures light, and by the rule of common diſcretion without thinking at all vpon Scripture; admit this Poſition, and Parents ſhall cauſe their children to ſinne, as oft as they cauſe them to doe any thing, before they come to yeeres of capacitie and be ripe for Knowledge in the Scripture. Admit this, and it ſhall not be with Maſters, as it was with him in the Goſpell; but Seruants being commanded to goe, ſhall ſtand ſtill, till they haue their errand warranted vnto them by Scripture. Which as it ſtandeth with Chriſtian dutie in ſome caſes, ſo in common affaires to require it, were moſt vnfit. Two opinions therefore there are concerning ſufficiencie of Holy Scripture, each extremely oppoſite vnto the other, and both repugnant vnto Truth. The Schooles of Rome teach Scripture to be vnſufficient, as if, except Traditions were added, it did not containe all reuealed and ſupernaturall truth, which abſolutely is neceſſary for the Children of Men in this life, to know that they may in the next be ſaued. Others iuſtly condemning this opinion, grow likewiſe vnto a dangerous extremitie, as if Scripture did not only containe all things in that kind neceſſary, but all things ſimply, and in ſuch ſort that to doe any thing according to any other Law, were not onely vnneceſſary, but euen oppoſite vnto Saluation, vnlawfull and ſinfull. Whatſoeuer is ſpoken of God, or things appertaining to God, otherwiſe then as the truth is; though it ſeeme an honour, it is an iniurie. And as incredible prayſes giuen vnto men, doe often abate and impaire the credit of their deſerued commendation; ſo we muſt likewiſe take great heed, leſt in attributing vnto Scripture more then it can haue, the incredibilitie of that, doe cauſe euen thoſe things which indeed it hath moſt aboundantly, to be leſſe reuerendly eſteemed. I therefore leaue it to themſelues to conſider, whether they haue in this firſt point or not ouer-ſhot themſelues; which God doth know is quickly done, euen when our meaning is moſt ſincere, as I am verily perſwaded theirs in this caſe was.

Luke 7.3.

OF

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE.

The third Booke.

Concerning their ſecond Aſſertion, that in Scripture *there muſt bee of neceſsitie contained a forme of* Church-Politie, the Lawes whereof may *in no wiſe be altered.*

The matter contayned in this third Booke.

1 WHat the Church is, and in what reſpect Lawes of Politie are thereunto neceſſarily required.

2 Whether it be neceſſary that ſome particular forme of Church-Politie bee ſet downe in Scripture, ſith the things that belong particularly to any ſuch forme are not of neceſsitie to ſaluation.

3 That matters of Church-Politie are different from matters of Faith and Saluation, and that they themſelues ſo teach, which are our Reproouers for ſo teaching.

4 That hereby we take not from Scripture any thing which thereunto with the ſoundneſſe of truth may bee giuen.

5 Their meaning, who firſt vrged againſt the Politie of the Church of England, that nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church more then is commanded by the Word of God.

6 How great iniurie men by ſo thinking ſhould offer vnto all the Churches of God.

7 A ſhift notwithſtanding to maintaine it, by interpreting Commanded *as though it were meant that greater things only ought to be found ſet downe in Scripture particularly, and leſſer framed by the generall Rules of Scripture.*

8 Another deuiſe to defend the ſame, by expounding Commanded, *as if it did ſignifie* grounded *on Scripture, and were oppoſed to things found out by light of naturall reaſon onely.*

9 How Lawes for the Politie of the Church may be made by the aduice of men, and how thoſe Lawes being not repugnant to the Word of God are approoued in his ſight.

10 That

10 *That neither Gods being the Author of Lawes, nor yet his committing of them to Scripture, is any reason sufficient to proue that they admit no addition or change.*

11 *Whether Christ must needes intend Lawes vnchangeable altogether, or haue forbidden any where to make any other Law then himselfe did deliuer.*

What the Church is, and in what respect Lawes of Politie are thereunto necessarily required.

ALbeit the substance of those Controuersies whereinto we haue begun to wade, be rather of outward things appertaining to the Church of Christ then of any thing wherein the nature and being of the Church consisteth, yet because the subiect or matter which this Position concerneth, is *A forme of Church-Gouernement or Church-Politie*; it therefore behoueth vs so farre forth to consider the nature of the Church, as is requisite for mens more cleere and playne vnderstanding, in what respect Lawes of Politie or Gouernement are necessarie thereunto. That Church of Christ which we properly terme his body mysticall, can be but one; neither can that one be sensibly discerned by any man, in as much as the parts thereof are some in heauen alreadie with Christ, and the rest that are on earth (albeit their naturall persons be visible) we doe not discerne vnder this propertie whereby they are truely and infallibly of that body. Onely our mindes by intellectuall conceit are able to apprehend, that such a reall body there is, a body collectiue, because it contayneth an huge multitude; a body mysticall, because the mysterie of their coniunction is remoued altogether from sense. Whatsoeuer we reade in Scripture concerning the endlesse loue and the sauing mercy, which God sheweth towards his Church, the onely proper subiect thereof is this Church. Concerning this flocke it is that our Lord and Sauiour hath promised, *I giue vnto them eternall life, and they shall neuer perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hands.* They who are of this societie, haue such marks and notes of distinction from all others, as are not obiect vnto our sense; onely vnto God, who seeth their hearts and vnderstandeth all their secret cogitations, vnto him they are cleere and manifest. All men knew *Nathaniel* to be an Israelite. But our Sauiour piercing deeper, giueth further testimonie of him then men could haue done with such certaynetie as he did, *Behold indeede an Israelite in whom there is no guile.* If we professe as *Peter* did, that we loue the Lord, and professe it in the hearing of men; charitie is prone to beleeue all things, and therefore charitable men are likely to thinke we doe so, as long as they see no proofe to the contrarie. But that our loue is sound and sincere, that it commeth from a *pure heart and a good conscience and a faith vnfayned*, who can pronounce, saiuing onely the Searcher of all mens hearts, who alone intuitiuely doth know in this kind who are his? And as those euerlasting promises of loue, mercy, and blessednesse, belong to the mysticall Church; euen so on the other side when we reade of any dutie which the Church of God is bound vnto, the Church whom this doth concerne is a sensible known companie. And this visible Church in like sort is but one, continued from the first beginning of the world to the last end.

John 10.28.

Iohn 1.47.

Iohn 21.15.

1.*Tim.*1.5.

Which

Which companie being diuided into two moieties; the one before, the other ſince the comming of Chriſt: that part which ſince the comming of Chriſt, partly hath embraced, and partly ſhall hereafter embrace the Chriſtian Religion, we terme as by a more proper name the Church of Chriſt. And therefore the Apoſtle affirmeth plainely of all men Chriſtian, that be they Iewes or Gentiles, bond or free, they are all incorporated into one companie, they all make but* *one body.* The vnitie of which viſible Body and Church of Chriſt, conſiſteth in that vniformitie which all ſeuerall perſons thereunto belonging haue, by reaſon of that *One Lord*, whoſe ſeruants they all profeſſe themſelues; that *one Faith* which they all acknowledge, that *one Baptiſme*, wherewith they are all initiated. The viſible Church of Ieſus Chriſt is therefore one, in outward profeſſion of thoſe things which ſupernaturally appertayne to the very eſſence of Chriſtianitie, and are neceſſarily required in euery particular Chriſtian man. *Let al the houſe of Iſrael know for certayntie*, ſaith PETER, *that God hath made him both Lord and Chriſt, euen this Ieſus whom ye haue crucified.* Chriſtians therfore they are not, which cal not him their Maſter and Lord. And from hence it came, that firſt at Antioch, and afterwards throughout the whole World, all that were of the Church viſible were called Chriſtians, euen amongſt the Heathen: which name vnto them was precious and glorious; but in the eſtimation of the reſt of the world, euen Chriſt Ieſus himſelfe was[a] execrable, for whoſe ſake all men were ſo likewiſe which did acknowledge him to be their Lord. This himſelfe did foreſee, and therefore armed his Church, to the end they might ſuſtaine it without diſcomfort. *All theſe things they will doe vnto you for my names ſake; yea, the time ſhall come, that whoſoeuer killeth you, will thinke that he doth God good ſeruice. Theſe things I tell you, that when the houre ſhall come, yee may then call to minde how I told you before-hand of them.* But our naming of Ieſus Chriſt the Lord, is not enough to prouoc vs Chriſtians, vnleſſe we alſo imbrace that Faith, which Chriſt hath publiſhed vnto the world. To ſhew that the Angell of Pergamus continued in Chriſtianitie, Behold, how the Spirit of Chriſt ſpeaketh, *Thou keepeſt my name, and thou haſt not denyed my faith.* Concerning which faith, *The rule thereof*, ſaith TERTVLLIAN, *is one alone, immoueable, and no way poſſible to be better framed anew.* What rule that is he ſheweth by rehearſing thoſe few Articles of Chriſtian beliefe. And before TERTVLLIAN, IRENEY; *The Church though ſcattered through the whole world vnto the vttermoſt borders of the earth, hath from the Apoſtles and their Diſciples receiued beliefe.* The parts of which beliefe he alſo reciteth in ſubſtance the very ſame with *Tertullian*, and thereupon inferreth: *This faith the Church being ſpred farre and wide preſerueth, as if one houſe did contayne them; theſe things it equally embraceth, as though it had euen one ſoule, one heart, and no more; it publiſheth, teacheth, and deliuereth theſe things with vniforme conſent, as if God had giuen it but one onely tongue wherewith to ſpeake. He which amongſt the Guides of the Church is beſt able to ſpeake, vttereth no more then this; and leſſe then this the moſt ſimple doth not vtter*, when they make profeſſion of their Faith. Now, although wee know the Chriſtian Faith, and allow of it, yet in this reſpect wee are but entring; entered wee are not into the viſible Church, before our admittance by the doore of

* *Epheſ.* 2. 16. That he might reconcile both vnto God in one body. *Eph.* 3. 16. That the Gentiles ſhould be Inheritors alſo and of the ſame body, *Vid. Thom. p.* 3. *q.* 7 *art.* 3. 1 *Cor.* 12. 13. *Epheſ.* 4. 5. *Act.* 2. 36. *Iohn* 13. 13. *Col.* 3. 24. *Col.* 4. 1.

[a] 1 *Cor.* 1. 23. *Vide &* Tacitum lib. Annal. 15. *Nero quæſitiſſimis pœnis affecit quos per flagitia inuiſos vulgus Chriſtianos appellabat. Auctor nominis eius Chriſtus, qui Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum ſupplicio affectus erat. Repreſſaq; in præſens exitiabilis ſuperſtitio rurſus erumpebat, non modo per Iudæam, originem eius mali, ſed per vrbem etiam, quo cuncta vndiq; atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturq;.*

Iohn 15. 21. *Iohn* 16. 2, 4.

Apoc. 2. 13. *Tertul. de Virgin. Veland.*

Iren. aduer. her. l. 1. *c.* 2. *&* 3.

of Baptiſme. Wherefore immediately vpon the acknowledgement of Chriſtian
Act.8.38. faith, the Eunuch (we ſee) was baptized by *Philip*; *Paul* by *Ananias*; by *Peter a*
Act.22.16. huge multitude contayning three thouſand ſoules, which being once baptized,
Act.2.41. were reckoned in the number of ſoules added to the viſible Church. As for thoſe vertues that belong vnto morall righteouſneſſe and honeſtie of life, we doe not mention them, becauſe they are not proper vnto Chriſtian men, as they are Chriſtian, but doe concerne them, as they are men. True it is, the want of theſe vertues excludeth from ſaluation. So doth much more the abſence of inward beliefe of heart; ſo doth deſpaire and lacke of hope; ſo emptineſſe of Chriſtian loue and charitie. But we ſpeake now of the viſible Church, whoſe children are ſigned with this marke, *One Lord, one faith, one baptiſme*. In whomſoeuer theſe things are, the Church doth acknowledge them for her children; them only ſhe holdeth for Aliens and Strangers, in whom theſe things are not found. For want of theſe it is that Saracens, Iewes, and Infidels, are excluded out of the bounds of the Church. Others we may not denie to be of the viſible Church, as long as theſe things are not wanting in them. For apparent it is, that all men are of neceſſitie either Chriſtians or not Chriſtians. If by externall profeſſion they be Chriſtians, then are they of the viſible Church of Chriſt: And Chriſtians by externall profeſſion they are all, whoſe marke of recogniſance hath in it thoſe things which we haue mentioned, yea, although they be impious Idolaters, wicked Heretikes, perſons excommunicable, yea, and caſt out for notorious improbitie. Such withall we denie not to be the Imps and limmes of Satan, euen as long as they continue ſuch. Is it then poſſible that the ſelfe ſame men ſhould belong both to the ſynagogue of Satan, and to the Church of Ieſus Chriſt? Vnto that Church which is his myſticall body, not poſſible; becauſe that body conſiſteth of none but onely true Iſraelites, true Sonnes of *Abraham*, true Seruants and Saints of God. Howbeit of the viſible Body and Church of IESVS CHRIST, thoſe may bee and oftentimes are, in reſpect of the mayne parts of their outward profeſſion; who in regard of their inward diſpoſition of minde, yea of externall conuerſation, yea euen of ſome parts of their very profeſſion, are moſt worthily both hatefull in the ſight of God himſelfe, and in the eyes of the ſounder parts of the viſible Church moſt execrable. Our SAVIOVR therefore
Matth.13.47. compareth the Kingdome of Heauen to a Net, whereunto all which com-
Matth.13.24. meth, neither is nor ſeemeth Fiſh; his Church hee compareth vnto a Field, where Tares manifeſtly knowne and ſeene by all men doe grow intermingled with good Corne, and euen ſo ſhall continue till the finall conſummation of the World. God hath had euer, and euer ſhall haue, ſome Church viſible vpon earth.
Exod.23. When the people of God worſhipped the Calfe in the Wilderneſſe; when they
Pſal.106.19,20 adored the brazen Serpent; when they ſerued the gods of Nations; when
2.King.18.4. they bowed their knees to *Baal*; when they burnt Incenſe and offered Sa-
Ier 11.14. crifice vnto Idolls; true it is, the wrath of God was moſt fiercely inflamed
2.King.22.17. againſt them, their Prophets iuſtly condemned them, as an adulterous
Eſa.57 3. ſeede and a wicked generation of Miſcreants, which had forſaken the liuing
Eſa.1.4. God, and of him were likewiſe forſaken, in reſpect of that ſingular mercy
Eſa.60.15. wherewith hee kindly and louingly embraceth his faithfull Children. How-
Iere.13.11. beit retayning the Law of God, and the holy Seale of his Couenant; the ſheepe
1.King.19.18.

of

of his Viſible Flocke they continued euen in the depth of their Diſobedience and Rebellion. Wherefore not onely *amongſt* them God alwayes had his Church, becauſe he had thouſands which neuer bowed their knees to *Baal*; but whoſe knees were bowed vnto *Baal*, euen they were alſo of the Viſible Church of God. Nor did the Prophet ſo complaine, as if that Church had beene quite and cleane extinguiſhed; but hee tooke it as though there had not beene remaining in the World any beſides himſelfe, that carried a true and an vpright heart towards God, with care to ſerue him according to his Holy Will. For lacke of diligent obſeruing the difference, firſt, betweene the Church of God Myſticall and Viſible, then betweene the viſible ſound and corrupted, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſſe; the ouerſights are neither few nor light that haue beene committed. This deceiueth them, and nothing elſe, who thinke that in the time of the firſt World, the Family of *Noah* did containe all that were of the Viſible Church of God. From hence it grew and from no other cauſe in the World, that the Affricane Biſhops in the Councell of Carthage, knowing how the adminiſtration of Baptiſme belongeth onely to the Church of Chriſt, and ſuppoſing that Heretikes which were apparantly ſeuered from the ſound beleeuing Church, could not poſſibly be of the Church of Ieſus Chriſt; thought it vtterly againſt reaſon, that Baptiſme adminiſtred by men of corrupt beliefe, ſhould be accounted as a Sacrament. And therefore in maintenance of rebaptization, their arguments are built vpon the forealleaged ground, *That Heretiques are not at all* any part of the Church of Chriſt. *Our Sauiour founded his Church on a Rocke, and not vpon hereſie; power of baptizing he gaue to his Apoſtles, vnto Heretiques hee gaue it not. Wherefore they that are without the Church, and oppoſe themſelues againſt Chriſt, doe but ſcatter his ſheepe and flocke; without the Church baptize they cannot.* Againe, *Are Heretiques Chriſtians, or are they not? If they be Chriſtians, wherefore remaine they not in Gods Church? If they be no Chriſtians, how make they Chriſtians? O to what purpoſe ſhall thoſe words of the Lord ſerue, He which is not with me, is againſt me*: and, *Hee which gathereth not with mee, ſcattereth? Wherefore euident it is, that vpon misbegotten children and the brood of Antichriſt, without rebaptization the Holy Ghoſt cannot deſcend.* But none in this caſe ſo earneſt as CYPRIAN; *I know no Baptiſme but one, and that in the Church onely; none without the Church, where hee that doth caſt out the Deuill, hath the Deuill: he doth examine about beliefe, whoſe lips and words doe breathe forth a Canker: the faithleſſe doth offer the Articles of Faith, a wicked creature forgiueth wickednеſſe, in the name of Chriſt, Antichriſt ſigneth, hee which is curſed of God, bleſſeth, a dead Carrion promiſeth life, a man vnpeaceable giueth peace, a Blaſphemer calleth vpon the Name of God, a Prophane perſon doth exerciſe Prieſthood, a Sacrilegious wretch doth prepare the Altar, and in the necke of all theſe that euill alſo commeth, the Euchariſt a very Biſhop of the Deuill doth preſume to conſecrate.* All this was true, but not ſufficient to prooue that Heretikes were in no ſort any part of the Viſible Church of Chriſt, and conſequently their Baptiſme no Baptiſme. This opinion therefore was afterwards both cõdemned by a better aduiſed Councell, and alſo reuoked by the chiefeſt of the Authours thereof themſelues. What is it but onely the ſelfe-ſame Errour and Miſconceit, wherewith others being at this day likewiſe poſſeſt, they aske vs where our Church did lurke, in what Caue of the Earth it ſlept for ſo many hundreds of

Ier 13.11. 1.*King*.19.18.

Fortunat. in Concil Car. *Mat*.7.24. *Mat*.16.18. *Mat*.28.19.

Secundinus in eodem Concil.

Mat.12.30.

*In Concilio Niceno. vide Hieron*y*.dial.aduerſ. Luciferia.*

yeeres together before the birth of *Martin Luther*? As if we were of opinion that *Luther* did erect a new Church of Christ. No, the Church of Christ which was from the beginning, is, and continueth vnto the end. Of which Church all parts haue not beene alwayes equally sincere and sound. In the dayes of *Abia* it plainely appeareth, that *Iuda* was by many degrees more free from pollution then Israel, as that solemne Oration sheweth, wherein hee pleadeth for the one
2.Chron.13. against the other in this wise: O IEROBOAM, *and all Israel, heare you me, Haue yee not driuen away the Priests of the Lord, the Sonnes of* AARON *and the Leuites, and haue made you Priests like the people of Nations? Whosoeuer commeth to consecrate with a yong Bullocke and seuen Rammes, the same may be a Priest of them that are no Gods. But we belong vnto the Lord our God, and haue not forsaken him; and the Priests the Sonnes of* AARON *minister vnto the Lord euery morning and euery euening burnt Offerings and sweet Incense, and the Bread is set in order vpon the pure Table, and the Candlestick of Gold with the Lampes therof to burne euery euening; for we keepe the watch of the Lord our God, but yee haue forsaken him.* In Saint *Pauls* time the integritie of Rome was famous; Corinth many wayes reproued, they of Galatia much more out of square. In Saint *Iohns* time, Ephesus and Smyrna in farre better state then Thyatira and Pergamus were. Wee hope therefore, that to reforme our selues, if at any time we haue done amisse, is not to seuer our selues from the Church we were of before. In the Church we were, and we are so still. Other difference betweene our estate before and now, wee know none but onely such as wee see in Iuda, which hauing sometime beene Idolatrous, became afterwardes more soundly Religious, by renouncing Idolatrie and Superstition.
Hos.4.15.&17. *If* EPHRAIM *bee ioyned vnto Idols,* the counsell of the Prophet is, *Let him alone. If Israel play the Harlot, let not* IVDA *sinne.* If it seeme euill vnto you, saith
Ios.24.15. *Iosuah,* to serue the Lord, *choose you this day whom you will serue, whether the gods whom your Fathers serued beyond the Floud, or the gods of the Amorites in whose Land yee dwell; but I and mine house will serue the Lord.* The indisposition therefore of the Church of Rome to reforme her selfe, must bee no stay vnto vs from performing our dutie to God; euen as desire of retaining conformitie with them, could be no excuse if we did not performe that dutie. Notwithstanding so farre as lawfully we may, we haue held, and doe hold fellowship with them. For euen
Rom.11.28. as the Apostle doth say of Israel, that they are in one respect enemies, but in another beloued of God: In like sort with Rome wee dare not communicate concerning sundry her grosse and grieuous abominations; yet touching those maine parts of Christian truth wherein they constantly still persist, wee gladly acknowledge them to bee of the Family of Iesus Christ; and our heartie Prayer vnto God Almightie is, that being conioyned so farre forth with them, they may at the length, (if it bee his will) so yeeld to frame and reforme themselues, that no distraction remaine in any thing, but that we all may with one heart and one mouth, glorifie God the Father of our Lord and Sauiour, whose Church we are. As there are which make the Church of Rome vtterly no Church at all, by reason of so many, so grieuous errours in their Doctrines: so wee haue them amongst vs, who vnder pretence of imagined corruptions in our Discipline, doe giue euen as hard a iudgement of the Church of England it selfe. But what soeuer either the one sort or the other teach, wee must acknowledge euen Here-

tikes

tikes themſelues to bee though a maimed part, yet a part of the Viſible Church. If an Infidell ſhould purſue to death an Heretike profeſſing Chriſtianitie, onely for Chriſtian profeſſion ſake: could wee deny vnto him the honour of Martyrdome? Yet this honour all men know to be proper vnto the Church. Heretikes therfore are not vtterly cut off from the Viſible Church of Chriſt. If the Fathers doe any where, as oftentimes they doe, make the true Viſible Church of Chriſt and Hereticall companies oppoſite, they are to be conſtrued as ſeparating Heretikes not altogether from the company of Beleeuers, but from the fellowſhip of ſound Beleeuers. For where profeſt vnbeliefe is, there can bee no Viſible Church of Chriſt; there may bee, where ſound Beliefe wanteth. Infidels being cleane without the Church, deny directly and vtterly reiect the verie Principles of Chriſtianity; which Heretikes embrace, and erre onely by miſconſtruction; whereupon their opinions, although repugnant indeed to the Principles of Chriſtian Faith, are notwithſtanding by them held otherwiſe, and maintained as moſt conſonant thereunto. Wherefore being Chriſtians in regard of the generall Truth of Chriſt which they openly profeſſe; yet they are by the Fathers euery where ſpoken of, as men cleane excluded out of the right beleeuing Church, by reaſon of their particular Errours, for which all that are of a ſound Beliefe muſt needs condemne them. In this conſideration the anſwere of *Caluin* vnto *Farell*, concerning the Children of Popiſh Parents doth ſeeme crazed; *Whereas*, ſayth hee, *you aske our iudgement about a matter, whereof there is doubt amongſt you, whether Miniſters of our order profeſſing the pure Doctrine of the Goſpel, may lawfully admit vnto Baptiſme an Infant whoſe Father is a Stranger vnto our Churches, and whoſe Mother hath fallen from vs vnto the Papacie, ſo that both the Parents are Popiſh; thus we haue thought good to anſwere, namely, that it is an abſurd thing for vs to baptize them which cannot be reckoned members of our bodie. And ſith Papiſts Children are ſuch, wee ſee not how it ſhould bee lawfull to miniſter Baptiſme vnto them.* Caluin. Epiſt. 1. 9

Sounder a great deale is the anſwere of the Eccleſiaſticall Colledge of Geneua vnto *Knox*, who hauing ſignified vnto them, that himſelfe did not thinke it lawfull to baptize Baſtards, or the Children of Idolaters (he meaneth Papiſts) or of Perſons Excommunicate, till eyther the Parents had by Repentance ſubmitted themſelues vnto the Church, or elſe their Children being growne vnto the yeeres of vnderſtanding, ſhould come and ſue for their owne Baptiſme: *For thus thinking*, ſayth he, *I am thought to bee ouer ſeuere, and that not onely by them which are Popiſh, but euen in their iudgements alſo who thinke themſelues Maintainers of the Truth.* Maſter *Knoxes* ouer-ſight herein they controuled. Their Sentence was, *Whereſoeuer the profeſſion of Chriſtianitie hath not vtterly periſhed and beene extinct, Infants are beguiled of their Right, if the common Seale bee denied them.* Epiſt. 283. Epiſt. 285.

Which concluſion in it ſelfe is ſound, although it ſeemeth the ground is but weake whereupon they build it. For the reaſon which they yeeld of their ſentence is this; *The promiſe which God doth make to the Faithfull concerning their Seed, reacheth vnto a thouſand Generations; it reſteth not onely in the firſt Degree of Deſcent. Infants therefore whoſe great Grandfathers haue beene holy and godly, doe in that reſpect belong to the bodie of the Church, although the Fathers and Grandfathers of whom they deſcend, haue beene Apoſtates: Becauſe the tenure of the grace of God which did adopt them three hundred yeeres agoe and more in their Ancient Predeceſſours,*

cannot with iuſtice bee defeated and broken off by their Parents impietie comming betweene. By which reaſon of theirs, although it ſeeme that all the World may be baptized, in as much as no man liuing is a thouſand Deſcents remooued from *Adam* himſelfe; yet we meane not at this time either to vphold or to ouerthrow it: onely their alleaged concluſion wee embrace, ſo it bee conſtrued in this ſort, *That for as much as men remaine in the Viſible Church, till they vtterly renounce the profeſſion of Chriſtianitie; we may not deny vnto Infants their right, by withholding from them the publike Signe of Holy Baptiſme, if they bee borne where the outward acknowledgement of Chriſtianitie is not cleane gone and extinguiſhed.* For being in ſuch ſort borne, their Parents are within the Church, and therefore their birth doth giue them intereſt and right in Baptiſme. Albeit not euery errour and fault, yet Hereſies and Crimes which are not actually repented of and forſaken, exclude quite and cleane from that Saluation, which belongeth vnto the Myſticall Body of Chriſt; yea, they alſo make a Separation from the Viſible ſound Church of Chriſt; altogether from the Viſible Church neither the one nor the other doth ſeuer. As for the Act of Excommunication, it neither ſhutteth out from the Myſticall, nor cleane from the Viſible, but onely from fellowſhip with the Viſible in Holy Duties. With what congruitie then doth the Church of Rome denie, that her Enemies, whom ſhe holdeth alwayes for Heretikes, doe at all appertaine to the Church of Chriſt; when her owne doe freely grant, that albeit the Pope (as they ſay) cannot teach Hereſie nor propound Errour, hee may notwithſtanding himſelfe worſhip Idols, thinke amiſſe concerning matters of Faith, yea, giue himſelfe vnto Acts Diabolicall, euen being Pope? How exclude they vs from being any part of the Church of Chriſt vnder the colour and pretence of Hereſie, when they cannot but grant it poſſible euen for him to bee as touching his owne perſonall perſwaſion Hereticall, who in their opinion not onely is of the Church, but holdeth the chiefeſt place of authoritie ouer the ſame? But of theſe things wee are not now to diſpute. That which alreadie wee haue ſet downe, is for our preſent purpoſe ſufficient. By the Church therefore in this queſtion we vnderſtand no other then onely the Viſible Church. For preſeruation of Chriſtianitie there is not any thing more needfull, then that ſuch as are of the Viſible Church, haue mutuall fellowſhip and ſocietie one with another. In which conſideration, as in the main body of the Sea being one, yet within diuers Precincts hath diuers names; ſo the Catholike Church is in like ſort deuided into a number of diſtinct Societies, euery of which is termed a Church within it ſelfe. In this ſenſe the Church is alwayes a viſible ſocietie of men; not an aſſembly, but a ſocietie. For although the name of the Church be giuen vnto Chriſtian aſſemblies, although any multitude of Chriſtian men congregated may be termed by the name of a Church; yet aſſemblies properly are rather things that belong to a Church. Men are aſſembled for performance of publike actions; which actions being ended, the aſſembly diſſolueth it ſelfe and is no longer in being; whereas the Church which was aſſembled, doth no leſſe continue afterwardes then before. *Where but three are, and they of the Laity alſo,* ſaith *Tertullian, yet there is a Church,* that is to ſay, a Chriſtian aſſembly. But a Church, as now we are to vnderſtand it, is a ſociety, that is, a number of men belonging vnto ſome Chriſtian fellowſhip, the place and limits whereof are certaine. That wherein they haue communion,

Tertul. exhort. ad caſtit. vbi tres, Eccleſia eſt, licet Laici.

communion, is the publike exercise of ſuch duties as thoſe mentioned in the Apoſtles Acts, *Inſtruction*, *Breaking of Bread*, and *Prayers*. As therefore they that are of the Myſticall Body of Chriſt, haue thoſe inward Graces and Vertues, whereby they differ from all others which are not of the ſame Body; againe, whoſoeuer appertaine to the Viſible Body of the Church, they haue alſo the notes of externall Profeſſion, whereby the World knoweth what they are: after the ſame manner, euen the ſeuerall Societies of Chriſtian men, vnto euery of which the name of a Church is giuen, with addition betokening ſeuerally, as the Church of Rome, Corinth, Epheſus, England, and ſo the reſt, muſt bee indued with correſpondent generall properties belonging vnto them, as they are publike Chriſtian Societies. And of ſuch properties common vnto all Societies Chriſtian, it may not bee denied, that one of the very chiefeſt is Eccleſiaſticall Politie. Which word I therefore the rather vſe, becauſe the name of Gouernment as commonly men vnderſtand it in ordinary ſpeech, doth not comprize the largeneſſe of that whereunto in this queſtion it is applied. For when wee ſpeake of Gouernment, what doth the greateſt part conceiue thereby, but only the exerciſe of Superioritie peculiar vnto Rulers and Guides of others? To our purpoſe therefore the name of Church-Politie will better ſerue, becauſe it containeth both Gouernment, and alſo whatſoeuer beſides belongeth to the ordering of the Church in publike. Neither is any thing in this degree more neceſſarie then Church-Politie, which is a forme of ordering the publike ſpirituall affaires of the Church of God. *Acts 2.47.*

2 But wee muſt note, that hee which affirmeth ſpeech to bee neceſſarie amongſt all men throughout the World, doth not thereby import that all men muſt neceſſarily ſpeake one kind of Language. Euen ſo the neceſſitie of Politie and Regiment in all Churches may bee held, without holding any one certaine forme to bee neceſſary in them all. Nor is it poſſible that any forme of Politie, much leſſe of Politie Eccleſiaſticall, ſhould bee good, vnleſſe God himſelfe bee Authour of it. *Thoſe things that are not of God* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *they can haue no other then Gods Aduerſarie for their Authour.* Bee it whatſoeuer in the Church of God, if it be not of God, wee hate it. Of God it muſt be, either as thoſe things ſometime were, which God ſupernaturally reuealed, and ſo deliuered them vnto *Moſes* for Gouernment of the Common-wealth of Iſrael; or elſe as thoſe things which men find out by helpe of that light, which God hath giuen them vnto that end. The verie Law of Nature it ſelfe, which no man can deny but God hath inſtituted, is not of God, vnleſſe that be of God, whereof God is the Authour as well this later way as the former. But for as much as no forme of Church-Politie is thought by them to be lawfull, or to be of God, vnleſſe God be ſo the Author of it, that it be alſo ſet downe in Scripture; they ſhould tell vs plainly, whether their meaning bee, that it muſt bee there ſet downe in whole or in part. For if wholly, let them ſhew what one forme of Politie euer was ſo. Their owne to bee ſo taken out of Scripture they will not affirme; neither denie they that in part, euen this which they ſo much oppugne is alſo from thence taken. Againe, they ſhould tell vs, whether onely that bee taken out of Scripture, which is actually and particularly there ſet downe; or elſe that alſo, which the generall Principles and Rules of Scripture potentially containe. The

Whether it be neceſſarie that ſome particular forme of Church-Polity bee ſet downe in Scripture, ſith the things that belong particularly vnto any ſuch forme, are not of neceſſitie to Saluation.

Tertull. de habitu mul. A multi ſint neceſſe eſt, quæ Dei non ſunt.

Rom. 2. 15.

Lactan. lib. 6. c. 8 Ille legis huius inuentor, diſceptator, lator. Cic. 3. de Repub.

one way they cannot as much as pretend, that all the parts of their owne Diſcipline are in Scripture; and the other way their mouthes are ſtopped, when they would plead againſt all other formes beſides their owne; ſeeing the generall Principles are ſuch, as doe not particularly preſcribe any one, but ſundry may equally bee conſonant vnto the generall Axiomes of the Scripture. But to giue them ſome larger ſcope, and not to cloſe them vp in theſe ſtreights: let their allegations bee conſidered, wherewith they earneſtly bend themſelues againſt all, which denie it neceſſarie that any one complete forme of Church-Politie ſhould bee in Scripture. Firſt therefore, whereas it hath beene told them, that matters of Faith, and in general, matters neceſſary vnto Saluation, are of a different nature from Ceremonies, order, and the kind of Church-gouernment; that the one are neceſſarie to bee expreſſely contained in the Word of God, or elſe manifeſtly collected out of the ſame, the other not ſo; that it is neceſſarie not to receiue the one, vnleſſe there bee ſomething in Scripture for them, the other free, if nothing againſt them may thence bee alleaged: although there doe not appeare any iuſt or reaſonable cauſe to reiect or diſlike of this, neuertheleſſe, as it is not eaſie to ſpeake to the contentation of mindes exulcerated in themſelues, but that ſomewhat there will be alwayes which diſpleaſeth, ſo herein for two things wee are reproued; the firſt is *miſdiſtinguiſhing*, becauſe matters of Diſcipline and Church-gouernment are (as they ſay) matters neceſſarie to Saluation, and of Faith, whereas wee put a difference betweene the one and the other; our ſecond fault is *iniurious dealing* with the Scripture of God, as if it contained onely the principall Points of Religion, ſome rude and vnfaſhioned matter of building the Church, but had left out that which belongeth vnto the forme and faſhion of it; as if there were in the Scripture no more then onely to couer the Churches nakedneſſe, and not Chaines, Bracelets, Rings, Iewels to adorne her; ſufficient to quench her thirſt, to kill her hunger, but not to miniſter a more liberall and (as it were) a more delicious and daintie dyet. In which caſe our Apologie ſhall not need to be verie long.

Two things miſliked, the one, that wee diſtinguiſh matters of Diſcipline or Church-gouernment from matters of Faith and neceſſarie vnto Saluation; the other, that we are iniurious to the Scripture of God, in abridging the large and rich contents thereof. Their wordes are theſe: You which diſtinguiſh betweene theſe, and ſay that matters of Faith and neceſſarie vnto Saluation may not be tolerated in the Church, vnleſſe they be expreſly contained in the Word of God, or manifeſtly gathered; but that Ceremonies, Order, Diſcipline, Gouernment in the Church, may not bee receiued againſt the Word of God, and conſequently may bee receiued if there be no word againſt them, although there be none for them; you (I ſay) diſtinguiſhing or diuiding after this ſort, doe prooue your ſelfe an euill diuider. As though matters of Dicipline and kind of Gouernment were not matters neceſſary to Saluation and of Faith. It is no ſmall iniurie which you doe vnto the Word of God to pinne it in ſo narrow roome, as that it ſhould be able to direct vs but in the principall points of our Religion, or as though the ſubſtance of Religion, or ſome rude and vnfaſhioned matter of building of the Church were vttered in them, and thoſe things were left out that ſhould pertaine to the forme and faſhion of it, or as if there were in the Scriptures onely to couer the Churches nakedneſſe, and not alſo Chaines, and Bracelets and Rings, and other Iewels to adorne her and ſet her out: or that to conclude, there were ſufficient to quench her thirſt and kill her hunger, but not to miniſter vnto her a more liberall, and (as it were) a more delicious and daintie dyet. Theſe things you ſeeme to ſay, when you ſay that matters neceſſarie to Saluation, and of faith are contained in Scripture, eſpecially, when you oppoſe theſe things to Ceremonies, Order, Diſcipline, and Gouernment, *T.C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 26.

* That matters of Diſcipline are different from matters of Faith and Saluation, and that they themſelues ſo teach which are our Reproouers.

3 * The mixture of thoſe things by ſpeech, which by nature are diuided, is the Mother of all Error. To take away therefore that error which Confuſion breedeth, diſtinction is requiſite. Rightly to diſtinguiſh, is by conceit of mind to ſeuer things different in Nature, and to diſcerne wherein they differ. So that if wee imagine a difference where there is none, becauſe wee diſtinguiſh

guiſh where wee ſhould not, it may not bee denyed that wee miſdiſtinguiſh. The onely triall whether wee doe ſo, yea or no, dependeth vpon compariſon betweene our conceit and the nature of things conceiued. Touching matters belonging to the Church of Chriſt this wee conceiue, that they are not of one ſute. Some things are *meerely* of faith, which things it doth ſuffice that wee know and beleeue: ſome things not onely to bee knowne, but done, becauſe they concerne the actions of men. Articles about the Trinitie are matters of meere faith, and muſt be beleeued. Precepts concerning the workes of Charitie, are matters of action, which to know, vnleſſe they be practiſed, is not enough. This being ſo cleere to all mens vnderſtanding, I ſomewhat maruaile that they eſpecially ſhould thinke it abſurd to oppoſe *Church-Gouernement*, a plaine matter of action, vnto matters of Faith, who know that themſelues diuide the Goſpell into *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline*.

T.C.lib.2.pag.1. We offer to ſhew the Diſcipline to be a part of the Goſpell. And againe, *pag.5.* I ſpeake of the Diſcipline as of a part of the Goſpell. If the Diſcipline be one part of the Goſpell, what other part can they aſſigne but Doctrine, to anſwere in diuiſion to the Diſcipline?

For if matters of Diſcipline be rightly by them diſtinguiſhed from matters of Doctrine, why not matters of Gouernement by vs as reaſonably ſet againſt matters of Faith? Doe not they vnder Doctrine comprehend the ſame which wee intend by matters of Faith? Doe not they vnder Diſcipline comprize the Regiment of the Church? When they blame that in vs, which themſelues follow, they giue men great cauſe to doubt that ſome other thing then Iudgement doth guide their ſpeech. What the Church of God ſtandeth bound to know or doe, the ſame in part Nature teacheth. And becauſe Nature can teach them but onely in part, neither ſo fully, as is requiſite for mans ſaluation; nor ſo eaſily, as to make the way playne and expedite enough, that many may come to the knowledge of it and ſo bee ſaued; therefore in Scripture hath God both collected the moſt neceſſarie things, that the Schoole of Nature teacheth vnto that end; and reuealeth alſo whatſoeuer wee neither could with ſafetie bee ignorant of, nor at all bee inſtructed in but by ſupernaturall Reuelation from him. So that Scripture contayning all things that are in this kinde any way needefull for the Church, and the principall of the other ſort, this is the next thing wherewith wee are charged as with an errour: wee teach that whatſoeuer is vnto ſaluation termed *neceſſarie* by way of excellencie, whatſoeuer it ſtandeth all men vpon to know or doe that they may be ſaued, whatſoeuer there is whereof it may truely be ſaid, *This not to beleeue is eternall death and damnation*, or, *This euery ſoule that will liue muſt duely obſerue*, of which ſort the Articles of Chriſtian Faith, and the Sacraments of the Church of Chriſt are; all ſuch things if Scripture did not comprehend, the Church of God ſhould not bee able to meaſure out the length and the breadth of that way wherein for euer ſhee is to walke, Heretiques and Schiſmatiques neuer ceaſing, ſome to abridge, ſome to enlarge, all to peruert and obſcure the ſame. But as for thoſe things that are acceſſorie heereunto, thoſe things that ſo belong to the way of ſaluation, as to alter them is no otherwiſe to change that way, then a path is changed by altering onely the vppermoſt face thereof, which be it laid with Grauell, or ſet with Graſſe, or paued with Stone, remayneth ſtill the ſame path; in ſuch things becauſe diſcretion may

may teach the Church what is conuenient, wee hold not the Church further tyed herein vnto Scripture, then that against Scripture nothing be admitted in the Church, left that path which ought alwayes to be kept euen, doe thereby come to be ouer-growne with Brambles and Thornes. If this be vnsound, wherein doth the point of vnsoundnesse lye? It is not that wee make some things *necessarie*, some things *accessorie* and appendent onely. For our LORD and SAVIOVR himselfe doth make that difference, by terming Iudgement, and Mercy, and Fidelitie, with other things of like nature, *The greater and waightier matters of the Law.* Is it then in that wee account *Ceremonies* (wherein wee doe not comprize Sacraments, or any other the like substantiall dueties in the exercise of Religion, but onely such externall Rites as are vsually annexed vnto Church-actions,) is it an ouer-sight, that wee reckon these things and * matters of Gouernement in the number of things accessorie, not things necessarie in such sort as hath beene declared? Let them which therefore thinke vs blameable, consider well their owne wordes. Doe they not plainely compare the one vnto Garments which couer the body of the Church, the other vnto Rings, Bracelets, and Iewells that onely adorne it? the one to that foode which the Church doth liue by, the other to that which maketh her dyet liberall, daintie, and more delicious? Is daintie fare a thing necessarie to the sustenance, or to the clothing of the body rich attyre? If not, how can they vrge the necessitie of that which themselues resemble by things not necessarie? Or by what construction shall any man liuing bee able to make those comparisons true, holding that distinction vntrue, which putteth a difference betweene things of externall Regiment in the Church, and things necessarie vnto saluation?

Matth.23.23.

* The Gouernement of the Church of Christ granted by *Fennar* himselfe, to bee thought a matter of great moment, yet not of the substance of Religion. Against *D. Bridges*, *pag.121.* if it be *Fennar* which was the Author of that Booke.

That we doe not take from Scripture any thing which may be thereunto giuen with soundnesse of truth. *Arist. Pol. lib 1. cap.8. & Plato in Menex. Arist. lib.3. de Anima, cap.45.*

4 Now as it can be to Nature no iniurie, that of her we say the same which diligent beholders of her workes haue obserued, namely, that she prouideth for all liuing creatures nourishment which may suffice, that shee bringeth forth no kinde of creature whereto shee is wanting in that which is needfull; although we doe not so farre magnifie her exceeding bountie, as to affirme that shee bringeth into the world the sonnes of men adorned with gorgeous attire, or maketh costly buildings to spring vp out of the earth for them: So I trust that to mention what the Scripture of God leaueth vnto the Churches discretion in some things, is not in any thing to impaire the honour which the Church of God yeeldeth to the sacred Scriptures perfection. Wherein seeing that no more is by vs maintayned, then only that Scripture must needes teach the Church whatsoeuer is in such sort necessarie as hath beene set downe; and that it is no more disgrace for Scripture to haue left a number of other things free to be ordered at the discretion of the Church, then for nature to haue left it vnto the wit of man to deuise his owne attire, and not to looke for it as the beasts of the field haue theirs: If neither this can import, nor any other proofe sufficient bee brought foorth, that wee either will at any time or euer did affirme the sacred Scripture to comprehend no more then onely those bare necessaries; if wee acknowledge that as well for particular application to speciall occasions,

as

as alſo in other manifold reſpects infinite Treaſures of wiſedome are ouer and beſides abundantly to be found in the Holy Scripture; yea, that ſcarcely there is any noble part of knowledge, worthy the mind of man, but from thence it may haue ſome direction and light; yea that although there be no neceſſitie it ſhould of purpoſe preſcribe any one particular forme of Church-Gouernment; yet touching the manner of gouerning in generall, the Precepts that Scripture ſetteth downe are not few, and the Examples many which it propoſeth for all Church-gouernours, euen in particularities to follow; yea that thoſe things, finally, which are of principall waight in the very particular forme of Church-Politie, (although not that forme which they imagine, but that which wee againſt them vphold) are in the ſelfe-ſame Scriptures contained: if all this be willingly granted by vs, which are accuſed to pinne the Word of God in ſo narrow roome, as that it ſhould be able to direct vs but in principall points of our Religion, or as though the ſubſtance of Religion or ſome rude and vnfaſhioned matter of building the Church were vttered in them, and thoſe things left out that ſhould pertaine to the forme and faſhion of it; let the cauſe of the accuſed be referred to the Accuſers owne conſcience, and let that iudge whether this accuſation be deſerued where it hath bin laid.

5 But ſo eaſie it is for euery man liuing to erre, and ſo hard to wreſt from any mans mouth the plaine acknowledgement of errour, that what hath beene once inconſiderately defended, the ſame is commonly perſiſted in, as long as wit by whetting it ſelfe is able to find out any ſhift, bee it neuer ſo ſleight, whereby to eſcape out of the hands of preſent contradiction. So that it commeth herein to paſſe with men vnaduiſedly falne into errour, as with them whoſe ſtate hath no ground to vphold it, but onely the helpe which by ſubtle conueyance they draw out of caſuall euents ariſing from day to day, till at length they bee cleane ſpent. They which firſt gaue out, that *Nothing ought to bee eſtabliſhed in the Church which is not commanded by the Word of God*, thought this Principle plainly warranted by the manifeſt wordes of the Law; *Yee ſhall put nothing vnto the Word which I command you, neither ſhall yee take ought there-from, that yee may keepe the Commandements of the Lord your God, which I command you.* Wherefore hauing an eye to a number of Rites and Orders in the Church of England, as Marrying with a Ring, Croſſing in the one Sacrament, kneeling at the other, obſeruing of Feſtiuall Dayes moe then onely that which is called the *Lords Day*, inioyning Abſtinence at certaine times from ſome kindes of Meate, Churching of Women after Child-birth, Degrees taken by Diuines in Vniuerſities, ſundry Church-offices, Dignities, and Callings, for which they found no Commandement in the Holy Scripture, they thought by the one onely ſtroke of that Axiome to haue cut them off. But that which they tooke for an Oracle, being ſifted was repeld. True it is concerning the Word of God, whether it bee by miſconſtruction of the ſenſe, or by falſification of the words, wittingly to endeuour that any thing may ſeeme Diuine which is not, or any thing not ſeeme which is, were plainely to abuſe and euen to falſifie Diuine Euidence, which iniurie offered but vnto men is moſt worthily counted hainous. Which point I wiſh they did well obſerue, with whom nothing is more familiar then to plead in theſe cauſes, *The Law of God*, *The Word of the Lord*: who notwithſtanding when

Their meaning who firſt did plead againſt the Politie of the Church of England, vrging that, *Nothing ought to bee eſtabliſhed in the Church, which is not commanded by the Word of God:* & what Scripture they thought they might ground this aſſertion vpon. *Deut.* 4. 2. & *Deut.* 12. 32. Whatſoeuer I command you take heed you doe it: thou ſhalt put nothing thereto, nor take ought there-from.

when they come to alleage what Word and what Law they meane, their common ordinarie practice is, to quote by-ſpeeches in ſome hiſtoricall Narration or other, and to vrge them as if they were written in moſt exact forme of Law. What is to adde to the Law of God, if this bee not? When that which the Word of God doth but deliuer hiſtorically, wee conſter without any warrant as if it were legally meant, and ſo vrge it further then we can proue that it was intended, doe wee not adde to the Lawes of God, and make them in number ſeeme moe then they are? It ſtandeth vs vpon to be carefull in this caſe. For the ſentence of God is heauie againſt them, that wittingly ſhall preſume thus to vſe the Scripture.

The ſame Aſſertion wee cannot hold, without doing wrong vnto all Churches.

6 But let that which they doe hereby intend be granted them; let it once ſtand as conſonant to reaſon, that becauſe wee are forbidden to adde to the Law of God any thing, or to take ought from it, therefore wee may not for matters of the Church make any Law more then is alreadie ſet downe in Scripture: who ſeeth not what ſentence it ſhall enforce vs to giue againſt all Churches in the world, in as much as there is not one, but hath had many things eſtabliſhed in it, which though the Scripture did neuer command, yet for vs to condemne were raſhneſſe. Let the Church of GOD euen in the time of our SAVIOVR CHRIRT ſerue for example vnto all the reſt. In their domeſticall celebration of the Paſſeouer, which Supper they diuided (as it were) into two courſes, what Scripture did giue commandement that betweene the firſt and the ſecond, hee that was Chiefe ſhould put off the reſidue of his garments, and keeping on his feaſt-robe onely, waſh the feete of them that were with him? What Scripture did command them neuer to lift vp their hands vnwaſht in prayer vnto God, which cuſtome *Ariſtæus* (bee the credite of the Author more or leſſe) ſheweth wherefore they did ſo religiouſly obſerue? What Scripture did command the Iewes euery feſtiuall day to faſt till the ſixt houre? The cuſtome both mentioned by *Ioſephus* in the Hiſtorie of his owne life, and by the wordes of *Peter* ſignified. Tedious it were to rip vp all ſuch things, as were in that Church eſtabliſhed, yea by Chriſt himſelfe and by his Apoſtles obſerued, though not commanded any where in Scripture.

Iohn 13. *Cœnatorium: de quo Matth.* 22. 12. *Ibi de Cœnatorio nuptiali.*

Act. 2.

* A ſhift to maintayne that, Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, which is not commanded in the word of God: Namely, that commandements are of two ſorts; and that all things lawfull in the Church are commanded, if not by ſpeciall precepts, yet by

7 * Well, yet a Gloſſe there is to colour that paradoxe, and notwithſtanding all this, ſtill to make it appeare in ſhew not to be altogether vnreaſonable. And therefore till further reply come, the cauſe is held by a feeble diſtinction; that the Commandements of God being either generall or ſpeciall, although there be no expreſſe word for euery thing in ſpecialtie, yet there are generall Commandements for all things, to the end that euen ſuch caſes as are not in Scripture particularly mentioned, might not be left to any to order at their pleaſure, onely with caution that nothing bee done againſt the Word of God: and that for this cauſe the Apoſtle hath ſet downe in Scripture foure generall Rules, requiring ſuch things alone to be receiued in the Church, as doe beſt and neereſt agree with the ſame Rules, that ſo all things in the Church may bee appointed, not onely *not againſt*, but *by* and *according* to the Word of God. The Rules are theſe, *Nothing ſcandalous* or offenſiue vnto any, eſpecially vnto the Church of God; *All things* in order and with ſeemelineſſe; *All vnto edification*; finally,

generall rules in the Word. 1. *Cor.* 10. 32. 1. *Cor.* 14. 40.

All to the glory of God. Of which kind how many might be gathered out of the Scripture, if it were neceſſarie to take ſo much paines? Which Rules they that vrge, minding thereby to proue that nothing may bee done in the Church but what Scripture commandeth, muſt needes hold that they tye the Church of Chriſt no otherwiſe, then onely becauſe we find them there ſet downe by the finger of the Holy Ghoſt. So that vnleſſe the Apoſtle by writing had deliuered thoſe Rules to the Church, wee ſhould by obſeruing them haue ſinned, as now by not obſeruing them. In the Church of the Iewes is it not granted, that *the appointment of the houre for daily Sacrifices*; the building of *Synagogues* throughout the Land to heare the Word of God & to pray in, when they came not vp to Ieruſalem; the erecting of *Pulpits and Chaires* to teach in; the order of *Buriall*, the *Rites of Marriage*, with ſuch like, being matters appertaining to the Church, yet are not any where preſcribed in the Law, but were by the Churches diſcretion inſtituted? What then ſhall we thinke? Did they hereby adde to the Law, and ſo diſpleaſe God by that which they did? None ſo hardly perſwaded of them. Doth their Law deliuer vnto them the ſelfe-ſame generall rules of the Apoſtle, that framing thereby their Orders, they might in that reſpect cleere themſelues from doing amiſſe? Saint *Paul* would then of likelihood haue cited them out of the Law, which we ſee he doth not. The truth is, they are Rules and Canons of that Law which is written in all mens hearts; the Church had for euer no leſſe then now ſtood bound to obſerue them, whether the Apoſtle had mentioned them or no. Seeing therefore thoſe Canons doe bind as they are Edicts of Nature, which the Iewes obſeruing as yet vnwritten, and thereby framing ſuch Church-orders as in their Law were not preſcribed, are notwithſtanding in that reſpect vnculpable; it followeth, that ſundrie things may bee lawfully done in the Church, ſo as they bee not done againſt the Scripture, although no Scripture doe command them, but the Church onely following the light of Reaſon, iudge them to be in diſcretion meete. Secondly, vnto our purpoſe and for the queſtion in hand, whether the Commandements of God in Scripture bee generall or ſpeciall, it skilleth not. For if being particularly applied, they haue in regard of ſuch particulars a force conſtrayning vs to take ſome one certaine thing of many, and to leaue the reſt, whereby it would come to paſſe, that any other particular but that one being eſtabliſhed, the generall Rules themſelues in that caſe would bee broken; then is it vtterly impoſſible that God ſhould leaue any thing great or ſmall free for the Church to eſtabliſh or not. Thirdly, if ſo be they ſhal grant, as they cannot otherwiſe doe, that theſe rules are no ſuch Lawes as require any one particular thing to bee done, but ſerue rather to direct the Church in all things which ſhe doth; ſo that free & lawfull it is to deuiſe any Ceremonie, to receiue any Order, & to authorize any kind of Regiment, no ſpecial Commandement being therby violated; & the ſame being thought ſuch by them to whom the iudgement thereof appertaineth, as that it is not ſcandalous, but decent, tending vnto edification, and ſetting forth the glory of God, that is to ſay, agreeable vnto the generall Rules of the Scripture; this doth them no good in the World for the furtherance of their purpoſe. That which ſhould make for them, muſt proue that men ought not to make Lawes for Church Regiment, but onely keepe thoſe Lawes which in Scripture they find made. The plaine intent of

1. Cor. 14. 26. Rom. 14. 6. 7.

T. C. l. 1. p. 35.

of the booke of Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline is to ſhew, that men may not deuiſe Lawes of Church-Gouernement; but are bound for euer to vſe and execute only thoſe, which God himſelfe hath alreadie deuiſed and deliuered in the Scripture. The ſelfe ſame drift the Admonitioners alſo had, in vrging that nothing ought to be done in the Church according vnto any Law of mans diuiſing, but all according to that which God in his Word hath commanded. Which not remembring, they gather out of Scripture generall Rules to be followed in making Lawes; and ſo in effect they plainely grant, that we our ſelues may lawfully make Lawes for the Church, and are not bound out of Scripture onely to take Lawes already made, as they meant who firſt alleaged that principle whereof we ſpeake. One particular platforme it is which they reſpected, and which they laboured thereby to force vpon all Churches; whereas theſe generall rules doe not let, but that there may well inough be ſundrie. It is the particular order eſtabliſhed in the Church of England, which thereby they did intend to alter, as being not commanded of God; whereas vnto thoſe generall rules they know, we doe not defend that we may hold any thing vnconformable. Obſcure it is not what meaning they had, who firſt gaue out that graund axion e: and according vnto that meaning, it doth preuaile farre and wide with the Fauourers of that part. Demand of them, wherefore they conforme not themſelues vnto the order of our Church? and in euery particular their anſwere for the moſt part is, *We finde no ſuch thing commanded in the Word.* Whereby they plainely require ſome ſpeciall commandement for that which is exacted at their hands, neither are they content to haue matters of the Church examined by generall Rules and Canons. As therefore in controuerſies betweene vs and the Church of Rome, that which they practiſe, is many times euen according to the very groſneſſe of that which the vulgar ſort conceiueth; when that which they teach to maintayne, it is ſo nice and ſubtle, that hold can very hardly be taken thereupon; in which caſes wee ſhould doe the Church of God ſmall benefit, by diſputing with them according vnto the fineſt points of their darke conueyances, and ſuffering that ſenſe of their Doctrine to goe vncontrolled, wherein by the common ſort it is ordinarily receiued and practiſed: So conſidering what diſturbance hath growne in the Church among our ſelues, and how the Authors thereof doe cõmonly build altogether on this as a ſure foundation, *Nothing ought not to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, which in the Word of God is not commanded*; were it reaſon that we ſhould ſuffer the ſame to paſſe without controlment, in that currant meaning whereby euerywhere it preuaileth, and ſtay till ſome ſtrange conſtruction were made thereof, which no man would lightly haue thought on, but being driuen thereunto for a ſhift?

Another anſwere in defence of the former aſſertion, whereby the meaning thereof is opened in this ſort. Al Church-orders muſt be commanded in the Word, that is to ſay, grounded vpon the Word, and made according at the leaſtwiſe vnto the generall Rules of holy Scripture. As for ſuch things as are found out by any Starre or light of Reaſon, and are in that reſpect receiued, ſo they be not againſt the Word of God, all ſuch things it holdeth vnlawfully receiued.

8 The laſt refuge in maintayning this Poſition, is thus to conſter it; *Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, but that which is commanded in the word of God*; that is to ſay, All Church-orders muſt bee *grounded vpon the Word of God*, in ſuch ſort grounded vpon the Word, not that being found out by ſome *Starre or light of Reaſon, or Learning, or other helpe*, they may bee receiued, ſo they bee not againſt the Word of God; but according at leaſtwiſe vnto the generall Rules of Scripture

ture they muſt be made. Which is in effect as much as to ſay, *We know not what to ſay well in defence of this Poſition: and therefore leſt we ſhould ſay it is falſe, there is no remedie but to ſay that in ſome ſenſe or other it may be true, if we could tell how.* Firſt, that *Scholy* had neede of a very fauourable Reader, and a tractable, that ſhould thinke it playne conſtruction, when to be *commanded in the Word*, and *grounded vpon the Word*, are made all one. If when a man may liue in the ſtate of Matrimonie, ſeeking that good thereby which nature principally deſireth, he make rather choice of a contrarie life in regard of S. *Pauls* iudgement; that which he doth is manifeſtly *grounded* vpon the Word of God, yet *not commanded* in his Word, becauſe without breach of any Commandement he might doe otherwiſe. Secondly, whereas no man in iuſtice and reaſon can be reproued, for thoſe actions which are framed according vnto that knowne Will of God, whereby they are to be iudged; and the Will of God which we are to iudge our actions by, no ſound Diuine in the world euer denyed to be in part made manifeſt euen by light of Nature and not by Scripture alone; if the Church being directed by the former of theſe two, (which God hath giuen who gaue the other, that man might in different ſort be guided by them both,) if the Church, I ſay, doe approue and eſtabliſh that which thereby it iudgeth meete, and findeth not repugnant to any word or ſyllable of holy Scripture, who ſhall warrant our preſumptuous boldneſſe, controlling herein the Church of Chriſt? But ſo it is, the name of the light of Nature is made hatefull with men; *The ſtarre of Reaſon and Learning*, and all other ſuch like helps, beginneth no otherwiſe to be thought of, then if it were an vnluckie Comet, or as if God had ſo accurſed it, that it ſhould neuer ſhine or giue light in things concerning our dutie any way towardes him, but bee eſteemed as that *Starre* in the *Reuelation* called *Wormewood*, which being falne from Heauen, maketh Riuers and Waters in which it falleth, ſo bitter, that men taſting them dye thereof. A number there are, who thinke they cannot admire as they ought the power and authoritie of the Word of God, if in things Diuine they ſhould attribute any force to mans reaſon. For which cauſe they neuer vſe reaſon ſo willingly as to diſgrace reaſon. Their vſuall and common Diſcourſes are vnto this effect: firſt, *The naturall man perceiueth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are fooliſhneſſe vnto him, neyther can hee know them, becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned.* Secondly, it is not for nothing that Saint *Paul* giueth charge to *beware of Philoſophie*, that is to ſay, ſuch knowledge as men by naturall reaſon attaine vnto. Thirdly, Conſider them that haue from time to time oppoſed themſelues againſt the Goſpell of Chriſt, and moſt troubled the Church with Hereſie. Haue they not alwayes beene great Admirers of humane reaſon? Hath their deepe and profound skill in ſecular learning, made them the more obedient to the Truth, and not armed them rather againſt it? Fourthly, They that feare God will remember how heauie his ſentences are in this caſe; *I will deſtroy the wiſedome of the wiſe, and will caſt away the vnderſtanding of the Prudent. Where is the Wiſe? Where is the Scribe? Where is the Diſputer of this World? Hath not God made the Wiſedom of this World fooliſhneſſe? Seeing the World by Wiſedome knew not God in the Wiſdome of God, it pleaſed God by the fooliſhneſſe of preaching to ſaue Beleeuers.* Fiftly, the Word of God in it ſelfe is abſolute, exact, and perfect. The Word

Ariſt. polit. 1.

1. *Cor. 7.*

Apoc. 8. 10.

1. *Cor. 2. 14.*

Col. 2. 8.

1. *Cor. 1. 19.*

of God is a two-edged ſword: as for the weapons of naturall reaſon, they are as the Armour of *Saul*, rather cumberſome about the Souldier of Chriſt then needfull. They are not of force to doe that, which the Apoſtles of Chriſt did by the power of the Holy Ghoſt. *My preaching*, therefore ſayth *Paul*, *hath not beene in the inticing ſpeech of mans wiſedome, but in plaine euidence of the Spirit of Power; that your Faith might not bee in the Wiſedome of men, but in the power of God.* Sixtly, if I beleeue the Goſpell, there needeth no reaſoning about it to perſwade mee: If I doe not beleeue, it muſt bee the Spirit of God, and not the reaſon of man that ſhall conuert my heart vnto him. By theſe and the like Diſputes an opinion hath ſpred it ſelfe very farre in the World, as if the way to bee ripe in faith, were to bee raw in wit and iudgement; as if reaſon were an enemie vnto Religion, childiſh ſimplicitie the Mother of Ghoſtly and Diuine wiſedome. The cauſe why ſuch Declamations preuaile ſo greatly, is, for that men ſuffer themſelues in two reſpects to bee deluded; one is, that the wiſedome of man being debaſed, eyther in compariſon with that of God, or in regard of ſome ſpeciall thing, exceeding the reach and compaſſe thereof, it ſeemeth to them (not marking ſo much) as if ſimply it were condemned: another, that Learning, Knowledge, or Wiſedome falſly ſo termed, vſurping a name whereof they are not worthy, and being vnder that name controuled, their reproofe is by ſo much the more eaſily miſapplyed, and through Equiuocation wreſted againſt thoſe things whereunto ſo precious names doe properly and of right belong. This duly obſerued, doth to the former allegations it ſelfe make ſufficient anſwere. Howbeit for all mens plainer and fuller ſatisfaction, Firſt, concerning the inabilitie of reaſon to ſearch out and to iudge of things Diuine; if they bee ſuch as thoſe properties of God, and thoſe duties of men towards him, which may bee conceiued by attentiue conſideration of Heauen and Earth: we know that of meere naturall men, the Apoſtle teſtifieth, how they *knew both God, and the Law of God.* Other things of God there be, which are neither ſo found, nor though they be ſhewed, can euer bee approued without the *ſpeciall* operation of Gods good Grace and Spirit. Of ſuch things ſometime ſpake the Apoſtle S. *Paul*, declaring how Chriſt had called him to be a Witneſſe of his Death and Reſurrection from the dead, according to that which the Prophets and *Moſes* had foreſhewed. *Feſtus* a meere naturall man, an Infidel, a Roman, one whoſe eares were vnacquainted with ſuch matter, heard him, but could not reach vnto that whereof he ſpake; the ſuffering and the riſing of Chriſt from the dead, hee reiecteth as idle ſuperſtitious fancies, not worth the hearing. The Apoſtle that knew them by the Spirit, & ſpake of thē with power of the Holy Ghoſt, ſeemed in his eyes but learnedly mad. Which example maketh manifeſt what elſwhere the ſame Apoſtle techeth, namely that nature hath need of grace, whereunto I hope we are not oppoſite, by holding that grace hath vſe of nature. Secondly, Philoſophy we are warned to take heed of: not that Philoſophy, which is true & ſound knowledge attained by naturall diſcourſe of reaſon; but that Philoſophy which to bolſter Hereſie or Error, caſteth a fraudulent ſhew of reaſon vpon things which are indeed vnreaſonable, & by that meane as by a Stratagem ſpoyleth the ſimple which are not able to withſtand ſuch cunning. *Take heed leſt any ſpoyle you through Philoſophy and vaine deceit.* He that exhorteth

1. Cor. 2. 4.

1.

Rom. 1. 21. 31.

Act. 25. 19.

Act. 26. 24.

1. Cor. 2. 14.

2.

Col. 2. 8.

teth to beware of an enemies policie, doth not giue counſell to be impolitique; but rather to vſe all prudent foreſight and circumſpection, leſt our ſimplicity be ouer-reacht by cunning ſleights. The way not to be inueigled by them that are ſo guilefull through skill, is thorowly to be inſtructed in that which maketh skilfull againſt guile, and to be armed with that true and ſincere Philoſophie, which doth teach againſt that deceitfull and vaine, which ſpoileth. Thirdly, But many great Philoſophers haue beene very vnſound in beliefe. And many ſound in beliefe, haue beene alſo great Philoſophers. Could ſecular knowledge bring the one ſort vnto the loue of Chriſtian faith? Nor Chriſtian faith the other ſort out of loue with ſecular knowledge. The harme that Heretiques did, they did it vnto ſuch as were vnable to diſcerne betweene ſound and deceitfull reaſoning; and the remedie againſt it, was euer the skill which the ancient Fathers had to diſcrie and diſcouer ſuch deceit. Inſomuch that *Creſconius* the Heretike complained greatly of S. *Auguſtine*, as being too full of Logicall ſubtilties. Hereſie preuayleth only by a counterfait ſhew of reaſon; whereby notwithſtanding it becommeth inuincible, vnleſſe it be conuicted of fraud by manifeſt remonſtrance, cleerely true, and vnable to be withſtood. When therefore the Apoſtle requireth abilitie to conuict Heretiques, can we thinke he iudgeth it a thing vnlawfull, and not rather needfull to vſe the principall inſtrument of their conuiction, the light of reaſon? It may not be denyed but that in the Fathers writings there are ſundry ſharpe inuectiues againſt Heretiques, euen for their very Philoſophicall reaſonings. The cauſe whereof *Tertullian* confeſſeth, not to haue beene any diſlike conceiued againſt the kinde of ſuch reaſonings, but the end. *We may* (ſaith he) *euen in matters of God, be made wiſer by reaſons, drawne from the publike perſwaſions which are grafted in mens mindes, ſo they be vſed to further the truth, not to bolſter error, ſo they make with, not againſt that which God hath determined. For there are ſome things euen knowne by nature, as the immortality of the Soule vnto many, our God vnto all. I will therefore my ſelfe alſo vſe the ſentence of ſome ſuch as* PLATO, *pronouncing euery Soule immortall. I my ſelfe too will vſe the ſecret acknowledgement of the communalty, bearing record of the God of gods. But when I heare men alleage, That which is dead is dead: and, While thou art aliue be aliue; and, After death an end of all, euen of death it ſelfe: then will I call to minde both that the heart of the people with God is accounted duſt, and that the very wiſedome of the world is pronounced folly. If then an Heretique flie alſo vnto ſuch vicious, popular and ſecular conceits, my anſwere vnto him ſhall be; Thou Heretique, auoid the Heathen, although in this yee be one, that yee both belie God: yet thou that doſt this vnder the name of Chriſt, differeſt from the Heathen, in that thou ſeemeſt to thy ſelfe a Chriſtian. Leaue him therefore his conceits, ſeeing that neither will he learne thine. Why doſt thou hauing ſight, truſt to a blinde guide, thou which haſt put on Chriſt, take rayment of him that is naked? If the Apoſtle haue armed thee, why doſt thou borrow a ſtrangers ſhield? Let him rather learne of thee to acknowledge, then thou of him to renounce the Reſurrection of the fleſh.* In a word, the Catholike Fathers did good vnto all by that knowledge, whereby Heretikes hindering the truth in many, might haue furthered therewith themſelues, but that obſtinately following their owne ambitious or otherwiſe corrupted affections, in ſtead of framing their wills to maintayne that which reaſon taught, they bent their wits to finde how reaſon might ſeeme to teach that which their

3 *Tit. 3. 11.*

Tertul. de Reſurrect. Carnis.

Tit.3.11. wils were ſet to maintaine. For which cauſe the Apoſtle ſaith of them iuſtly, that they are for the moſt part αὐτοκατάκριτοι, men condemned euen in & of themſelues. For though they be not all perſwaded that it is truth which they withſtand; yet that to be error which they vphold, they might vndoubtedly the ſooner a great deale attain to know, but that their ſtudy is more to defend what once they haue ſtood in, then to find out ſincerely and ſimply what truth they ought to perſiſt in for euer. 4. Fourthly, there is in the World no kind of knowledge, whereby any part of truth is ſeene, but we iuſtly account it precious; yea that principall truth, in compariſon whereof all other knowledge is vile, may receiue from it ſome kind of light. Whether it be that Egyptian & Caldæan wiſdome Mathematical, wherewith *Moſes* and *Daniel* were furniſhed; or that natural, moral, and ciuil wiſdome, where with *Salomon* excelled all men; or that rationall and oratoriall wiſedome of the Græcians, which the Apoſtle S. *Paul* brought from Tarſus; or that Iudaical, which he learned in Ieruſalem ſitting at the feet of *Gamaliel*, to detract from the dignity therof, wereto iniury euen God himſelfe, who being that Light which none can approch vnto, hath ſent out theſe Lights whereof we are capable, euen as ſo many ſparkles reſembling the bright Fountaine from which they riſe. But there are that beare the title of Wiſe-men, and Scribes, and great Diſputers of the World, and are nothing indeed leſſe then what in ſhew they moſt appeare. Theſe being wholly addicted vnto their owne wils, vſe their wit, their learning, and all the wiſedome they haue, to maintaine that which their obſtinate hearts are delighted with, eſteeming in the frantike error of their minds, the greateſt madneſſe in the World to be wiſdome, and the higheſt wiſdome fooliſhneſſe. Such were both Iewes & Græcians, which profeſſed the one ſort legal, and the other ſecular skill, neither enduring to be taught the myſterie of Chriſt: vnto the glory of whoſe moſt bleſſed Name, whoſo ſtudie to vſe both their reaſon and all other gifts, as well which nature as which grace hath indued them with; let them neuer doubt but that the ſame God, who is to deſtroy and confound vterly that wiſdome falſly ſo named in others, doth make reckoning of them as of true Scribes, Scribes by wiſdome inſtructed to the Kingdome of Heauen, Scribes againſt that Kingdome hardned in a vaine opinion of wiſdome, which in the end being proued folly, muſt needes periſh, true vnderſtanding, knowledge, iudgement and reaſon, continuing for euermore. Fiftly, vnto the Word of God, being in reſpect of that end for which God ordained it, perfect, exact, and abſolute in it ſelfe, we doe not adde reaſon as a ſupplement of any maime or defect therein, but as a neceſſary inſtrument, without which we could not reape by the Scriptures perfection, that fruit & benefit which it yeeldeth. The Word of God is a two edged ſword, but in the hands of reaſonable men; and reaſon as the weapon that ſlue *Goliath*, if they be as *Dauid* was that vſe it. Touching the Apoſtles, he which gaue them from aboue ſuch power for miraculous confirmation of that which they taught, indued them alſo with wiſedome from aboue, to teach that which they ſo did confirme. Our Sauiour made choice of twelue ſimple and vnlearned men, that the greater their lacke of naturall wiſdome was, the more admirable that might appeare, which God ſupernaturally indued them with from Heauen. Such therfore as knew the poore and ſilly eſtate wherin they had liued, could not but wonder to heare the wiſdome of their ſpeech, and be ſo much the more

Act.7.22. Dan.1.17. 1.King.4 29.30. Act.22.3. 4. 5. Mat.13.52. Heb.4.12.

more attentiue vnto their teaching. They ſtudied for no toung they ſpake withall; of themſelues they were rude, and knew not ſo much as how to premeditate, the Spirit gaue them ſpeech and eloquent vtterance. But becauſe with S. *Paul* it was otherwiſe then with the reſt, in as much as he neuer conuerſed with Chriſt vpon earth as they did; and his education had bin ſcholaſticall altogether, which theirs was not: hereby occaſion was taken by certaine Malignants, ſecretly to vndermine his great authority in the Church of Chriſt, as though the Goſpell had bin taught him by others then by Chriſt himſelfe, and as if the cauſe of the *Gentiles* conuerſion and beliefe through his meanes, had bin the learning and skill which he had by being conuerſant in their Bookes, which thing made them ſo willing to heare him, and him ſo able to perſwade them; whereas the reſt of the Apoſtles preuailed becauſe God was with them, and by miracle from Heauen confirmed his Word in their mouthes. They were mightie in *deeds*: As for him, being abſent, his writings had ſome force, in preſence his power not like vnto theirs. In ſumme, concerning his preaching, their very by-word was Λόγος ἐξουθενημένος, *Addle ſpeech, emptie talke.* His Writings ful of great words, but in the power of miraculous operatiõs, his preſence not like the reſt of the Apoſtles. Hereupon it ariſeth that S. *Paul* was ſo often driuen to make his Apologies. Hereupon it ariſeth, that whatſoeuer time he had ſpent in the ſtudy of humane learning, hee maketh earneſt proteſtation to them of Corinth, that the Goſpell which he had preached amongſt them, did not by other meanes preuaile with them, then with others the ſame Goſpel taught by the reſt of the Apoſtles of Chriſt. *My preaching,* ſaith hee, *hath not bin in the perſwaſiue ſpeeches of humane wiſdome, but in demonſtration of the ſpirit and power, that your faith may not be in the wiſdome of men, but in the power of God.* What is it which the Apoſtle doth here deny? Is it denied that his ſpeech amongſt thẽ had bin *perſwaſiue?* No, for of him the Sacred Hiſtory plainly teſtifieth, that for the ſpace of a yeere & a halfe he ſpake in the Synagogue euery Sabbath, and *perſwaded* both Iewes & Græcians. Hõw then is the ſpeech of men made perſwaſiue? Surely there can be but two waies to bring this to paſſe, the one humane, the other diuine. Either S. *Paul* did *onely* by art and natural induſtry cauſe his own ſpeech to be credited; or elſe God by miracle did authorize it, and ſo bring credit thereunto, as to the ſpeech of the reſt of the Apoſtles. Of which two the former he vtterly denieth. For why? If the preaching of the reſt had bin effectuall by miracle, his *onely* by force of his owne learning; ſo great inequalitie betweene him and the other Apoſtles in this thing, had bin enough to ſubuert their Faith. For might they not with reaſon haue thought, that if he were ſent of God as wel as they, God woud not haue furniſhed them and not him, with the power of the Holy Ghoſt? Might not a great part of them being ſimple happily haue feared, leſt their aſſent had bin cunningly gotten vnto his Doctrine, rather through the weakneſſe of their owne wits, then the certainty of that truth which he had taught them? How vnequal had it bin, that al beleeuers through the preaching of other Apoſtles, ſhould haue their faith ſtrongly built vpon the euidence of Gods owne miraculous approbation, & they whom he had conuerted, ſhould haue their perſwaſion built only vpon his skill and wiſedome who perſwaded them? As therefore calling from men may authorize vs to teach, although it could not authorize him to teach as other Apoſtles did: ſo although the wiſdome of man had not bin ſufficiẽt to inable him ſuch a Teacher as the reſt of the Apoſtles

2. *Cor.* 10. 10.

1. *Cor.* 2. 4.

Act. 18. 4. *v.* 11.

ſtles were, vnleſſe Gods miracles had ſtrengthened both the one and the others Doctrine; yet vnto our ability both of teaching and learning the truth of Chriſt, as we are but meere Chriſtian men, it is not a little which the wiſedome of man
6. may adde. Sixtly, yea, whatſoeuer our hearts be to God and to his truth, beleeue we, or be we as yet faithleſſe, for our conuerſion or confirmation the force of naturall reaſon is great. The force whereof vnto thoſe effects is nothing without grace. What then? To our purpoſe it is ſufficient, that whoſoeuer doth ſerue, honor and obey God, whoſoeuer beleeueth in him, that man would no more doe this then innocents and infants doe, but for the light of naturall reaſon that ſhineth in him, and maketh him apt to apprehend thoſe things of God, which being by grace diſcouered, are effectual to perſwade reaſonable minds and none other, that honor, obedience & credit belong aright vnto God. No man commeth vnto God to offer him Sacrifice, to powre out Supplications and Prayers before him,
Heb. 11. 6. or to doe him any ſeruice, which doth not firſt beleeue him both to be, and to be a rewarder of them who in ſuch ſort ſeeke vnto him. Let men be taught this eyther by reuelation from Heauen, or by inſtruction vpon Earth, by labour, ſtudie and meditation, or by the only ſecret inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt; whatſoeuer the meane be they know it by, if the knowledge thereof were poſſible without diſcourſe of naturall reaſon, why ſhould none be found capable thereof but onely men, nor men till ſuch time as they come vnto ripe & full ability to worke by reaſonable vnderſtanding? The whole drift of the Scripture of God, what is it but only to teach *Theologie? Theologie* what is it, but the Science of things Diuine? What Science can be attayned vnto without the helpe of naturall diſcourſe and
1. Cor. 10. 15. reaſon? *Iudge you of that which I ſpeake*, ſaith the Apoſtle. In vaine it were to ſpeake any thing of God, but that by reaſon men are able ſomewhat to iudge of that they heare, and by diſcourſe to diſcerne how conſonant it is to truth. Scripture indeed teacheth things aboue nature, things which our reaſon by it ſelfe could not reach vnto. Yet thoſe things alſo wee beleeue, knowing by reaſon that the Scripture is the Word of God. In the preſence of *Feſtus* a Romane, and of King *Agrippa* a Iew, S. *Paul* omitting the one, who neither knew the Iewes Religion, nor the Bookes whereby they were taught it, ſpeakes vnto the other of things foreſhewed by *Moſes* and the Prophets, and performed in Ieſus Chriſt; intending thereby to prooue himſelfe ſo vniuſtly accuſed, that vnleſſe his Iudges did condemne both *Moſes* & the Prophets, him they could not chooſe but acquite, who taught onely that fulfilled, which they ſo long ſince had foretold. His cauſe was eaſie to be diſcerned; what was done, their eies were witneſſes: what *Moſes* & the Prophets did ſpeake, their Bookes could quickly ſhew, it was no hard thing for
Act. 26. 22. him to compare them, which knew the one, & beleeued the other, *King Agrippa, beleeueſt thou the Prophets? I know thou doſt.* The queſtion is, how the Bookes of the Prophets came to be credited of King *Agrippa*. For what with him did authorize the Prophets, the like with vs doth cauſe the reſt of the Scripture of God to bee of credit. Becauſe wee maintaine, that in Scripture wee are taught all things neceſſarie vnto Saluation, hereupon very childiſhly it is by ſome demanded, what Scripture can teach vs the Sacred Authoritie of the Scripture, vpon the knowledge whereof our whole Faith and Saluation dependeth. As though there were any kind of Science in the World, which leadeth men vnto knowledge, without preſuppoſing a number of things already knowne. No Science doth

doth make knowne the firſt Principles whereon it buildeth; but they are alwayes either taken as plaine and manifeſt in themſelues, or as prooued and granted alreadie, ſome former knowledge hauing made them euident. Scripture teacheth all ſupernaturally reuealed truth, without the knowledge whereof Saluation cannot bee attained. The maine Principle whereupon our beliefe of all things therein contained dependeth, is, that the Scriptures are the Oracles of God himſelfe. This in it ſelfe wee cannot ſay is euident. For then all men that heare it would acknowledge it in heart, as they doe when they heare that *euerie whole is more then any part of that whole*, becauſe this in it ſelfe is euident. The other wee know that all doe not acknowledge when they heare it. There muſt be therefore ſome former knowledge preſuppoſed, which doth herein aſſure the hearts of all Beleeuers. Scripture teacheth vs that ſauing Truth which GOD hath diſcouered vnto the World by Reuelation: and it preſumeth vs taught otherwiſe that it ſelfe is Diuine and Sacred. The queſtion then being by what meanes wee are taught this: ſome anſwere, that to learne it wee haue no other way then onely Tradition: as namely, that ſo we beleeue, becauſe both we from our Predeceſſors, and they from theirs haue ſo receiued. But is this enough? That which all mens experience teacheth them, may not in any wiſe be denied. And by experience we all know, that the firſt outward Motiue leading men ſo to eſteeme of the Scripture, is the authoritie of Gods Church. For when we know the whole Church of God hath that opinion of the Scripture, wee iudge it euen at the firſt an impudent thing for any man bred and brought vp in the Church, to be of a contrary minde without cauſe. Afterwards the more wee beſtow our labour in reading or hearing the myſteries thereof, the more wee find that the thing it ſelfe doth anſwere our receiued opinion concerning it. So that the former inducement preuailing ſomewhat with vs before, doth now much more preuaile, when the very thing hath miniſtred farther reaſon. If Infidels or Atheiſts chance at any time to call it in queſtion, this giueth vs occaſion to ſift what reaſon there is, whereby the teſtimonie of the Church concerning Scripture, and our owne perſwaſion which Scripture it ſelfe hath confirmed, may be proued a truth infallible. In which caſe the Ancient Fathers being often coſtrained to ſhew, what warrant they had ſo much to relye vpon the Scriptures, endeuoured ſtill to maintaine the authoritie of the Bookes of God, by arguments ſuch as vnbeleeuers themſelues muſt needs thinke reaſonable, if they iudged thereof as they ſhould. Neither is it a thing impoſſible or greatly hard, euen by ſuch kind of proofes ſo to manifeſt and cleere that point, that no man liuing ſhall bee able to deny it, without denying ſome apparant Principle, ſuch as all men acknowledge to be true. Wherefore if I beleeue the Goſpell, yet is reaſon of ſingular vſe, for that it confirmeth me in this my beliefe the more: If I doe not as yet beleeue, neuertheleſſe to bring mee into the number of Beleeuers, except reaſon did ſomewhat helpe, & were an inſtrument which God doth vſe vnto ſuch purpoſes, what ſhould it boot to diſpute with Infidels, or godleſſe perſons, for their cõuerſion & perſwaſion in that point? Neither can I thinke that when graue & learned men doe ſometime hold, that of his Principle there is no proofe but by the teſtimony of the Spirit, which aſſureth our harts therin, it is their meaning to exclude vtterly all force which any kind of reaſon may haue in that behalfe: but I rather incline

incline to interpret ſuch their ſpeeches, as if they had more expreſly ſet downe, that other motiues and inducements, be they neuer ſo ſtrong and conſonant vnto reaſon, are notwithſtanding effectual of themſelues to worke faith concerning this principle, if the ſpeciall grace of the holy Ghoſt concurre not to the inlightning of our mindes. For otherwiſe, I doubt not but men of wiſedome and iudgement will grant, that the Church in this point eſpecially is furniſhed with reaſon, to ſtop the mouthes of her impious aduerſaries: and that as it were altogether bootleſſe to alleage againſt them, what the Spirit hath taught vs; ſo likewiſe that euen to our owne ſelues it needeth caution & explication, how the teſtimonie of the Spirit may be diſcerned, by what meanes it may be knowne, leſt men thinke that the Spirit of God doth teſtifie thoſe things which the ſpirit of error ſuggeſteth. The operations of the Spirit, eſpecially theſe ordinary which be cõmon vnto all true Chriſtian men, are as we know, things ſecret and vndiſcernable euen to the very ſoule where they are, becauſe their nature is of another & an higher kind then that they can be by vs perceiued in this life. Wherfore albeit the Spirit lead vs into all truth, and direct vs in all goodnes; yet becauſe theſe workings of the Spirit in vs are ſo priuy & ſecret, we therfore ſtand on a playner ground, when we gather by reaſon from the qualitie of things beleeued or done, that the Spirit of God hath directed vs in both; then if we ſettle our ſelues to beleeue, or to do any certaine particular thing, as being moued therto by the Spirit. But of this inough.

Act.13.36. & cap.2.34. To goe from the books of Scripture to the ſenſe & meaning thereof, becauſe the Sentences which are by the Apoſtles recited out of the *Pſalmes*, to proue the Reſurrection of Ieſus Chriſt, did not proue it, if ſo be the Prophet *Dauid* meant them of himſelfe, this Expoſition therefore they plainly diſproue, & ſhew by manifeſt reaſon, that of *Dauid* the wordes of *Dauid* could not poſſibly be meant. Exclude the vſe of naturall reaſoning about the ſenſe of holy Scripture concerning the articles of our Faith, & then that the Scripture doth concerne the Articles of our faith, who can aſſure vs? That which by right expoſition buildeth vp Chriſtian Faith, being miſconſtrued breedeth error: betweene true and falſe conſtruction,

1.Pet.3.15. the difference, reaſon muſt ſhew. Can Chriſtian men performe that which *Peter* requireth at their hands? is it poſſible they ſhould both beleeue, & be able without the vſe of reaſon, to render a reaſon of their beliefe, a reaſon ſound & ſufficient to anſwere them that demand it, be they of the ſame faith with vs, or enemies thereunto? May we cauſe our faith without reaſon to appeare reaſonable in the eyes of men? This being required euen of Learners in the Schoole of Chriſt, the dutie of their Teachers in bringing them vnto ſuch ripeneſſe, muſt needes be ſomewhat more, then only to reade the ſentences of Scripture, and then paraphraſtically to ſcholy them, to varie them with ſundrie formes of ſpeech, without arguing or diſputing about any thing which they cõtaine. This method of teaching may cõmend it ſelfe vnto the world by that eaſineſſe and facilitie which is in it: but a law or a patterne it is not, as ſome doe imagine, for all men to follow that wil doe good in the Church of Chriſt. Our Lord and Sauiour himſelfe did hope by diſputation to doe ſome good, yea, by diſputation not only of, but againſt the truth, albeit with purpoſe for the truth. That Chriſt ſhould be the ſonne of *Dauid*, was truth, yet againſt this truth our Lord in the Goſpell obiecteth, If Chriſt

Matt.22.43. be the Sonne of *Dauid*, how doth *Dauid* call him Lord? There is as yet no way

way knowne how to diſpute, or to determine of things diſputed, without the vſe of naturall reaſon. If we pleaſe to adde vnto Chriſt their example, who followed him as neere in all things as they could, the Sermon of *Paul* and *Barnabas* ſet downe in the *Acts*, where the people would haue offered vnto them Sacrifice: in that Sermon what is there but onely naturall reaſon to diſprooue their act? *O men, why doe you theſe things? We are men euen ſubiect to the ſelfe-ſame paſsions with you: we preach vnto you to leaue theſe vanities, and to turne to the liuing God, the God that hath not left himſelfe without witneſſe, in that hee hath done good to the World, giuing raine and fruitfull ſeaſons, filling our heart with ioy and gladneſſe.* Act. 14. 15. Neyther did they onely vſe reaſon in winning ſuch vnto Chriſtian beliefe as were yet thereto vnconuerted, but with Beleeuers themſelues they followed the ſelfeſame courſe. In that great and ſolemne Aſſembly of beleeuing Iewes, how doth *Peter* proue that the Gentiles were partakers of the grace of God as well as they, but by reaſon drawne from thoſe effects, which were apparantly knowne amongſt them? *God which knoweth hearts hath borne them witneſſe, in giuing vnto them the Holy Ghoſt as vnto you.* Act. 15. The light therefore which the Starre of naturall reaſon and wiſdome caſteth, is too bright to bee obſcured by the miſt of a word or two, vttered to diminiſh that opinion which iuſtly hath beene receiued concerning the force and vertue thereof, euen in matters that touch moſt neerely the principall duties of men, and the glory of the eternall God. In all which hitherto hath beene ſpoken touching the force and vſe of mans reaſon in things Diuine, I muſt craue that I be not ſo vnderſtood or conſtrued, as if any ſuch thing by vertue thereof could bee done without the aide and aſſiſtance of Gods moſt bleſſed Spirit. The thing we haue handled acccording to the queſtion mooued about it: which queſtion is, whether the light of reaſon be ſo pernicious, that in deuiſing lawes for the Church, men ought not by it to ſearch what may bee fit and conuenient. For this cauſe therefore wee haue endeuoured to make it appeare, how in the nature of reaſon it ſelfe there is no impediment, but that the ſelfeſame Spirit, which reuealeth the things that God hath ſet down in his Law, may alſo be thought to aide and direct men in finding out by the light of reaſon, what Lawes are expedient to bee made for the guiding of his Church, ouer and beſides them that are in Scripture. Herein therefore we agree with thoſe men, by whom humane Lawes are defined to be Ordinances, which ſuch as haue lawful authoritie giuen them for that purpoſe, doe probably draw from the Lawes of Nature and God, by Diſcourſe of Reaſon, aided with the influence of Diuine Grace. And for that cauſe it is not ſaid amiſſe touching Eccleſiaſticall Canons, that by *inſtinct of the Holy Ghoſt they haue bin made, and conſecrated by the reuerend acceptation of the World.* *Violatores c. 25. q. 1.*

9 Lawes for the Church are not made as they ſhould be, vnleſſe the makers follow ſuch direction as they ought to be guided by. Wherin that Scripture ſtandeth not the Church of God in any ſtead, or ſerueth nothing at all to direct, but may be let paſſe as needleſſe to be conſulted with, we iudge it profane, impious, and irreligious to think. For although it were in vaine to make Lawes which the Scripture hath already made, becauſe what we are already there commanded to doe, on our parts there reſteth nothing but only that it be executed: yet becauſe

How Lawes for the Regiment of the Church may bee made by the aduice of men, following therein the light of reaſon, and how thoſe Lawes being not repugnant to the Word of God are approued in his ſight.

both

both in that which we are cõmanded, it concerneth the dutie of the Church by law to prouide, that the looſeneſſe & ſlackneſſe of men may not cauſe the Commandements of God to be vnexecuted; & a number of things there are for which the Scripture hath not prouided by any law, but left them vnto the carefull diſcretion of the Church; we are to ſearch how the Church in theſe caſes may be well directed, to make that prouiſion by lawes which is moſt conuenient and fit. And what is ſo in theſe caſes, partly Scripture, and partly Reaſon muſt teach to diſcerne. Scripture comprehending Examples and Lawes, Lawes ſome Naturall and ſome Poſitiue; Examples neither are there for all caſes which require Lawes to be made, and when they are, they can but direct as Precedents only. Naturall Lawes direct in ſuch ſort, that in all things we muſt for euer doe according vnto them; Poſitiue ſo, that againſt them in no caſe we may doe any thing, as long as the Will of God is that they ſhould remayne in force. Howbeit when Scripture doth yeeld vs Precedents, how farre forth they are to be followed; when it giueth naturall Lawes, what particular order is thereunto moſt agreeable; when Poſitiue, which way to make Lawes vnrepugnant vnto them; yea, though all theſe ſhould want, yet what kind of Ordinances would be moſt for that good of the Church which is aymed at, all this muſt be by reaſon found out. And therefore, **To refuſe the conduct of the light of nature*, ſaith S. AVGVSTINE, *is not folly alone, but accompanyed with impiety.* The greateſt amongſt the Schoole Diuines, ſtudying how to ſet downe by exact definition the nature of an humane Law, (of which nature all the Churches Conſtitutions are) found not which way better to doe it then in theſe wordes: *Out of the Precepts of the law of Nature, as out of certayne common and vndemonſtrable Principles, mans reaſon doth neceſſarily proceede vnto certayne more particular determinations: which particular determinations being found out according vnto the reaſon of man, they haue the names of humane Lawes, ſo that ſuch other conditions be therein kept as the making of Lawes doth require*, that is, if they whoſe authoritie is therunto required do eſtabliſh and publiſh them as Lawes. And the truth is, that all our Controuerſie in this cauſe concerning the orders of the Church, is, what particulars the Church may appoint. That which doth finde them out, is the force of mans reaſon. That which doth guide and direct his reaſon, is firſt the generall Law of nature, which Law of nature, and the morall Law of Scripture are in the ſubſtance of Law all one. But becauſe there are alſo in Scripture a number of Lawes Particular and Poſitiue, which being in force may not by any Law of man be violated: we are in making Lawes to haue therunto an eſpeciall eye. As for example, it might perhaps ſeeme reaſonable vnto the Church of God, following the general lawes concerning the nature of marriage, to ordaine in particular that couſin-germans ſhal not marry. Which law notwithſtanding ought not to be receiued in the Church, if there ſhould be in the ſcripture a law particular to the contrary, forbidding vtterly the bonds of mariage to be ſo far-forth abridged. The ſame *Thomas* therefore, whoſe definition of humane Lawes we mentioned before, doth adde thereunto this caution concerning the Rule and Canon whereby to make them: *Humane Lawes are meaſures*, in reſpect of men, whoſe actions they muſt direct; howbeit ſuch meaſures

* *Luminis naturalis ducatum repellere, non modo ſtultum eſt, ſed & impium*, Aug. 4. de Trin. cap. 6.

Th. Aquin. 12. q. 91. art. 3. *Ex præceptis Legis naturalis, quaſi ex quibuſdam principijs communibus & indemonſtrabilibus, neceſſe eſt quòd ratio humana procedat ad aliqua magis particulariter diſponenda. Et iſtæ particulares diſpoſitiones adinuentæ ſecundum rationem humanam, dicuntur leges humanæ, obſeruatis alijs conditionibus quæ pertinent ad rationem legis.*

1. 2. q. 95. art. 3.

ſures

ſures they are, as haue alſo their higher rules to be meaſured by, *which rules are two, the Law of God and the Law of nature.* So that Lawes humane muſt be made according to the general Lawes of nature, and without contradiction vnto any Poſitiue Law in Scripture. Otherwiſe they are il made. Vnto Lawes thus made and receiued by a whole Church, they which liue within the boſome of that Church muſt not thinke it a matter indifferent either to yeeld or not to yeeld obedience. Is it a ſmal offence to deſpiſe the Church of God? *My Sonne, keep thy Fathers commandement,* ſaith Salomon, *and forget not thy Mothers inſtruction, bind them both alwayes about thine heart.* It doth not ſtand with the dutie which wee owe to our Heauenly Father, that to the Ordinances of our Mother the Church we ſhould ſhew our ſelues diſobedient. Let vs not ſay wee keepe the Commandements of the one, when we breake the Law of the other: for vnleſſe we obſerue both, we obey neyther. And what doth let, but that we may obſerue both, when they are not the one to the other in any ſort repugnāt? For of ſuch Lawes only we ſpeak, as being made in forme and manner already declared, can haue in them no contradiction vnto the Lawes of Almighty God. Yea that which is more, the Lawes thus made God himſelfe doth in ſuch ſort authorize, that to deſpiſe them, is to deſpiſe in them Him. It is a looſe and licentious opinion which the Anabaptiſts haue embraced, holding that a Chriſtian mans liberty is loſt, and the ſoule which Chriſt hath redeemed vnto himſelfe, iniuriouſly drawn into ſeruitude vnder the yoke of humane power, if any Law be now impoſed beſides the Goſpel of Ieſus Chriſt: in obedience wherunto the Spirit of God, and not the conſtraint of men is to lead vs, according to that of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *Such as are led by the Spirit of God are the Sons of God,* & not ſuch as liue in thraldome vnto men. Their iudgement is therfore that the Church of Chriſt ſhould admit no Lawmakers but the Euangeliſts. The Author of that which cauſeth another thing to be, is Author of that thing alſo which thereby is cauſed. The light of naturall vnderſtanding, wit and reaſon is from God; he it is which thereby doth illuminate euery man entring into the World. If there proceed from vs any thing afterwards corrupt and naught, the Mother thereof is our owne darkneſſe, neither doth it proceed from any ſuch cauſe whereof God is the Authour. Hee is the Authour of all that we thinke or doe by vertue of that light which himſelfe hath giuen. And therefore the Lawes which the very Heathens did gather to direct their actions by, ſo far forth as they proceeded from the light of nature, God himſelfe doth acknowledge to haue proceeded euen from himſelfe, and that hee was the Writer of them in the Tables of their hearts. How much more then is hee the Authour of thoſe Laws which haue bin made by his Saints, endued further with the heauenly grace of his Spirit, and directed as much as might bee with ſuch inſtructions as his Sacred Word doth yeeld? Surely if we haue vnto thoſe Lawes that dutifull regard which their dignitie doth require, it will not greatly need, that wee ſhould be exhorted to liue in obedience vnto them. If they haue God himſelfe for their Authour, contempt which is offered vnto them cannot chooſe but redound vnto him. The ſafeſt and vnto God the moſt acceptable way of framing our liues therefore is, with all humilitie, lowlineſſe and ſingleneſſe of heart to ſtudie, which way our willing obedience both vnto God and Man may be yeelded, euen to the vtmoſt of that which is due.

1. *Cor.* 11. 12. *Prou.* 6. 20.

Iohn 1. 5.

Rom. 1. 19. & 2. 15.

10 Tou-

That neither Gods being the Author of Lawes, nor his committing them to Scripture, nor the continuance of the end for which they were instituted, is any reason sufficient to proue that they are vnchangeable.

10 Touching the mutabilitie of Lawes that concerne the Regiment and Politie of the Church, changed they are, when either altogether abrogated, or in part repealed or augmented with farther additions. Wherein we are to note, that this question about the changing of Lawes, concerneth only such Lawes as are Positiue, and doe make that now good or euill by being commanded or forbidden, which otherwise of it selfe were not simply the one or the other. Vnto such lawes it is expresly sometimes added, how long they are to continue in force. If this be no where expreſt, then haue we no light to direct our iudgements concerning the changeablenesse or immutability of them, but by considering the nature and qualitie of such Lawes. The nature of euery Law must be iudged of by the end for which it was made, and by the aptnesse of things therein prescribed vnto the same end. It may so fall out, that the reason why some lawes of God were giuen, is neither opened nor possible to be gathered by wit of man. As why God should forbid *Adam* that one tree, there was no way for *Adam* euer to haue certainely vnderstood. And at *Adams* ignorance of this point Satan tooke aduantage, vrging the more securely a false cause, because the true was vnto *Adam* vnknowne.

Deut. 22.10. Why the Iewes were forbidden to plow their ground with an Oxe and an Asse,

Deut. 22.11. why to clothe themselues with mingled attyre of wooll and linnen, both it was vnto them, and vnto vs it remayneth obscure. Such lawes perhaps cānot be abrogated, sauing only by whom they were made: because the intent of them being knowne vnto none but the Author, he alone can iudge how long it is requisite they should endure. But if the reason why things were instituted may be known, and being knowne doe appeare manifestly to be of perpetuall necessitie; then are those things also perpetuall, vnlesse they cease to be effectuall vnto that purpose for which they were at the first instituted. Because when a thing doth cease to be auaileable vnto the end which gaue it being, the continuance of it must then of necessitie appeare superfluous. And of this we cannot be ignorant, how sometimes that hath done great good, which afterwards when time hath changed the ancient course of things, doth grow to be either very hurtfull, or not so greatly profitable and necessary. If therefore the end for which a Law prouideth be perpetually necessary, and the way whereby it prouideth perpetually also most apt, no doubt but that euery such Law ought for euer to remaine vnchangeable. Whether God be the Author of Lawes, by authorizing that power of men wherby they are made, or by deliuering them made immediately from himselfe, by word only, or in writing also, or howsoeuer; notwithstanding the authority of their Maker, the mutabilitie of that end for which they are made doth also make them changeable. The Law of ceremonies came from God. *Moses* had commandement to commit it vnto the sacred records of Scripture, where it continueth euen vnto this very day and houre; in force still as the Iew surmiseth, because God himselfe was Author of it, and for vs to abolish what he hath established were presumption most intolerable. But (that which they in the blindnes of their obdurate hearts are not able to discerne) sith the end for which that Law was ordayned is now fulfilled, past and gone; how should it but cease any longer to be, which hath no longer any cause of being in force as before? *That which necessity of some speciall time doth cause to be inioyned, bindeth no longer then during that time, but doth afterwards become free.* Which thing is also playne, euen by that Law which

Quod pro necessitate temporis statutum est, cessante necessitate debet cessare pariter quod vrgebat, 1.q.1.

which the Apoſtles aſſembled at the Councell of Ieruſalem did from thence deliuer vnto the Church of Chriſt; the Preface whereof to authorize it was, *To the Holy Ghoſt and to vs it hath ſeemed good:* which ſtile they did not vſe as matching themſelues in power with the Holy Ghoſt, but as teſtifying the Holy Ghoſt to bee the Authour, and themſelues but onely vtterers of that Decree. This Law therefore to haue proceeded from God as the Authour thereof, no faithfull man will denie. It was of God, not only becauſe God gaue them the power whereby they might make Lawes, but for that it proceeded euen from the holy motion and ſuggeſtion of that ſecret Diuine Spirit, whoſe ſentence they did but onely pronounce. Notwithſtanding as the Law of Ceremonies deliuered vnto the Iewes, ſo this very Law which the Gentiles receiued from the mouth of the Holy Ghoſt, is in like reſpect abrogated by deceaſe of the end for which it was giuen. But ſuch as doe not ſticke at this point, ſuch as grant that what hath beene inſtituted vpon any ſpeciall cauſe, needeth not to be obſerued that cauſe ceaſing, doe notwithſtanding herein faile; they iudge the Lawes of God onely by the Authour and maine end for which they were made, ſo that for vs to change that which hee hath eſtabliſhed, they hold it execrable pride and preſumption, if ſo be the end and purpoſe for which God by that meane prouideth bee permanent. And vpon this they ground thoſe ample Diſputes concerning Orders and Offices, which being by him appointed for the Gouernment of his Church, if it bee neceſſarie alwayes that the Church of Chriſt be gouerned, then doth the end for which God prouided remaine ſtill; and therefore in thoſe meanes which hee by Law did eſtabliſh as being fitteſt vnto that end, for vs to alter any thing, is to lift vp our ſelues againſt God, and as it were to countermand him. Wherein they marke not that Lawes are inſtruments to rule by, and that Inſtruments are not onely to bee framed according vnto the generall end for which they are prouided, but euen according vnto that very particular which riſeth out of the matter whereon they haue to worke. The end wherefore Lawes were made may bee permanent, and thoſe Lawes neuertheleſſe require ſome alteration, if there bee any vnfitneſſe in the meanes which they preſcribe as tending vnto that end and purpoſe. As for Example, a Law that to bridle Theft doth puniſh Theeues with a quadruple reſtitution, hath an end which will continue as long as the World it ſelfe continueth. Theft will be alwaies, and will alwaies need to bee bridled. But that the meane which this Law prouideth for that end, namely, the puniſhment of quadruple reſtitution, that this will bee alwaies ſufficient to bridle and reſtraine that kind of enormitie, no man can warrant. Inſufficiencie of Lawes doth ſometimes come by want of iudgement in the Makers. Which cauſe cannot fall into any Law termed properly and immediately Diuine, as it may and doth into Humane Lawes often. But that which hath beene once moſt ſufficient, may waxe otherwiſe by alteration of time and place; that puniſhment which hath bin ſometimes forcible to bridle ſinne, may grow afterward too weake & feebled. In a word, we plainly perceiue by the difference of thoſe three Lawes which the Iewes receiued at the hands of God, the Morall, Ceremoniall, and iudiciall, that if the end for which, and the matter according whereunto God maketh his Lawes, continue alwaies one and the ſame, his Lawes alſo doe the like for which cauſe the Morall Law cannot bee altered:

Quod pro neceſſit. Act. 15.

Counterp. p. 8.

Secondly, that whether the matter whereon Lawes are made continue or continue not, if their end haue once ceaſed, they ceaſe alſo to bee of force; as in the Law Ceremoniall it fareth: Finally, that albeit the end continue, as in that Law of Theft ſpecified, and in a great part of thoſe ancient Iudicials it doth; yet for as much as there is not in all reſpects the ſame ſubiect or matter remaining for which they were firſt inſtituted, euen this is ſufficient cauſe of change. And therefore Lawes though both ordained of God himſelfe, and the end for which they were ordained continuing, may notwithſtanding ceaſe, if by alteration of perſons or times they bee found vnſufficient to attaine vnto that end. In which reſpect why may wee not preſume, that God doth euen call for ſuch change or alteration, as the very condition of things themſelues doth make neceſſarie? They which doe therefore plead the authoritie of the Law-maker, as an Argument wherefore it ſhould not be lawfull to change that which hee hath inſtituted, and will haue this the cauſe why all the Ordinances of our Sauiour are immutable; they which vrge the Wiſedome of God as a proofe, that whatſoeuer Lawes hee hath made they ought to ſtand, vnleſſe himſelfe from Heauen proclaime them diſanuld, becauſe it is not in man to correct the Ordinance of God; may know, if it pleaſe them to take notice thereof, that we are farre from preſuming to thinke that men can better any thing which God hath done, euen as wee are from thinking that men ſhould preſume to vndoe ſome things of men, which God doth know they cannot better. God neuer ordained any thing that could bee bettered. Yet many things hee hath, that haue beene changed, and that for the better. That which ſucceedeth as better now when change is requiſite, had beene worſe when that which now is changed was inſtituted. Otherwiſe God had not then left this to chooſe that, neyther would now reiect that to chooſe this, were it not for ſome new growne occaſion making that which hath beene better worſe. In this caſe therefore men doe not preſume to change Gods Ordinance, but they yeeld thereunto requiring it ſelfe to bee changed. Againſt this it is obiected, that to abrogate or innouate the Goſpell of Chriſt, if men or Angels ſhould attempt, it were moſt hainous and curſed Sacriledge. And the Goſpell, as they ſay, containeth not onely Doctrine inſtructing men how they ſhould beleeue, but alſo Precepts concerning the Regiment of the Church.* Diſcipline therefore is a part of the Goſpell; and God being the Author of the whole Goſpell, as well of Diſcipline as of Doctrine, it cannot be but that both of them haue a common cauſe. So that as we are to beleeue for euer the Articles of Euangelicall Doctrine, ſo the Precepts of Diſcipline wee are in like ſort bound for euer to obſerue. Touching points of Doctrine, as for example, the Vnity of God, the Trinity of Perſons, Saluation by Chriſt, the Reſurrection of the body, Life euerlaſting, the Iudgement to come, and ſuch like, they haue bin ſince the firſt houre that there was a Church in the World, and till the laſt they muſt be beleeued. But as for matters of Regiment, they are for the moſt part of another nature. To make new Articles of Faith & Doctrine no man thinketh it lawful; new Lawes of Gouernment what Common-wealth or Church is there which maketh not either at one time or another? *The rule of Faith*, ſaith TERTVL. *is but one and that alone immoueable, and impoſſible to be framed or caſt anew.* The Law of outward Order and Politie not ſo. There is no reaſon in the world where-

* We offer to ſhew the Diſcipline to be a part of the Goſpell, and therefore to haue a cõmon cauſe: ſo that in the repulſe of the Diſcipline, the Goſpell receiues a checke. And againe, I ſpeak of the Diſcipline as of a part of the Goſpell, and therefore neither vnder nor aboue the Goſpell, but the Goſpell. T. C. l. 2. p. 1. 4. *Tetull. de veland. Virg. Mart. in* 1. *Sam.* 14.

wherefore wee ſhould eſteeme it as neceſſarie alwayes to doe, as alwayes to beleeue the ſame things; ſeeing euery man knoweth that the matter of Faith is conſtant, the matter contrariwiſe of action daily changeable, eſpecially the matter of action belonging vnto Church-Politie. Neither can I find that men of ſoūdeſt iudgement haue any otherwiſe taught, then that Articles of Beliefe, and things which all men muſt of neceſſitie doe to the end they may be ſaued, are either expreſly ſet downe in Scripture, or elſe plainly thereby to be gathered. But touching things which belong to Diſcipline and outward Politie, the Church hath authoritie to make Canons, Lawes, and Decrees, euen as we reade that in the Apoſtles times it did. Which kind of Lawes (for as much as they are not in themſelues neceſſary to Saluation) may after they are made be alſo changed, as the difference of times or places ſhall require. Yea, it is not denied I am ſure by themſelues, that certaine things in Diſcipline are of that nature, as they may bee varied by times, places, perſons, and other the like circumſtances. Whereupon I demand, are thoſe changeable points of Diſcipline commanded in the Word of God; or no? If they be not commanded, and yet may be receiued in the Church, how can their former poſition ſtand, condemning all things in the Church, which in the Word are not cōmanded? If they be commanded, and yet may ſuffer change; how can this later ſtand, affirming all things immutable which are commanded of God? Their diſtinction touching matters of ſubſtance and of circumſtance, though true, will not ſerue. For be they great things or be they ſmall, if God haue commanded them in the Goſpell, and his commanding them in the Goſpell doe make them vnchangeable, there is no reaſon we ſhould more change the one then we may the other. If the authoritie of the Maker doe proue vnchangeableneſſe in the Lawes which God hath made; then muſt all Lawes which he hath made be neceſſarily for euer premanent, though they bee but of circumſtance only and not of ſubſtance. I therefore conclude that neither Gods being Author of Lawes for Gouernment of his Church, nor his committing them vnto Scripture, is any reaſon ſufficient, wherefore all Churches ſhould for euer be bound to keepe them without change. But of one thing wee are here to giue them warning by the way. For wheras in this Diſcourſe we haue oftentimes profeſt, that many parts of Diſcipline or Church-Politie are deliuered in Scripture, they may perhaps imagine that we are driuen to confeſſe their Diſcipline to bee deliuered in Scripture, and that hauing no other meanes to auoid it, we are faine to argue for the changeableneſſe of Lawes ordained euen by God himſelfe, as if otherwiſe theirs of neceſſitie ſhould take place, and that vnder which we liue be abandoned: There is no remedie therefore but to abate this errour in them, and directly to let them know, that if they fall into any ſuch conceite, they doe but a little flatter their owne cauſe. As for vs, wee thinke in no reſpect ſo highly of it. Our perſwaſion is, that no Age euer had knowledge of it but onely ours; that they which defend it, deuiſed it; that neither Chriſt nor his Apoſtles at any time taught it, but the cōtrary. If therfore we did ſeeke to maintaine that which moſt aduantageth our own cauſe, the very beſt way for vs, and the ſtrongeſt againſt them, were to hold euen as they doe, that in Scripture there muſt needs bee found ſome particular forme of Church-Politie, which God hath inſtituted, and which* for that very cauſe belongeth to all

Act. 15.

* *Diſciplina eſt Chriſtianæ Eccleſiæ Politia, à Deo eius rectè adminiſtrandæ cauſa cōſtituta, ac propterea ex eius verbo petenda, & ob eandem cauſam omnium Eccleſiarum communis & omnium temporum, lib. 3. de Eccleſ. Diſciplin. in Analy.*

all Churches, to all times. But with any ſuch partiall eye to reſpect our ſelues, and by cunning to make thoſe things ſeeme the trueſt which are the fitteſt to ſerue our purpoſe, is a thing which wee neither like nor meane to follow. Wherefore that which wee take to bee generally true concerning the mutabilitie of Lawes, the ſame we haue plainly deliuered; as being perſwaded of nothing more then we are of this, * that whether it bee in matter of ſpeculation or of practice, no vntruth can poſſibly auaile the Patrone and Defendor long, and that things moſt truely are likewiſe moſt behoouefully ſpoken.

* Εοίκασιν ἐν ὁι ἀληθεῖς τῶν λόγων, ὐ μόνον πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι χρησιμώτατα τοι εἶναι ἀλλὰ κ πρὸς τὴν βίον. Συνωσλοὶ γὰρ ὄντες ἥρσοις, συνέυονται *Ariſto. Eth.* 10. *cap.* 1.

Whether Chriſt haue forbidden all change of thoſe Lawes which are ſet downe in Scripture.

11 This we hold and grant for truth, that thoſe very Lawes which of their owne nature are changeable, bee notwithſtanding vncapable of change, if hee which gaue them, being of authority ſo to do, forbid abſolutely to change them; neither may they admit alteration againſt the will of ſuch a Law-maker. Albeit therefore we doe not find any cauſe why of right there ſhould be neceſſarily an immutable forme ſet downe in Holy Scripture; neuertheleſſe if indeed there haue beene at any time a Church-Politie ſo ſet downe, the change whereof the ſacred Scripture doth forbid, ſurely for men to alter thoſe Lawes which God for perpetuitie hath eſtabliſhed, were preſumption moſt intolerable. To prooue therefore that the will of Chriſt was to eſtabliſh Lawes ſo permanent and immutable, that in any ſort to alter them cannot but highly offend God, thus they reaſon. Firſt, if *Moſes* being but a Seruant in the Houſe of God did therein eſtabliſh Lawes of Gouernment for perpetuitie, Lawes which they that were of the Houſhold might not alter: ſhal we admit into our thoughts, that the Sonne of God hath in prouiding for this his Houſhold declared himſelfe leſſe faithfull then *Moſes*? *Moſes* deliuering vnto the Iewes ſuch Lawes as were durable, if thoſe be changeable which Chriſt hath deliuered vnto vs, we are not able to auoid it, but (that which to thinke were hainous impiety) we of neceſſity muſt confeſſe, euen the Sonne of God himſelfe to haue beene leſſe faithfull then *Moſes*. Which Argument ſhall need no Touchſtone to try it by, but ſome other of the like making. *Moſes* erected in the Wilderneſſe a Tabernacle, which was moueable from place to place; *Salomon* a ſumptuous and ſtately Temple, which was not moueable: Therefore *Salomon* was faithfuller then *Moſes*; which no man indued with reaſon will thinke. And yet by this reaſon it doth plainly follow. He that will ſee how faithfull the one or the other was, muſt compare the things which they both did, vnto the charge which God gaue each of them. The Apoſtle in making compariſon betweene our Sauiour and *Moſes*, attributeth faithfulneſſe vnto both, and maketh this difference betweene them; *Moſes in*, but Chriſt *ouer* the Houſe of God; *Moſes* in that Houſe which was *his by charge* and commiſſion, though to gouerne it, yet to gouerne it *as a Seruant*; but Chriſt ouer this Houſe, as being *his owne intire Poſſeſſion*. Our Lord and Sauiour doth make proteſtation, *I haue giuen vnto them the words which thou gaueſt mee*. Faithfull therefore hee was, and concealed not any part of his Fathers will. But did any part of that will require the immutabilitie of Lawes concerning Church-Politie? They anſwer, Yea. For elſe God ſhould leſſe

Heb. 3. 6. Either that commendation of the Sonne before the Seruant is a falſe teſtimonie, or the Sonne ordained a permanent Gouernment in the Church. If permanent, then not to bee changed. What then doe they that hold it may be changed at the Magiſtrates pleaſure, but aduiſe the Magiſtrate by his Poſitiue Lawes to proclaime that it is his will, that if there ſhall bee a Church within his Dominions, bee will maime and deforme the ſame? *M. M. Pag.* 16. He that was as faithfull as *Moſes*, left as cleere inſtruction for the Gouernment of the Church. But Chriſt was as faithfull as *Moſes*. Ergo. *Demonſt.* of *Diſc. cap.* 1.

Iohn 17.

fauour vs then the Iewes. God would not haue their Churches guided by any Lawes but his owne. And ſeeing this did ſo continue euen til Chriſt; now to eaſe God of that care, or rather to depriue the Church of his Patronage, what reaſon haue we? Surely none to derogate any thing from the ancient loue which God hath borne to his Church. An Heathen Philoſopher there is, who conſidering how many things beaſtes haue which men haue not, how naked in comparison of them, how impotent, and how much leſſe able wee are to ſhift for our ſelues a long time after we enter into this World, repiningly concluded hereupon, that nature being a carefull Mother for them, is towards vs a hard-hearted Stepdame. No, we may not meaſure the affection of our gracious God towards his by ſuch differences. For euen herein ſhineth his wiſedome, that though the wayes of his prouidence bee many, yet the end which hee bringeth all at the length vnto, is one and the ſelfe-ſame. But if ſuch kind of reaſoning were good, might we not euen as directly conclude the very ſame concerning Lawes of Secular Regiment? Their owne wordes are theſe: *In the ancient Church of the Iewes, God did command, and* MOSES *commit vnto writing, all things pertinent as well to the Ciuill as to the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate.* God gaue them Lawes of Ciuill Regiment, and would not permit their Common-weale to bee gouerned by any other Lawes then his owne. Doth God leſſe regard our Temporall Eſtate in this World, or prouide for it worſe then for theirs? To vs notwithſtanding hee hath not as to them deliuered any particular forme of Temporall Regiment, vnleſſe perhaps we thinke, as ſome doe, that the grafting of the Gentiles and their incorporating into Iſrael, doth import that we ought to bee ſubiect vnto the Rites and Lawes of their whole Politie. We ſee then how weake ſuch Diſputes are, & how ſmally they make to this purpoſe. That Chriſt did not meane to ſet downe particular Poſitiue Lawes for all things in ſuch ſort as *Moſes* did, the very different manner of deliuering the Lawes of *Moſes* and the Lawes of Chriſt doth plainely ſhew. *Moſes* had commandement to gather the Ordinances of God together diſtinctly, and orderly to ſet them downe according vnto their ſeuerall kinds, for each publike dutie and office the Lawes that belong thereto, as appeareth in the Bookes themſelues written of purpoſe for that end. Contrariwiſe the Lawes of Chriſt wee find rather mentioned by occaſion in the Writings of the Apoſtles, then any ſolemne thing directly written to comprehend them in legall ſort. Againe, the Poſitiue Lawes which *Moſes* gaue, they were giuen for the greateſt part with reſtraint to the Land of Iury; Behold, ſaith MOSES, *I haue taught you Ordinances and Lawes as the Lord my God commanded mee, that yee ſhould doe euen ſo within the Land whither ye goe to poſſeſſe it.* Which Lawes and Ordinances Poſitiue hee plainely diſtinguiſheth afterward from the Lawes of the two Tables which were morall; *The Lord ſpake vnto you out of the midſt of the fire, yee heard the voice of the words, but ſaw no ſimilitude, onely a voice. Then he declared vnto you his Couenant which he commanded you to doe, the ten Commandements, and wrote them vpon two Tables of ſtone. And the Lord commanded me that ſame time, that I ſhould teach you Ordinances and Lawes which ye ſhould obſerue in the Land whither yee goe to poſſeſſe it.* The ſame difference is againe ſet downe in the next Chapter following. For rehearſall being made of the ten Cõmandements, it followeth immediately; *Theſe words the Lord ſpake vnto all your multitude in the Mount out of the midſt of the fire,*

Either God hath left a preſcript forme of Gouernment now, or elſe he is leſſe carefull vnder the new Teſtament then vnder the Olde, *Demonſt. of Diſc. cap. 1.*

Eccleſiaſt. Diſc. lib. 1.

Rom. 11. 17. Epheſ. 2. 12. 16.

Deut. 4. 5.

Verſe 12. 13. 14.

Dan. 5. 22.

the cloud and the darkneſſe, with a great voice, and added no more, and wrote them vpon two Tables of Stone, and deliuered them vnto me. But concerning other Lawes, the
27. people giue their conſent to receiue them at the hands of MOSES; *Goe thou neerer, and heare all that the Lord our God ſaith, and declare thou vnto vs all that the Lord our God ſayth vnto thee, and wee will heare it and doe it.* The peoples alacritie herein God highly commendeth with moſt effectuall and heartie
28. ſpeech; *I haue heard the voyce of the wordes of this people, they haue ſpoken well.*
29. *O that there were ſuch an heart in them to feare mee, and to keepe all my Commandements alwayes, that it might goe well with them, and with their Children for euer!*
30. *Goe ſay vnto them, Returne you to your Tents;*
31. *But ſtand thou here with mee, and I will tell thee all the Commandements, and the Ordinances, and the Lawes which thou ſhalt teach them, that they may doe them in the Land which I haue giuen them to poſſeſſe.* From this later kind the former are plainely diſtinguiſhed in many things. They were not both at one time deliuered, neyther both after one ſort, nor to one end. The former vttered by the voyce of God himſelfe in the hearing of ſixe hundred thouſand men; the former written with the finger of God; the former termed by the name of a Couenant; the former giuen to bee kept without eyther mention of time how long, or of place where. On the other ſide, the later giuen after, and neither written by God himſelfe, nor giuen vnto the whole multitude immediately from God, but vnto *Moſes*, and from him to them both by Word and Writing; the later termed Ceremonies, Iudgements, Ordinances, but no where Couenants; finally, the obſeruation of the later reſtrained vnto the Land where God would eſtabliſh them to inhabite. The Lawes Poſitiue are not framed without regard had to the place and perſons for the which they are made. If therefore Almightie God in framing their Lawes, had an eye vnto the nature of that people; and to the Countrie where they were to dwell; if theſe peculiar and proper conſiderations were reſpected in the making of their Lawes, and muſt bee alſo regarded in the Poſitiue Lawes of all other Nations beſides; then ſeeing that Nations are not all alike, ſurely the giuing of one kind of Poſitiue Lawes vnto one onely people, without any libertie to alter them, is but a ſlender proofe, that therefore one kind ſhould in like ſort bee giuen to ſerue euerlaſtingly for all. But that which moſt of all maketh for the cleering of this point is, that the Iewes who had Lawes ſo particularly determining, and ſo fully inſtructing them in all affaires what to doe, were notwithſtanding continually inured with cauſes exorbitant, and ſuch as their Lawes had not prouided for. And in this point much more is granted vs then wee aske, namely, that for one thing which wee haue left to the order of the Church, they had twentie which were vndecided by the expreſſe Word of God; and that as their Ceremonies and Sacraments were multiplyed aboue ours, euen ſo grew the number of thoſe Caſes which were not determined by any expreſſe word. So that if wee may deuiſe one Law, they by this reaſon might deuiſe twentie: and if their deuiſing ſo many were not forbidden, ſhall their Example prooue vs forbidden to deuiſe as much as one Law for the ordering of the Church? Wee might not deuiſe no not one, if their Example did prooue that our Sauiour hath vterly forbidden all alteration of his Lawes, in as much as there can be no Law deuiſed,

T. C. lib. 1. p. 35. Whereas you ſay that they (the Iewes) had nothing, but was determined by the Law, and wee haue many things vndetermined and left to the order of the Church: I will offer for one that you ſhall bring that wee haue left to the order of the Church, to ſhew you that they had twentie which were vndecided of by the expreſſe Word of God.

deuiſed, but needs it muſt either take away from his, or adde thereunto more or leſſe, and ſo make ſome kinde of alteration. But of this ſo large a grant we are content not to take aduantage. Men are often-times in a ſudden paſſion more liberall, then they would be if they had leiſure to take aduice. And therefore ſo bountifull wordes of courſe and franke ſpeeches we are contented to let paſſe, without turning them to aduantage with too much rigour. It may be they had rather be liſtened vnto, when they commend the Kings of Iſrael which attempted nothing in the gouernment of the Church without the expreſſe Word of God; and when they vrge that God left nothing in his Word vndeſcribed, whether it concerned the worſhip of God or outward Politie, nothing vnſet downe, and therefore charged them ſtrictly to keepe themſelues vnto that, without any alteration. Howbeit ſeeing it cannot be denyed, but that many things there did belong vnto the courſe of their publike affaires, wherein they had no expreſſe word at all to ſhew preciſely what they ſhould doe; the difference betweene their condition and ours in theſe caſes, will bring ſome light vnto the truth of this preſent Controuerſie. Before the fact of the ſonne of *Shelomith*, there was no law which did appoint any certayne puniſhment for blaſphemers. That wretched creature being therefore deprehended in that impietie, was held in ward, till the minde of the Lord were knowne concerning his caſe. The like practice is alſo mentioned vpon occaſion of a breach of the Sabbath day. They finde a poore ſilly creature gathering ſticks in the Wilderneſſe, they bring him vnto *Moſes*, and *Aaron*, and all the Congregation, they lay him in hold, becauſe it was not declared what ſhould be done with him, till God had ſaid vnto Moſes, *This man ſhall die the death*. The Law required to keepe the Sabbath day; but for the breach of the Sabbath what puniſhmēt ſhould be inflicted it did not appoint. Such occaſions as theſe are rare. And for ſuch things as doe fall ſcarce once in many ages of men, it did ſuffice to take ſuch order as was requiſite when they fell. But if the caſe were ſuch as being not alreadie determined by Law, were notwithſtanding likely often-times to come into queſtion, it gaue occaſion of adding Lawes that were not before. Thus it fell out in the caſe of thoſe men polluted, and of the Daughters of *Zelophhad*; whoſe cauſes *Moſes* hauing brought before the Lord, receiued Lawes to ſerue for the like in time to come. The Iewes to this end had the Oracle of God, they had the Prophets: And by ſuch meanes God himſelfe inſtructed them from heauen what to doe, in all things that did greatly concerne their ſtate, and were not alreadie ſet downe in the Law. Shall wee then hereupon argue euen againſt our owne experience and knowledge? Shall wee ſeeke to perſwade men, that of neceſſitie it is with vs as it was with them, that becauſe God is ours in all reſpects as much as theirs, therefore either no ſuch way of direction hath beene at any time, or if it haue beene, it doth ſtill continue in the Church, or if the ſame doe not continue, that yet it muſt be at the leaſt ſupplied by ſome ſuch meane as pleaſeth ys to account of equall force? A more dutifull and religious way for vs were, to admire the wiſedome of God, which ſhineth in the beautifull varietie of all things; but moſt in the manifold and yet harmonious diſſimilitude of thoſe wayes, whereby his Church vpon earth is guided from Age to Age throughout all Generations of men. The Iewes were neceſſarily to continue till the comming of

T.C. In the Table to his ſecond Booke. *T. C. l. 2. p. 446.* If he wil needs ſeparate the worſhip of God from the externall Politie; yet as the Lord ſet forth the one, ſo hee left nothing vndeſcribed in the other.

Leuit. 24. 21.

Numb. 15. 34.

Numb. 9.

Numb. 27.

Gen. 18. 18.

of Christ in the flesh, and the gathering of Nations vnto him. So much the promise made vnto *Abraham* did import. So much the prophecie of *Iacob* at the houre of his death did foreshew. Vpon the safetie therefore of their very outward state and condition for so long, the after-good of the whole World, and the saluation of all did depend. Vnto their so long safetie for two things it was necessarie to prouide, namely, The preseruation of their state against forrayne resistance, and the continuance of their peace within themselues. Touching the one, as they receiued the promise of God to be the Rocke of their defence, against which whoso did violently rush, should but bruse and batter themselues; so likewise they had his Commandement in all their affaires that way, to seeke direction and counsell from him. Mens consultations are alwayes perillous. And it falleth out many times, that after long deliberation those things are by their wit euen resolued on, which by triall are found most opposite to publike safetie. It is no impossible thing for States, be they neuer so well established, yet by ouersight in some one act or treatie betweene them and their potent opposites, vtterly to cast away themselues for euer. Wherefore lest it should so fall out to them, vpon whom so much did depend; they were not permitted to enter into warre, nor conclude any league of peace, nor to wade through any act of moment betweene them and forrayne States, vnlesse the Oracle of God or his Prophets were first consulted with. And lest Domesticall disturbance should waste them within themselues, because there was nothing vnto this purpose more effectuall, then if the authoritie of their Lawes & Gouernors were such, as none might presume to take exception against it, or to shew disobedience vnto it, without incurring the hatred and detestation of all men that had any sparke of the feare of God; therefore he gaue them euen their positiue Lawes from heauen, and as oft as occasion required, chose in like sort Rulers also to leade and gouerne them. Notwithstanding some desperately impious there were which aduentured to trie what harme it could bring vpon them, if they did attempt to be Authors of confusion, and to resist both Gouernors and Lawes. Against such monsters God maintayned his owne by fearefull execution of extraordinarie iudgement vpon them. By which meanes it came to passe, that although they were a people infested and mightily hated of all others throughout the world, although by nature hard-hearted, querulous, wrathfull and impatient of rest and quietnesse, yet was there nothing of force either one way or other to worke the ruine and subuersion of their state, till the time before mentioned was expired. Thus we see that there was not no cause of dissimilitude in these things, betweene that one only people before Christ, & the Kingdomes of the world since. And whereas it is further alleaged, that albeit in *ciuill matters and things pertayning to this present life, God hath vsed a greater particularitie with them then amongst vs, framing Lawes according to the qualitie of that People and Country: yet the leauing of vs at greater libertie in things ciuill is so far from prouing the like libertie in things pertayning to the Kingdome of heauen, that it rather proues a straighter bond. For euen as when the Lord would haue his fauour more appeare by temporall blessings of this life towards the people vnder the law then towards vs, he gaue also politike lawes most exactly, whereby they might both most easily come into, and most stedfastly remayne in possession of those earthly benefits: euen so at this time, wherein he would not haue his*

Gen.48.10.

T.C.l.2.p.440.

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fauour ſo much eſteemed by thoſe outward commodities, it is required, that as his care in preſcribing Lawes for that purpoſe hath ſomwhat fallen, in leauing them to mens conſultations which may be deceiued: ſo his care for conduct & gouernment of the life to come, ſhould (if it were poſsible) riſe, in leauing leſſe to the order of men then in times paſt. Theſe are but weake and feeble diſputes for the inference of that Concluſion which is intended. For ſauing only in ſuch conſideration as hath beene ſhewed, there is no cauſe wherefore we ſhould thinke God more deſirous to manifeſt his fauour by temporall bleſſings towards them, then towards vs. Godlineſſe had vnto them, and it hath alſo vnto vs, the promiſes both of this life and the life to come. That the care of God hath fallen in earthly things, and therefore ſhould riſe as much in heauenly; that more is left vnto mens conſultations in the one, and therefore leſſe muſt be granted in the other; that God hauing vſed a greater particularitie with them then with vs for matters pertayning vnto this life, is to make vs amends by the more exact deliuerie of lawes for gouernment of the life to come; theſe are proportions, whereof if there be any Rule, we muſt plainly confeſſe that which truth is, we know it not. God which ſpake vnto them by his Prophets, hath vnto vs by his onely begotten Sonne; thoſe myſteries of grace and ſaluation which were but darkely diſcloſed vnto them, haue vnto vs more cleerely ſhined. Such differences betweene them and vs the Apoſtles of Chriſt haue well acquainted vs withall. But as for matter belonging to the outward conduct or gouernement of the Church; ſeeing that euen in ſenſe it is manifeſt, that our Lord & Sauiour hath not by poſitiue lawes deſcended ſo far into particularities with vs, as *Moſes* with them; neither doth by extraordinary meanes, Oracles, and Prophets, direct vs, as them he did, in thoſe things which riſing daily by new occaſions, are of neceſſitie to be prouided for; doth it not hereupon rather follow, that although not to them, yet to vs there ſhould be freedome and libertie granted to make Lawes? Yea, but the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* doth fearefully charge *Timothy*, euen *in the ſight of God who quickneth all, and of Chriſt Ieſus who witneſſed that famous confeſsion before* PONTIVS PILATE, *to keepe what was commanded him ſafe and ſound till the appearance of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.* This doth exclude all libertie of changing the Lawes of Chriſt, whether by abrogation or addition, or howſoeuer. For in *Timothy* the whole Church of Chriſt receiueth charge cõcerning her dutie. And that charge is to keepe the Apoſtles cõmandement: And his commandement did contayne the lawes that concerned Church gouernement: And thoſe Lawes hee ſtraightly requireth to bee obſerued without breach or blame, till the appearance of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. In Scripture wee grant euery one mans Leſſon, to bee the common inſtruction of all men, ſo farre foorth as their caſes are like, and that religiouſly to keepe the Apoſtles commandements in whatſoeuer they may concerne vs, wee all ſtand bound. But touching that commandement which *Timothy* was charged with, wee ſwarue vndoubtedly from the Apoſtles preciſe meaning, if wee extend it ſo largely, that the armes thereof ſhall reach vnto all things which were commanded him by the Apoſtle. The very words themſelues doe reſtraine themſelues vnto ſome one ſpeciall Commandement among many. And therefore it is not ſaid, *Keepe the Ordinances, Lawes, and Conſtitutions, which thou haſt receiued*, but τὸν ἐντολὴν *that great Commandement, which doth principally concerne thee and thy calling*; that

1. *Tim.* 6. 14.

Iohn 18. 37.

that commandement which Christ did so often inculcate vnto *Peter*; that commandement, vnto the carefull discharge whereof they of Ephesus are exhorted,
Iohn 21.15. Act.20.28. *Attend to your selues and to all the flocke, wherein the holy Ghost hath placed you Bishops, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased by his owne blond*; finally, that commandement which vnto the same *Timothy* is by the same Apostle euen in the
2.Tim.4.1. same forme and manner afterwards againe vrged, *I charge thee in the sight of God, and the Lord Iesus Christ, which will iudge the quicke and dead at his appearance and in his Kingdome, Preach the Word of God.* When *Timothy* was instituted into that office, then was the credit and truste of this dutie committed vnto his faithful care.
1.Tim.6.20. τὴν παρακαταθήκην. The doctrine of the Gospell was then giuen him, *as the precious talent or treasure of Iesus Christ*; then receiued he for performance of this dutie, *the speciall gift of*
2.Tim.4.14. *the holy Ghost.* To keepe this commandement immaculate and blamelesse, *was to teach the Gospell of Christ without mixture of corrupt and vnsound doctrine*, such as a number did euen in those times intermingle with the mysteries of Christian beliefe. *Till the appearance of Christ to keepe it so*, doth not import the time wherein it should bee kept, but rather the time whereunto the finall reward for keeping it was reserued: according to that of Saint *Paul* concerning himselfe,
2.Tim.4.7. *I haue kept the faith; for the residue there is laid vp for me a crowne of righteousnesse, which the Lord the righteous Iudge shall in that day render vnto me.* If they that labour in this harueste should respect but the present fruit of their paynefull trauell, a poore incouragement it were vnto them to continue therein all the dayes of their life. But their reward is great in heauen; the Crowne of righteousnesse which shall be giuen them in that day, is honorable. The fruit of their industrie then shall they reape with full contentment and satisfaction, but not till then. Wherein the greatnesse of their reward is abundantly sufficient, to counteruaile the tediousnesse of their expectation. Wherefore till then they that are in labour must rest in hope. O *Timothy*, keepe that which is committed vnto thy charge, that great Commandement which thou hast receiued keepe, till the appearance of our Lord Iesus Christ. In which sense although we iudge the Apostles wordes to haue beene vttered; yet hereunto we doe not require them to yeeld, that thinke any other construction more sound. If therefore it be reiected, and theirs esteemed more probable which hold that the last wordes doe import perpetuall obseruation of the Apostles commandement imposed necessarily for euer vpon the militant Church of Christ; let them withall consider that then his Commandement cannot so largely be taken, to comprehend whatsoeuer the Apostle did command *Timothy*. For themselues doe not all binde the Church vnto some things whereof *Timothy* receiued charge, as namely, vnto that Precept concerning the choise of Widdowes. So as they cannot hereby maintayne, that all things positiuely commanded concerning the affaires of the Church, were commanded for perpetuitie. And wee doe not denie that certayne things were commanded to be, though Positiue, yet perpetual in the Church. They should not therefore vrge against vs, places that seeme to forbid change, but rather such as set down some measure of alteration; which measure if we haue exceeded, then might they therewith charge vs iustly: where as now they themselues both granting, and also vsing libertie to change, cannot in reason dispute absolutely against all change. Christ deliuered no inconuenient

uenient or vnmeete Lawes. Sundrie of ours they hold inconuenient. Therefore ſuch Lawes they cannot poſſibly hold to be Chriſts. Being not his, they muſt of neceſſitie grant them added vnto his. Yet certaine of thoſe very Lawes ſo added, they themſelues do not iudge vnlawfull; as they plainly confeſſe, both in matter of preſcript attire, and of Rites appertayning to buriall. Their owne proteſtations are, that they pleade againſt the inconuenience, not the vnlawfulneſſe of Popiſh apparell; and againſt the inconuenience, not the vnlawfulneſſe of Ceremonies in Buriall. Therefore they hold it a thing not vnlawfull to adde to the Lawes of Ieſus Chriſt; and ſo conſequently they yeeld, that no law of Chriſt forbidden addition vnto Church laws. The iudgemēt of *Caluin* being alleaged againſt them, to whom of al men they attribute moſt, whereas his words be plaine, that for Ceremonies and externall Diſcipline the Church hath power to make Lawes; the anſwere which hereunto they make is, that indefinitely the ſpeech is true, and that ſo it was meant by him, namely, that ſome things belonging vnto externall Diſcipline and Ceremonies, are in the power and arbitrement of the Church; but neither was it meant, neither is it true generally, that al external diſcipline, and all Ceremonies are left to the order of the Church, in as much as the Sacraments of Baptiſme and the Supper of the Lord are Ceremonies, which yet the Church may not therefore abrogate. Againe, Excommunication is a part of externall diſcipline; which might alſo be caſt away, if all externall diſcipline were arbitrarie, and in the choice of the Church. By which their anſwere it doth appeare, that touching the names of Ceremonie & externall Diſcipline, they gladly would haue vs ſo vnderſtood, as if we did herein contayne a great deale more then we do. The fault which we find with them is, that they ouermuch abridge the Church of her power in theſe things. Whereupon they recharge vs, as if in theſe things we gaue the Church a libertie which hath no limits or bounds; as if all things which the name of Diſcipline contayneth, were at the Churches free choice, ſo that we might either haue Church-gouernours and gouernement or want them, either retayne or reiect Church cenſures as we liſt. They wonder at vs, as at men which thinke it ſo indifferent what the Church doth in matter of Ceremonies, that it may be feared leſt we iudge the very Sacraments themſelues to be held at the Churches pleaſure. No, the name of Ceremonies we doe not vſe in ſo large a meaning as to bring Sacraments within the compaſſe and reach thereof; although things belonging vnto the outward forme and ſeemely adminiſtration of them, are contayned in that name, euen as wee vſe it. For the name of Ceremonies wee vſe as they themſelues doe, when they ſpeake after this ſort: *The Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church, as the waightieſt things, ought eſpecially to be looked vnto; but the Ceremonies alſo, as Mint and Comin, ought not to be neglected.* Beſides, in the matter of externall diſcipline or regiment

T.C.l.3.p.241. My reaſons do neuer conclude the vnlawfulnes of theſe ceremonies of Buriall, but the inconuenience and inexpedience of them, *And in the Table.* Of the inconuenience, not of the vnlawfulneſſe of Popiſh apparell and ceremonies in Buriall. *T.C. l.1. p.32.* Vpon the indefinite ſpeaking of M. *Caluin* ſaying, ceremonies and external diſcipline, without adding all or ſome, you gee about ſubtilly to make men beleeue, that Maſter *Caluin* had placed the whole externall diſcipline in the power and arbitrement of the Church. For if all externall diſcipline were arbitrarie & in the choice of the Church, Excommunication alſo (which is a part of it) might be caſt away, which I thinke you will not ſay. *And in the very next words before,* Where you would giue to vnderſtand that ceremonies and externall diſcipline are not preſcribed particularly by the Word of God, and therefore left to the order of the Church: you muſt vnderſtand that all externall diſcipline is not left to the order of the Church, being particularly preſcribed in the Scriptures, no more then all ceremonies are left to the order of the Church, as the Sacraments of Baptiſme, and Supper of the Lord.

T.C.lib.3.p.171.

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it ſelfe, wee doe not denie but there are ſome things whereto the Church is bound till the worlds end. So as the queſtion is onely how farre the bounds of the Churches libertie doe reach We hold that the power which the Church hath lawfully to make Lawes and Orders for it ſelfe, doth extend vnto ſundrie things of Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction and ſuch other matters, whereto their opinion is, that the Churches authoritie and power doth not reach. Whereas therefore in diſputing againſt vs about this point, they take their compaſſe a great deale wider then the truth of things can affoord, producing Reaſons and Arguments by way of generalitie, to proue that Chriſt hath ſet downe all things belonging any way vnto the forme of ordering his Church, and hath abſolutely forbidden change by addition or diminution great or ſmall (for ſo their manner of diſputing is:) we are conſtrayned to make our defence, by ſhewing that Chriſt hath not depriued his Church ſo far of all libertie in making Orders and Lawes for it ſelfe, and that they themſelues doe not thinke he hath ſo done. For are they able to ſhew that all particular Cuſtomes, Rites & Orders of reformed Churches, haue beene appointed by Chriſt himſelfe? No, they grant that in matter of circumſtance they alter that which they haue receiued; but in things of ſubſtance they keepe the Lawes of Chriſt without change. If we ſay the ſame in our owne behalfe, (which ſurely wee may doe with a great deale more truth) then muſt they cancell all that hath beene before alleaged, and beginne to inquire a freſh, whether we retayne the Lawes that Chriſt hath deliuered concerning matters of ſubſtance, yea or no. For our conſtant perſwaſion in this point is as theirs, that we haue no where altered the Lawes of Chriſt, further then in ſuch particularities onely as haue the nature of things changeable according to the difference of Times, Places, Perſons, and other the like circumſtances. Chriſt hath commanded Prayers to be made, Sacraments to be miniſtred, his Church to be carefully taught and guided. Concerning euery of theſe ſomewhat Chriſt hath commanded which muſt bee kept till the worlds end. On the contrarie ſide, in euery of them ſomwhat there may be added, as the Church ſhall iudge it expedient. So that if they will ſpeake to purpoſe, all which hitherto hath beene diſputed of they muſt giue ouer, and ſtand vpon ſuch particulars onely as they can ſhew wee haue either added or abrogated otherwiſe then we ought, in the matter of Church Politie. Whatſoeuer Chriſt hath commanded for euer to be kept in his Church, the ſame wee take not vpon vs to abrogate; and whatſoeuer our Lawes haue thereunto added beſides, of ſuch qualitie we hope it is, as no Law of Chriſt doth any where condemne. Wherefore that all may be laid together, and gathered into a narrow roome: 1. Firſt, ſo farre forth as the Church is the myſticall body of Chriſt and his inuiſible Spouſe, it needeth no externall Politie. That very part of the Law diuine which teacheth faith and workes of righteouſneſſe, is it ſelfe alone ſufficient for the Church of God in that reſpect. But as the Church is a viſible ſocietie and body politique, Lawes of Politie it cannot want. 2. Whereas therefore it cõmeth in the ſecond place to be inquired, what Lawes are fitteſt and beſt for the Church; they who firſt embraced that rigorous and ſtrict opinion, which depriueth the Church of libertie to make any kinde of Law for her ſelfe, inclined (as it ſhould ſeeme) hereunto, for that they imagined all things, which the Church doth without commandement

T.C. lib. 1. p. 27. Wee denie not but certayne things are left to the order of the Church; becauſe they are of the nature of thoſe which are varied by times, places, perſons and other circumſtances, and ſo could not at once be ſet downe and eſtabliſhed for euer.

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Eſa. 29. 14.

Col. 2. 22.

mandement of holy Scripture, ſubiect to that reproofe which the Scripture it ſelfe vſeth in certaine caſes, when diuine authoritie ought alone to be followed. Hereupon they thought it enough for the cancelling of any kind of order whatſoeuer, to ſay, *The Word of God teacheth it not, it is a deuice of the braine of man, away with it therefore out of the Church.* S. *Auguſtine* was of another minde, who ſpeaking of faſts on the Sunday, ſaith, *That he which would chuſe out that day to faſt on, ſhould giue thereby no ſmall offence to the Church of God, which had receiued a contrary cuſtome. For in theſe things whereof the Scripture appointeth no certaintie, the vſe of the people of God, or the Ordinances of our Fathers, muſt ſerue for a Law. In which caſe if we will diſpute, and condemne one ſort by anothers cuſtome, it will bee but matter of endleſſe contention; where, for as much as the labour of reaſoning ſhall hardly beat into mens heads any certaine or neceſſary truth, ſurely it ſtandeth vs vpon to take heed, leſt with the tempeſt of ſtrife the brightneſſe of charity and loue be darkned.* *Aug. Epiſt. 86.* If all things muſt bee commanded of God which may be practiſed of his Church, I would know what commandement the *Gileadites* had to erect that Altar which is ſpoken of in the Booke of *Ioſhua*. Did not congruity of reaſon induce them thereunto, and ſuffice for defence of their fact? *Ioſ. 22.* I would know what commandement the women of Iſrael had yeerly to mourne & lament in the memory of *Iephtaes* Daughter; what commandement the *Iewes* had to celebrate their feaſt of *Dedication* neuer ſpoken of in the Law, yet ſolemnized euen by our Sauiour himſelfe; what commandement finally they had for the Ceremonie of Odors vſed about the bodies of the dead, after which cuſtome notwithſtanding (ſith it was their cuſtome) our Lord was contented that his owne moſt precious bodie ſhould be intoombed. Wherfore to reiect all orders of the Church which men haue eſtabliſhed, is to thinke worſe of the Lawes of men in this reſpect, then eyther the iudgement of wiſemen alloweth, or the Law of God it ſelfe will beare. Howbeit they which had once taken vpon them to condemne all things done in the Church, & not commanded of God to be done, ſaw it was neceſſary for them (continuing in defence of this their opinion) to hold that needes there muſt bee in Scripture ſet downe a complete particular forme of Church-Politie, a forme preſcribing how all the affaires of the Church muſt be ordered, a forme in no reſpect lawfull to be altered by mortal men. For reformation of which ouerſight and error in them, there were that thought it a part of Chriſtian loue and charity to inſtruct them better, and to open vnto them the difference between matters of perpetual neceſſity to all mens ſaluation, and matters of Eccleſiaſticall Politie: the one both fully and plainly taught in holy Scripture, the other not neceſſary to be in ſuch ſort there preſcribed; the one not capable of any diminution or augmẽtation at al by men, the other apt to admit both. Hereupon the Authours of the former opinion were preſently ſeconded by other wittier and better learned, who being loth that the forme of Church-Politie which they ſought to bring in, ſhould bee otherwiſe then in the higheſt degree accounted of, tooke firſt an exception againſt the difference betweene Church-Politie and matters of neceſſitie to ſaluation; Secondly, againſt the reſtraint of Scripture, which they ſay receiueth iniurie at our hands, when wee teach that it teacheth not as well matters of Politie as of Faith and Saluation. 3. Conſtrained hereby wee haue beene therefore, both 3. to maintaine that diſtinction, as a thing not only true in it ſelfe, but by them likewiſe

wiſe ſo acknowledged, though vnawares; 4. And to make manifeſt that from
4. Scripture wee offer not to derogate the leaſt thing that truth thereunto doth claime, in as much as by vs it is willingly confeſt, that the Scripture of God is a Storehouſe abounding with ineſtimable Treaſures of wiſdome and knowledge in many kindes, ouer and aboue things in this one kind barely neceſſarie; yea euen that matters of Eccleſiaſticall Politie are not therein omitted, but taught alſo, albeit not ſo taught as thoſe other things before mentioned. For ſo perfectly are thoſe things taught, that nothing euer can need to be added, nothing euer ceaſe to bee neceſſary: theſe on the contrarie ſide, as being of a farre other nature and qualitie, not ſo ſtrictly nor euerlaſtingly commanded in Scripture, but that vnto the complete forme of Church-Politie much may bee requiſite which the Scripture teacheth not, and much which it hath taught, become vnrequiſite, ſometime becauſe wee need not vſe it, ſometime alſo becauſe wee cannot. In which reſpect for mine owne part, although I ſee that certaine Reformed Churches, the Scottiſh eſpecially and French, haue not that which beſt agreeth with the ſacred Scripture, I meane the gouernment that is by Biſhops, in as much as both thoſe Churches are falne vnder a different kind of regiment, which to remedie it is for the one altogether too late, and too ſoone for the other during their preſent affliction and trouble; this their defect and imperfection I had rather lament in ſuch a caſe then exagitate, conſidering that men oftentimes without any fault of their owne, may be driuen to want that kind of Politie or Regiment which is beſt, and to content themſelues with that, which eyther the irremediable errour of former times, or the neceſſitie of the preſent hath caſt vpon
5. them. 5. Now, becauſe that Poſition firſt mentioned, which holdeth it neceſſary that all things which the Church may lawfully doe in her owne Regiment be commanded in holy Scripture, hath by the latter Defendors thereof beene greatly qualified; who, though perceiuing it to bee ouer-extreme, are notwithſtanding loth to acknowledge any ouerſight therein, and therefore labour what they may to ſalue it by conſtruction; we haue for the more perſpicuitie deliue-
6. red what was thereby meant at the firſt; 6. How iniurious a thing it were vnto
7. all the Churches of God for men to hold it in that meaning; 7. And how vnperfect their interpretations are who ſo much labour to helpe it, eyther by diuiding Commandements of Scripture into two kinds, and ſo defending that all
8. things muſt be commanded, if not in ſpeciall, yet in generall Precepts; 8. Or by taking it as meant that in caſe the Church doe deuiſe any new Order, ſhee ought therein to follow the direction of Scripture onely, and not any ſtar-light
9. of mans reaſon. 9. Both which euaſions being cut off, we haue in the next place declared after what ſort the Church may lawfully frame to her ſelfe Lawes of Politie, and in what reckoning ſuch Poſitiue Lawes both are with God, and
10. ſhould be with men. 10. Furthermore, becauſe to abridge the libertie of the Church in this behalfe, it hath beene made a thing very odious, that when God himſelfe hath deuiſed ſome certaine Lawes, & committed them to Sacred Scripture, man by abrogation, addition, or any way, ſhould preſume to alter and change them; it was of neceſſity to be examined, whether the authoritie of God in making, or his care in committing thoſe his Lawes vnto Scripture, bee ſufficient arguments to proue that God doth in no caſe allow they ſhould ſuffer any

ſuch

ſuch kind of change. 11. The laſt refuge for proofe that Diuine Lawes of Chriſtian Church-Politie may not bee altered, by extinguiſhment of any olde or addition of new in that kind, is partly a maruellous ſtrange Diſcourſe, that Chriſt (vnleſſe hee would ſhew himſelfe not ſo faithfull as *Moſes*, or not [a] ſo wiſe as *Lycurgus* and *Solon*) muſt needs haue ſet downe in holy Scripture ſome certaine complete and vnchangeable forme of Politie; and partly a coloured ſhew of ſome euidence, where change of that ſort of Lawes may ſeeme expreſſely forbidden, although in truth nothing leſſe be done. I might haue added hereunto their more familiar and popular diſputes; as, The Church is a Citie, yea the Citie of the great King, and the life of a Citie is Politie: The Church is the houſe of the liuing God: and what houſe can there bee, without ſome order for the gouernment of it? In the royal houſe of a Prince there muſt be Officers for gouernment, ſuch as not any ſeruant in the houſe but the Prince, whoſe the houſe is, ſhall iudge conuenient: So the houſe of God muſt haue orders for the gouernment of it, ſuch as not any of the Houſhold, but God himſelfe hath appointed. It cannot ſtand with the loue and wiſedome of God, to leaue ſuch order vntaken as is neceſſary for the due gouernment of his Church. The numbers, degrees, orders, and attire of *Salomons* ſeruants did ſhew his wiſedome: therefore hee which is greater then *Salomon*, hath not failed to leaue in his houſe ſuch orders for gouernment thereof, as may ſerue to bee as a looking Glaſſe for his prouidence, care, and wiſdome to be ſeene in. That little ſparke of the light of nature which remaineth in vs, may ſerue vs for the affaires of this life: But as in all other matters concerning the Kingdome of Heauen, ſo principally in this which concerneth the very gouernment of that Kingdome, needfull it is we ſhould be taught of God. As long as men are perſwaded of any order that it is only of men, they preſume of their owne vnderſtanding, and they thinke to deuiſe another not only as good, but better then that which they haue receiued. By ſeueritie of puniſhment, this preſumption and curioſitie may be reſtrained. But that cannot worke ſuch cheerful obedience as is yeelded, where the Conſcience hath reſpect to God as the Author of Lawes and orders. This was it which countenanced the Lawes of *Moſes*, made concerning outward Politie for the adminiſtration of holy things. The like ſome Law-giuers of the Heathens did pretend, but falſly; yet wiſely diſcerning the vſe of this perſwaſion. For the better obedience ſake therefore it was expedient, that God ſhould be Author of the Politie of his Church. But to what iſſue doth all this come? A man would thinke that they which hold out with ſuch diſcourſes, were of nothing more fully perſwaded then of this, that the Scripture hath ſet downe a complete forme of Church-Politie, vniuerſall, perpetuall, altogether vnchangeable. For ſo it would follow, if the premiſes were ſound and ſtrong to ſuch effect as is pretended. Notwithſtanding they which haue thus formally maintained argumẽt in defence of the firſt ouerſight, are by the very euidence of truth themſelues conſtrained to make this in effect their concluſion, that the Scripture of God hath many things concerning Church-polity; that of thoſe many, ſome are of greater waight, ſome of leſſe; that what hath been vrged as touching immutabilitie of Lawes, it extendeth in truth no further then onely to Lawes wherein things of greater moment are preſcribed. Now thoſe things of greater moment, what are they? Forſooth, *Doctors, Paſtors*

11.

[a] *Niſi Reip. ſuæ ſtatum omnem conſtituerit, magiſtratus ordinarit, ſingulorum munera poteſtatemq; deſcripſerit, quæ iudiciorum ſoriq; ratio habenda, quomodo ciuium finiendæ lites: non ſolum minus Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ prouidit quàm Moſes olim Iudaicæ, ſed quàm à Lycurgo, Solone, Numa, ciuitatib. ſuis proſpectum ſit.* Lib. de Eccleſiaſt. Diſc.

The defence of godly Minist. against. D. Bridges p. 133

ſtors, Lay-Elders, Elderſhips compounded of theſe three; Synods conſiſting of many Elderſhips; Deacons, Women-church-ſeruants or Widowes, free conſent of the people vnto actions of greateſt moment, after they be by Churches or Synods orderly reſolued. All *this forme* of Politie (if yet we may terme that a forme of building, when men haue laid a few rafters together, and thoſe not all of the ſoundeſt neither) but howſoeuer, all *this forme* they conclude is preſcribed in ſuch ſort, that to adde to it any thing as of like importance, (for ſo I thinke they meane) or to abrogate of it any thing at all, is vnlawfull. In which reſolution if they will firmely and conſtantly perſiſt, I ſee not but that concerning the points which hitherto haue beene diſputed of, they muſt agree that they haue moleſted the Church with needleſſe oppoſition; and henceforward, as we ſaid before, betake themſelues wholly vnto the tryall of particulars, whether euery of thoſe things which they eſteeme as principall, bee eyther ſo eſteemed of, or at all eſtabliſhed for perpetuitie in holy Scripture; and whether any particular thing in our Church-Politie bee receiued other then the Scripture alloweth of, either in greater things or in ſmaller. The matters wherein Church-Politie is conuerſant are the publike religious duties of the Church, as the adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments, Prayers, ſpiritual cenſures & the like. To theſe the Church ſtandeth alwaies bound. Lawes of Politie are Lawes which appoint in what manner theſe duties ſhall be performed. In performance whereof becauſe all that are of the Church cannot ioyntly and equally worke, the firſt thing in Politie required, is a difference of perſons in the Church, without which difference thoſe functions cannot in orderly ſort be executed. Hereupon we hold, that Gods Clergie are a ſtate which hath bin and will be, as long as there is a Church vpon Earth, neceſſary by the plaine Word of God himſelfe; a ſtate wherunto the reſt of Gods people muſt be ſubiect as touching things that appertaine to their ſoules health. For where Politie is, it cannot but appoint ſome to be Leaders of others, and ſome to bee led by others. *If the blind lead the blind, they both periſh.* It is with the Clergie, if their perſons bee reſpected, euen as it is with other men; their qualitie many times farre beneath that, which the dignitie of their place requreth. Howbeit according to the order of Politie, they being the *lights of the World*, others (though better and wiſer) muſt that way be ſubiect vnto them. Againe, for as much as where the Clergy are any great multitude, order doth neceſſarily require that by degrees they bee diſtinguiſhed; wee hold, there haue euer beene and euer ought to bee in ſuch caſe, at leaſt wiſe two ſorts of Eccleſiaſtical perſons, the one ſubordinate vnto the other; as to the Apoſtles in the beginning, and to the Biſhops alwayes ſince, wee find plainly both in Scripture and in all Eccleſiaſtical Records, other Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments haue bin. Moreouer it cannot enter into any mans conceit to thinke it lawfull, that euery man which liſteth ſhould take vpon him charge in the Church; and therefore a ſolemne admittance is of ſuch neceſſitie, that without it there can be no Church-Politie. A nũber of particularities there are, which make for the more conuenient being of theſe principal and perpetual parts in Eccleſiaſticall Politie, but yet are not of ſuch conſtant vſe and neceſſitie in Gods Church. Of this kind are times and places appointed for the exerciſe of Religion; ſpecialties belonging to the publike ſolemnity of the Word, the Sacraments and Praier; the enlargement or abridgement of Functions miniſterial depending

Luke 6.39.

Matth. 5.14.

pending vpon thoſe two principall before mentioned; to conclude, euen whatſoeuer doth by way of formalitie and circumſtance concerne any publike action of the Church. Now although that which the Scripture hath of things in the former kind bee for euer permanent; yet in the later both much of that which the Scripture teacheth is not alwayes needfull; and much the Church of God ſhall alwayes need which the Scripture teacheth not. So as the forme of Politie by them ſet downe for perpetuitie, is three wayes faultie. Faultie in omitting ſome things which in Scripture are of that nature, as namely the difference that ought to be of Paſtors, when they grow to any great multitude; faultie in requiring Doctors, Deacons, Widdowes, and ſuch like; as things of perpetuall neceſſitie by the Law of God, which in truth are nothing leſſe; faultie alſo in vrging ſome things by Scripture immutable, as their Lay-Elders, which the Scripture neyther maketh immutable nor at all teacheth, for any thing eyther we can as yet find, or they haue hitherto beene able to prooue. But hereof more in the Bookes that follow. As for thoſe maruellous diſcourſes, whereby they aduenture to argue, that God muſt needs haue done the thing which they imagine was to be done; I muſt confeſſe, I haue often wondred at their exceeding boldneſſe herein. When the queſtion is, whether God haue deliuered in Scripture (as they affirme hee hath) a complete particular immutable forme of Church-Politie; why take they that other both preſumptuous and ſuperfluous labour, to proue he ſhould haue done it; there being no way in this caſe to proue the deed of God, ſauing only by producing that euidence wherein he hath done it? But if there be no ſuch thing apparent vpon record, they doe as if one ſhould demand a Legacy by force and vertue of ſome written Teſtament, wherin there being no ſuch thing ſpecified, hee pleadeth that there it muſt needes bee, and bringeth arguments from the loue or good wil, which alwaies the Teſtator bore him; imagining that theſe or the like proofes will conuict a Teſtament to haue that in it, which other men can no where by reading find. In matters, which concerne the actions of God, the moſt dutifull way on our part is to ſearch what God hath done, and with meekeneſſe to admire that, rather then to diſpute what he in congruitie of reaſon ought to doe. The wayes which he hath whereby to doe all things for the greateſt good of his Church, are more in number then we can ſearch, other in nature then that wee ſhould preſume to determine which of many ſhould be the fitteſt for him to chooſe, till ſuch time as wee ſee he hath choſen of many ſome one; which one we then may boldly conclude to bee the fitteſt, becauſe he hath taken it before the reſt. When wee doe otherwiſe, ſurely we exceed our bounds, who and where we are we forget; and therefore needfull it is that our pride in ſuch caſes be controld, and our diſputes beaten backe with thoſe demands of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *How vnſearchable are his iudgements, and his wayes paſt finding out? Who hath knowne the mind of the Lord, or who was his Counſellor?* Rom. 11. 33.

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE.

The fourth Booke.

Concerning their third Assertion, that our forme of *Church-politie is corrupted with Popish Orders, Rites* and Ceremonies, banished out of certaine Reformed Churches, whose example therein we ought *to haue followed.*

The matter contayned in this fourth Booke.

1 *HOw great vse Ceremonies haue in the Church.*

2 *The first thing they blame in the kind of our Ceremonies is, that we haue not in them ancient Apostolicall simplicitie, but a greater pompe and stately nesse.*

3 *The second, that so many of them are the same which the Church of Rome vseth; and the reasons which they bring to proue them for that cause blame worthy.*

4 *How when they goe about to expound what Popish Ceremonies they meane, they contradict their owne arguments against Popish Ceremonies.*

5 *An answere to the argument whereby they would proue, that sith we allow the customes of our Fathers to be followed, we therefore may not allow such customes as the Church of Rome hath, because wee cannot account of them which are in that Church as of our Fathers.*

6 *To their allegation that the course of Gods owne wisedome doth make against our conformitie with the Church of Rome in such things.*

7 *To the example of the eldest Church which they bring for the same purpose.*

8 *That it is not our best Politie (as they pretend it is) for establishment of sound Religion, to haue in these things no agreement with the Church of Rome being vnsound.*

9 *That neither the Papists vpbraiding vs as furnished out of their store, nor any hope which in that respect they are said to conceiue, doth make any more against our Ceremonies then the former allegations haue done.*

10 *The griefe which, they say, godly brethren conceiue, at such Ceremonies as we haue common with the Church of Rome.*

11 *The*

11 *The third thing, for which they reproue a great part of our Ceremonies is, for that as we haue them from the Church of Rome, ſo that Church had them from the Iewes.*

12 *The fourth, for that ſundry of them haue bin (they ſay) abuſed vnto Idolatrie, and are by that meane become ſcandalous.*

13 *The fifth, for that we retaine them ſtill, notwithſtanding the example of certaine Churches reformed before vs, which haue caſt them out.*

14 *A declaration of the proceedings of the Church of England, for the eſtabliſhment of things as they are.*

How great vſe Ceremonies haue in the Church.

SVCH was the ancient ſimplicitie and ſoftneſſe of Spirit, which ſometimes preuailed in the World, that they whoſe words were euen as Oracles amongſt men, ſeemed euer-more loth to giue ſentence againſt any thing publikely receiued in the Church of God, except it were wonderfull apparently euill; for that they did not ſo much incline to that ſeueritie, which delighteth to reprooue the leaſt things it ſeeth amiſſe; as to that charitie, which is vnwilling to behold any thing, that dutie bindeth to reprooue. The ſtate of this preſent Age, wherein Zeale hath drowned Charitie, and Skill Meekeneſſe, will not now ſuffer any man to maruell, whatſoeuer he ſhall heare reproued, by whomſoeuer. Thoſe Rites and Ceremonies of the Church therefore, which are the ſelfe-ſame now, that they were, when holy and vertuous men maintained them againſt prophane and deriding Aduerſaries, her owne children haue at this day in deriſion. Whether iuſtly or no, it ſhall then appeare, when all things are heard, which they haue to alleage againſt the outward receiued Orders of this Church. Which in as much as themſelues doe compare vnto *Mint and Comin*, granting them to be no part of thoſe things, which in the matter of Politie are waightier, we hope that for ſmall things their ſtrife will neither bee earneſt nor long. The ſifting of that, which is obiected againſt the Orders of the Church in particular, doth not belong vnto this place. Here wee are to diſcuſſe onely thoſe generall exceptions, which haue beene taken at any time againſt them. Firſt therefore, to the end that their nature and vſe, whereunto they ſerue, may plainely appeare, and ſo afterwardes their qualitie the better bee diſcerned; wee are to note, that in euery grand or maine publike dutie, which God requireth at the hands of his Church, there is, beſides that matter and forme wherein the eſſence thereof conſiſteth, a certaine outward faſhion, whereby the ſame is in decent ſort adminiſtred. The ſubſtance of all religious actions is deliuered from God himſelfe in few wordes. For example ſake in the Sacraments, *Vnto the Element let the Word be added, and they both doe make a Sacrament*; ſayth Saint *Auguſtine*. Baptiſme is giuen by the Element of water, and that preſcript forme of words, which the Church of Chriſt doth vſe; the Sacrament of the Bodie and bloud of Chriſt is adminiſtred in the Elements of Bread and Wine, if thoſe myſticall wordes be added thereunto. But the due and decent forme of adminiſtring thoſe holy Sacraments, doth require a great deale more. The end which

Matth.23.v.23. The Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church, as the waighties things, ought eſpecially to be looked vnto: but the Ceremonies alſo, as *Mint and Comin*, ought not to be neglected. *T.C.l.3.p.171.*

which is aimed at in ſetting downe the outward forme of all religious actions, is the edification of the Church. Now men are edified, when eyther their vnderſtanding is taught ſomewhat whereof in ſuch actions it behooueth all men to conſider; or when their hearts are moued with any affection ſuteable thereunto, when their minds are in any ſort ſtirred vp vnto that reuerence, deuotion, attention, and due regard, which in thoſe caſes ſeemeth requiſite. Becauſe therefore vnto this purpoſe not onely ſpeech, but ſundry ſenſible meanes beſides haue alwayes beene thought neceſſary, and eſpecially thoſe meanes which being obiect to the eye, the liueliеſt and the moſt apprehenſiue ſenſe of all other, haue in that reſpect ſeemed the fitteſt to make a deepe and ſtrong impreſſion; from hence haue riſen not onely a number of Prayers, Readings, Queſtionings, Exhortings, but euen of viſible ſignes alſo; which being vſed in performance of holy actions, are vndoubtedly moſt effectuall to open ſuch matter, as men when they know, and remember carefully, muſt needs be a great deale the better informed to what effect ſuch duties ſerue. Wee muſt not thinke but that there is ſome ground of reaſon euen in nature, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that no Nation vnder Heauen either doth or euer did ſuffer publike actions which are of waight, whether they be ciuill and temporall, or elſe ſpirituall and ſacred, to paſſe without ſome viſible ſolemnitie; the very ſtrangeneſſe whereof and difference from that which is common, doth cauſe popular eyes to obſerue and to marke the ſame. Words both becauſe they are common, and doe not ſo ſtrongly mooue the phanſie of man, are for the moſt part but ſleightly heard: and therefore with ſingular wiſedome it hath beene prouided, that the deedes of men which are made in the preſence of Witneſſes, ſhould paſſe not onely with wordes, but alſo with certaine ſenſible actions, the memory whereof is farre more eaſie and durable then the memory of ſpeech can be. The things which ſo long experience of all Ages hath confirmed and made profitable, let not vs preſume to condemne as follies and toyes, becauſe we ſometimes know not the cauſe and reaſon of them. A wit diſpoſed to ſcorne whatſoeuer it doth not conceiue, might aske wherefore *Abraham* ſhould ſay to his ſeruant, *Put thy hand vnder my thigh and ſweare*? was it not ſufficient for his ſeruant to ſhew the Religion of an Oath, by naming the Lord God of Heauen and Earth, vnleſſe that ſtrange Ceremonie were added? In Contracts, Bargaines and Conueiances, a mans word is a token ſufficient to expreſſe his will. *Yet this was the ancient manner in Iſrael concerning redeeming and exchanging to eſtabliſh all things; A man did plucke off his Shooe, and gaue it to his Neighbour; and this was a ſure Witneſſe in Iſrael.* Amongſt the Romans in their making of a Bondman free, was it not wondred wherefore ſo great adoe ſhould bee made? The Maſter to preſent his Slaue in ſome Court, to take him by the hand, and not onely to ſay in the hearing of the publike Magiſtrate, *I will that this man become free*, but after theſe ſolemne words vttered, to ſtrike him on the cheeke, to turne him round, the haire of his head to bee ſhaued off, the Magiſtrate to touch him thrice with a rod, in the end a cap and a white garment to be giuen him. To what purpoſe all this circumſtance? Amongſt the *Hebrewes* how ſtrange & in outward appearance almoſt againſt reaſon, that he which was minded to make himſelfe a perpetual ſeruant, ſhould not onely teſtifie ſo much in the preſence of the Iudge, but for a viſible token thereof haue alſo his eare bored through with a nawle? It

Gen. 24. 2.

Ruth. 4. 7.

Exod. 21. 6.

were

were an infinite labour to proſecute theſe things ſo farre as they might be exemplified both in ciuill and religious actions. For in both they haue their neceſſary vſe and force. [a] *Theſe ſenſible things which Religion hath allowed, are reſemblances framed according to things ſpiritually vnderſtood, whereunto they ſerue as a hand to leade, and a way to direct.* And whereas it may peraduenture be obiected, that to adde to religious duties ſuch rites and ceremonies as are ſignificant, is to inſtitute new Sacraments: ſure I am they will not ſay, that *Numa Pompilius* did ordayne a Sacrament; a ſignificant Ceremonie he did ordayne, in commanding the Prieſts [b] *to execute the worke of their diuine ſeruice with their hands, as farre as to the fingers couered; therby ſignifying that fidelitie muſt be defended, and that mens right hands are the ſacred ſeate thereof.* Againe, we are alſo to put them in minde, that themſelues doe not hold all ſignificant ceremonies for Sacraments; in as much as impoſition of hands they denie to be a Sacrament, and yet they giue thereunto a forcible ſignification. For concerning it their words are theſe: [c] *The partie ordayned by this Ceremonie, was put in mind of his ſeparation to the worke of the Lord, that remembring himſelfe to be taken as it were with the hand of God from amongſt others, this might teach him not to account himſelfe now his owne, nor to doe what himſelfe liſteth; but to conſider that God hath ſet him about a worke, which if he will diſcharge and accompliſh, he may at the hands of God aſſure himſelfe of reward, and if otherwiſe, of reuenge.* Touching ſignificant Ceremonies, ſome of them are Sacraments, ſome as Sacraments onely. Sacraments are thoſe, which are ſignes and tokens of ſome generall promiſed grace, which alwaies really deſcendeth from God vnto the ſoule that duly receiueth them: other ſignificant tokens are only as Sacraments, yet no Sacraments. Which is not our diſtinction but theirs. For concerning the Apoſtles impoſition of hand, theſe are their owne wordes; *Manuum ſignum hoc & quaſi Sacramentum vſurparunt*; They vſed this ſigne, or as it were Sacrament.

a *Dionyſ. p. 121.* τὰ μὲν αἰσθητὰ τῶς ἱερὸς τῶν νοητῶν ἀνωμοιώματα καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ χειραγωγία καὶ ὁδός.

b Liu. l. 1. *Manu ad digitos vſq; inuolutâ rem diuinam facere; ſignificantes fidem tutandam, ſedemq; eius etiam in dextrâ ſacratam eſſe.*

c *Eccleſ. diſci. fol. 51.*

Fol. 25.

The firſt thing they blame in the kind of our ceremonies is, that we haue not in them ancient Apoſtolicall ſimplicitie, but a greater pompe and ſtatelines. *Lib. Eccleſ. diſci. & T. C. l. 3. p. 181*

2 Concerning rites and ceremonies, there may be fault, either in the kind or in the number & multitude of them. The firſt thing blamed about the kind of ours is, that in many things we haue departed from the ancient ſimplicity of Chriſt & his Apoſtles, we haue embraced more outward ſtatelineſſe, we haue thoſe orders in the exerciſe of Religion, which they who beſt pleaſed God & ſerued him moſt deuoutly, neuer had. For it is out of doubt, that the firſt ſtate of things was beſt, that in the prime of Chriſtian Religion, faith was ſoundeſt, the Scriptures of God were then beſt vnderſtood by all men, all parts of godlineſſe did then moſt abound: and therefore it muſt needes follow, that cuſtomes, lawes, and ordinances deuiſed ſince, are not ſo good for the Church of Chriſt; but the beſt way is to cut off later inuentions, and to reduce things vnto the ancient ſtate wherein at the firſt they were. Which Rule or Canon we hold to be either vncertayne, or at leaſtwiſe vnſufficient, if not both. For in caſe it be certayne, hard it cannot be for them to ſhew vs, where we ſhall find it ſo exactly ſet downe, that we may ſay without all controuerſie, *Theſe were the orders of the Apoſtles times, theſe wholly and onely, neither fewer nor more then theſe.* True it is that many things of this nature be alluded vnto, yea, many things declared, and many things neceſſarily collected out of the Apoſtles writings. But is it neceſſary that all the orders of the Church which were then in vſe, ſhould be contayned in their books? Surely, no. For if the tenor of their writings be well obſerued, it ſhall vnto any man eaſily

appeare,

appeare, that no more of them are there touched, then were needfull to be ſpoken of ſometimes by one occaſion and ſometimes by another. Will they allow then of any other Records beſides? Well aſſured I am they are far enough from acknowledging that the Church ought to keep any thing as Apoſtolicall, which is not found in the Apoſtles writings, in what other Records ſoeuer it be found. And therefore whereas Saint *Auguſtine* affirmeth, that thoſe things which the whole Church of Chriſt doth hold, may well be thonght to be Apoſtolicall, although they be not found written; this his iudgement they vtterly condemne. I wil not here ſtand in defence of S. *Auguſtines* opinion, which is, that ſuch things are indeed Apoſtolical; but yet with this exception, vnleſſe the Decree of ſome generall Councell haue haply cauſed them to be receiued: for of Poſitiue Lawes and orders receiued throughout the whole Chriſtian World, S. *Auguſtine* could imagine no other fountaine ſaue theſe two. But to let paſſe S. *Auguſtin*, they who condemne him herein, muſt needes confeſſe it a very vncertaine thing what the orders of the Church were in the Apoſtles times, ſeeing the Scriptures doe not mention them all, and other Records thereof beſides they vtterly reiect. So that in tying the Church to the orders of the Apoſtles times, they tye it to a marueilous vncertaine rule; vnleſſe they require the obſeruation of no orders but onely thoſe which are knowne to be Apoſtolicall by the Apoſtles owne Writings. But then is not this their rule of ſuch ſufficiency, that we ſhould vſe it as a touchſtone to try the orders of the Church by for euer. Our end ought alwayes to bee the ſame; our wayes and meanes thereunto not ſo. The glory of God and the good of his Church was the thing which the Apoſtles aymed at, and therefore ought to bee the marke whereat we alſo leuell. But ſeeing thoſe rites and orders may bee at one time more, which at another are leſſe auaileable vnto that purpoſe: what reaſon is there in theſe things to vrge the ſtate of one onely age, as a patterne for all to follow? It is not I am right ſure their meaning, that we ſhould now aſſemble our people to ſerue God in cloſe and ſecret meetings; or that common Brookes or Riuers ſhould bee vſed for places of Baptiſme; or that the Euchariſt ſhould be miniſtred after meate; or that the cuſtome of Church-feaſting ſhould be renued; or that all kind of ſtanding prouiſion for the miniſterie ſhould bee vtterly taken away, and their eſtate made againe dependent vpon the voluntary deuotion of men. In theſe things they eaſily perceiue how vnfit that were for the preſent, which was for the firſt Age conuenient enough. The faith, zeale and godlineſſe of former times is worthily had in honour: but doth this prooue that the orders of the Church of Chriſt muſt bee ſtill the ſelfeſame with theirs, that nothing may be which was not then, or that nothing which then was may lawfully ſince haue ceaſed? They who recall the Church vnto that which was at the firſt, muſt neceſſarily ſet bounds and limits vnto their ſpeeches. If any thing haue beene receiued repugnant vnto that which was firſt deliuered, the firſt things in this caſe muſt ſtand, the laſt giue place vnto them. But where difference is without repugnancie, that which hath beene can be no preiudice to that which is. Let the ſtate of the people of God when they were in the houſe of bondage, and their manner of ſeruing God in a ſtrange land, be compared with that which Canaan and Ieruſalem did affoord, and who ſeeth not what huge difference there was betweene them? in Egypt it may be they were right glad to take ſome corner

Tom. 7. de bap. contra Donatiſt. l. 5 cap. 23. T. 2. l. 1. p. 31.

If this iudgement of Saint *Auguſtine* bee a good iudgement & ſound; then there bee ſome things commanded of God, which are not in the Scripture; and therfore there is no ſufficient Doctrine contained in Scripture whereby we may bee ſaued. For all the Commandements of God and of the Apoſtles are needfull for our ſaluation. *Vid. Epiſt. 118.*

corner of a poore Cottage, and there to ſerue God vpon their knees, peraduenture couered in duſt and ſtraw ſometimes. Neither were they therefore the leſſe accepted of God; but he was with them in all their afflictions, and at the length by working their admirable deliuerance, did teſtifie that they ſerued him not in vaine. Notwithſtanding in the very Deſart they are no ſooner poſſeſt of ſome little thing of their owne, but a Tabernacle is required at their hands. Being planted in the land of Canaan, and hauing *Dauid* to be their King, when the Lord had giuen him reſt from all his enemies, it grieued his religious minde to conſider the growth of his owne eſtate and dignitie, the affaires of Religion continuing ſtill in the former manner: *Behold, now I dwell in an houſe of Cedar trees, and the Arke of God remayneth ſtill within curtaynes.* What he did purpoſe, it was the pleaſure of God that *Salomon* his ſonne ſhould performe, & performe it in manner ſuteable vnto their preſent, not their ancient eſtate and condition. For which cauſe *Salomon* writeth vnto the King of Tyrus: *The houſe which I build is great and wonderfull; for great is our God aboue all Gods.* Whereby it cleerely appeareth, that the orders of the Church of God may be acceptable vnto him, as well being framed ſutable to the greatneſſe and dignitie of later, as when they keepe the reuerend ſimplicitie of ancienter times. Such diſſimilitude therefore betweene vs and the Apoſtles of Chriſt, in the order of ſome outward things, is no argument of default.

2. *Sam.* 7. 2.

2. *Chron.* 2. 5.

Our Orders and Ceremonies blamed, in that ſo many of them are the ſame which the Church of Rome vſeth, *Eccleſ. Diſcipl. fol.* 12. *T.C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 131.

3 Yea, but we haue framed our ſelues to the cuſtomes of the Church of Rome, our Orders and Ceremonies are Papiſticall. It is eſpied that our Church-founders were not ſo carefull as in this matter they ſhould haue beene, but contented themſelues with ſuch diſcipline as they tooke from the Church of Rome. Their error we ought to reforme by aboliſhing all Popiſh orders. There muſt be no communion nor fellowſhip with Papiſts, *neither in Doctrine, Ceremonies, nor Gouernement.* It is not enough that we are diuided from the Church of Rome by the ſingle wall of Doctrine, retayning as we doe part of their Ceremonies, and almoſt their whole Gouernement: but Gouernement or Ceremonies or whatſoeuer it be which is Popiſh, away with it. This is the thing they require in vs, the vtter relinquiſhment of all things Popiſh. Wherein to the end we may anſwere them according vnto their playne direct meaning, and not take aduantage of doubtfull ſpeech, whereby controuerſies grow alwayes endleſſe; their mayne Poſition being this, that *nothing ſhould be placed in the Church but what God in his word hath commanded*, they muſt of neceſſitie hold all for Popiſh, which the Church of Rome hath ouer and beſides this. By Popiſh Orders, Ceremonies and Gouernement they muſt therefore meane in euery of theſe ſo much, as the Church of Rome hath embraced without cõmandement of Gods Word: ſo that whatſoeuer ſuch thing we haue, if the Church of Rome haue it alſo, it goeth vnder the name of thoſe things that are Popiſh, yea, although it be lawfull, although agreeable to the Word of God. For ſo they plainly affirme, ſaying: *Although the formes and ceremonies which they* (the Church of Rome) *vſed were not vnlawfull, and that they contayned nothing which is not agreeable to the Word of God; yet notwithſtanding neither the Word of God, nor reaſon, nor the examples of the eldeſt Churches both Iewiſh and Chriſtian, doe permit vs to vſe the ſame formes and ceremonies, being neither commanded of God, neither ſuch as there may not as good as they and*

T.C. lib. 1. *p.* 20.

T.C. lib. 1. *p.* 25.

T.C. lib. 1. *p.* 131.

and rather better be eſtabliſhed. The queſtion therefore is, whether we may follow the Church of Rome in thoſe orders, rites and ceremonies, wherein we doe not thinke them blameable, or elſe ought to deuiſe others, and to haue no conformitie with them, no not as much as in theſe things. In this ſenſe and conſtruction therefore as they affirme, ſo we denie, that whatſoeuer is Popiſh we ought to abrogate. Their arguments to proue that generally all Popiſh orders and ceremonies ought to be cleane aboliſhed, are in ſumme theſe: *Firſt, whereas we allow the iudgement of* S^t. Auguſtine, *that touching thoſe things of this kind which are not commanded or forbidden in the Scripture, we are to obſerue the cuſtome of the people of God, and decree of our forefathers: how can we retaine the cuſtomes and conſtitutions of the Papiſts in ſuch things, who were neither the people of God nor our forefathers?* Secondly, *although the formes and ceremonies of the Church of Rome were not vnlawfull, neyther did containe any thing which is not agreeable to the word of God, yet neither the word of God, nor the example of the eldeſt Churches of God, nor reaſon doe permit vs to vſe the ſame,* they being Heretikes, and ſo neere about vs, *and their orders being neyther commanded of* G O D, *nor yet ſuch but that as good or rather better may be eſtabliſhed. It is againſt the word of God, to haue conformity with the Church of Rome in ſuch things, as appeareth in that the wiſdome of God hath thought it a good way to keepe his people from infection of Idolatry and ſuperſtition, by ſeuering them from Idolaters in outward ceremonies, and therefore hath forbidden them to do things which are in themſelues very lawfull to be done. And further whereas the Lord was carefull to ſeuer them by ceremonies from other nations, yet was he not ſo carefull to ſeuer them frō any, as from the Egyptians amongſt whom they liued, and from thoſe nations which were next neighbours vnto them, becauſe from them was the greateſt feare of infection.* So that following the courſe which the wiſdome of God doth teach, *it were more ſafe for vs to conforme our indifferent ceremonies to the Turkes which are farre off, then to the Papiſts which are ſo neere. Touching the example of the eldeſt Churches of God, in one Councell it was decreed, that Chriſtians ſhould not decke their houſes with bay leaues and green boughs, becauſe the Pagans did vſe ſo to do, and that they ſhould not reſt from their labors thoſe dayes that the Pagans did, that they ſhould not keepe the firſt day of euery moneth as they did. Another Councel decreed, that Chriſtians ſhould not celebrate feaſts on the birth dayes of the Martyrs, becauſe it was the manner of the Heathen. O, ſaith* Tertullian, *better is the Religion of the* Heathen: *for they vſe no ſolemnity of the Chriſtians, neither the Lords day, neyther the Pentecoſt, and if they knew them, they would haue nothing to doe with them: for they would be afraid leſt they ſhould ſeeme Chriſtians: but we are not afraide to be called Heathen. The ſame* Tertullian *would not haue Chriſtians to ſit after they had prayed, becauſe the Idolaters did ſo. Whereby it appeareth, that both of particular men and of Councels, in making or aboliſhing of ceremonies heed had beene taken, that the Chriſtians ſhould not be like the Idolaters, no not in thoſe things which of themſelues are moſt indifferent to be vſed or not vſed. The ſame conformity is not leſſe oppoſite vnto reaſon: firſt, in as much as contraries muſt be cured by their contraries, and therfore Popery being Antichriſtianity, is not healed but by eſtabliſhment of orders thereunto oppoſite. The way to bring a drunken man to ſobriety, is to carry him as farre from exceſſe of drinke as may be. To rectifie a crooked ſticke, wee bend it on the contrarie ſide, as farre as it was at the firſt on that ſide from whence wee draw it: and ſo it commeth in the end to a middle betweene both, which is perfect ſtraightneſſe.*

T.C.l.1.p.30.

T.C.l.1.p.131.

T.C.l.1.p.132.

Tom.2.Braca.73

Con.Africa. cap.27.

Lib.de Idolatria. He ſeemeth to mean the feaſt of Eaſter day, celebrated in the memory of our Sauiours reſurrection, and for that cauſe termed the Lords day.

Lib.de Anima.

Vtter inconformity therefore with the Church of Rome in theſe things, is the beſt and ſureſt policie which the Church can vſe. While we vſe their Ceremonies, they take occaſion to blaſpheme, ſaying that our Religion cannot ſtand by it ſelfe, vnleſſe it leane vpon the ſtaffe of their Ceremonies. They hereby conceiue great hope of hauing the reſt of their Popery in the end; which hope cauſeth them to be more frozen in their wickedneſſe. Neyther is it without cauſe that they haue this hope, conſidering that which Maſter Bucer *noteth vpon the eighteenth of Saint* Matthew, *that where theſe things haue beene left, Popery hath returned; but on the other part in places which haue beene clenſed of theſe things, it hath not yet beene ſeene that it hath had any entrance. None make ſuch clamors for theſe Ceremonies, as the Papiſts, and theſe whom they ſuborne; a manifeſt token how much they triumph and ioy in theſe things. They breede griefe of minde in a number that are godly minded, and haue Antichriſtianity in ſuch deteſtation, that their mindes are martyred with the very ſight of them in the Church. Such godly brethren we ought not thus to grieue with vnprofitable Ceremonies, yea Ceremonies wherein there is not onely no profit, but alſo danger of great hurt that may grow to the Church by infection, which Popiſh Ceremonies are meanes to breed.* This in effect is the ſumme & ſubſtance of that which they bring by way of oppoſition againſt thoſe orders which we haue common with the Church of Rome, theſe are the reaſons wherewith they would proue our ceremonies in that reſpect worthy of blame.

T.C.l.3.p.178.

T.C.l.3.p.179.

T.C.l.3.p.180.

That whereas they who blame vs in this behalfe, when reaſon euicteth that all ſuch ceremonies are not to be aboliſhed, make anſwere that when they condemne Popiſh ceremonies, their meaning is of ceremonies vnprofitable, or ceremonies, in ſtead whereof as good or better may be deuiſed: they cannot hereby get out of the bryers, but contradict and gainſay themſelues; in as much as their vſuall manner is to proue, that ceremonies vncommaunded in the Church of God, and yet vſed in the Church of Rome, are for *this very cauſe* vnprofitable to vs, and not ſo good as others in their place would be.

4 Before wee anſwere vnto theſe things, wee are to cut off that, whereunto they from whom theſe obiections proceede, doe oftentimes flie for defence and ſuccour, when the force and ſtrength of their arguments is elided. For the ceremonies in vſe amongſt vs, being in no other reſpect retained, ſauing onely for that to retaine them is to our ſeeming, good and profitable, yea ſo profitable and ſo good, that if we had eyther ſimply taken them cleane away, or elſe remoued them ſo as to place in their ſtead others, we had done worſe: the plaine and direct way againſt vs herein had bin only to proue, that all ſuch ceremonies as they require to be aboliſhed, are retained by vs with the hurt of the Church, or with leſſe benefite then the aboliſhment of them would bring. But for as much as they ſaw how hardly they ſhould be able to performe this; they tooke a more compendious way, traducing the ceremonies of our Church vnder the name of being Popiſh. The cauſe why this way ſeemed better vnto them was, for that the name of Popery is more odious then very Paganiſme amongſt diuers of the more ſimple ſort; ſo whatſoeuer they heare named Popiſh, they preſently conceiue deepe hatred againſt it, imagining there can be nothing contayned in that name, but needes it muſt be exceeding deteſtable. The eares of the people they haue therefore filled with ſtrong clamor; *The Church of England is fraught with Popiſh ceremonies: They that fauour the cauſe of reformation, maintaine nothing but the ſincerity of the Goſpell of* IESVS CHRIST: *All ſuch as withſtand them, fight for the lawes of his ſworne enemy, vphold the filthie reliques of Antichriſt; and are defenders of that which is Popiſh.* Theſe are the notes wherewith are drawne from the hearts of the multitude ſo many ſighes; with theſe tunes their mindes are exaſperated

againſt

againſt the lawfull Guides and Gouernours of their ſoules; theſe are the voices that fill them with general diſcontentmēt, as though the boſome of that famous Church wherin they liue, were more noyſome then any Dungeon. But when the Authors of ſo ſcandalous Incantations are examined and called to account how they can iuſtifie ſuch their dealings; when they are vrged directly to anſwere, whether it be lawful for vs to vſe any ſuch Ceremonies as the Church of Rome vſeth, although the ſame be not commanded in the Word of God; being driuen to ſee that the vſe of ſome ſuch Ceremonies muſt of neceſſitie be granted lawful, they goe about to make vs beleeue that they are iuſt of the ſame opinion, and that they only thinke ſuch Ceremonies are not to be vſed when they are vnprofitable, or when as good or better may be eſtabliſhed. Which anſwer is both idle in regard of vs, and alſo repugnant to themſelues. It is in regard of vs very vaine to make this anſwer, becauſe they know that what Ceremonies we retaine common vnto the Church of Rome, we therefore retaine them, for that wee iudge them to be profitable, & to be ſuch that others in ſtead of them would be worſe. So that when they ſay, that we ought to abrogate ſuch Romiſh Ceremonies as are vnprofitable, or elſe might haue other more profitable in their ſtead; they trifle & they beat the aire about nothing which toucheth vs, vnleſſe they mean that we ought to abrogate all Romiſh Ceremonies, which in their iudgement haue either no vſe, or leſſe vſe then ſome other might haue. But then muſt they ſhew ſome Commiſſion, whereby they are authorized to ſit as Iudges, & we required to take their iudgement for good in this caſe. Otherwiſe their ſentences will not be greatly regarded, when they oppoſe their *Me thinketh*, vnto the orders of the Church of England: as in the queſtion about Surpleſſes one of them doth; *If we looke to the colour, blacke me thinketh is more decent; if to the forme, a garment downe to the foot hath a great deale more comelineſſe in it.* If they thinke that we ought to proue the Ceremonies commodious which wee haue retained, they doe in this point very greatly deceiue themſelues. For in all right & equity, that which the Church hath receiued and held ſo long for good, that which publike Approbation hath ratified, muſt carrie the benefit of preſumption with it to be accounted meet & cōuenient. They which haue ſtood vp as yeſterday to challenge it of defect, muſt proue their Challenge. If we being Defendants do anſwer that the Ceremonies in queſtion are godly, comely, decent, profitable for the Church; their reply is childiſh and vnorderly to ſay, that we demand the thing in queſtion, and ſhew the pouertie of our cauſe, the goodneſſe whereof we are faine to begge that our Aduerſaries would grant. For on our part this muſt bee the anſwere, which orderly proceeding doth require. The burthen of prouing doth reſt on them. In them it is friuolous to ſay, wee ought not to vſe bad Ceremonies of the Church of Rome, and preſume all ſuch bad as it pleaſeth themſelues to diſlike, vnleſſe we can perſwade them the contrarie. Beſides, they are herein oppoſite alſo to themſelues. For what one thing is ſo common with them, as to vſe the cuſtome of the Church of Rome for an argument to proue, that ſuch and ſuch Ceremonies cannot be good and profitable for vs, in as much as that Church vſeth them? Which vſual kind of diſputing ſheweth, that they doe not diſallow onely thoſe Romiſh Ceremonies which are vnprofitable, but coūt all vnprofitable which are *Romiſh*; that is to ſay, which haue bin deuiſed by the Church of Rome, or which are vſed

T C lib. 3. p. 171. What an open vntruth is it, that this is one of our Principles, not to be lawfull to vſe the ſame Ceremonies which the Papiſts did: when as I haue both before declared the contrary, and euen here haue expreſly added, that they are not to bee vſed when as good or better may bee eſtabliſhed?

Eccleſ. diſcipl. fol. 100.

T.C. lib. 3. p. 176. As for your often repeating that the Ceremonies in queſtion are godly, comely, and decent: it is your olde wont of demanding the thing in queſtion, and an vndoubted Argument of your extreme pouertie.

T.C. lib. 3. p. 174.

in that Church, and not preſcribed in the Word of God. For this is the only limitation which they can vſe ſutable vnto their other poſitions. And therefore the cauſe which they yeeld, why they hold it lawfull to retaine in *Doctrine* and in *Diſcipline* ſome things as good, which yet are common to the Church of Rome, is, for that thoſe good things are perpetuall Commandements, in whoſe place no other can come; but Ceremonies are changeable. So that their iudgement in truth is, that whatſoeuer by the Word of God is not changeable in the Church of Rome, that Churches vſing is a cauſe, why Reformed Churches ought to change it, and not to thinke it good or profitable. And leſt we ſeeme to father any thing vpon them more then is properly their own, let them read euen their owne words, where they complaine, that *that we are thus conſtrained to bee like vnto the Papiſts in any their Ceremonies*; yea they vrge that this cauſe although it were alone, ought to mooue them to whom that belongeth, to doe them away, *for as much as they are their Ceremonies*, and that the Biſhop of Salisburie doth iuſtifie this their complaint. The clauſe is vntrue which they adde concerning the Biſhop of Saliſburie; but the ſentence doth ſhew, that wee doe them no wrong in ſetting downe the ſtate of the queſtion betweene vs thus: Whether we ought to aboliſh out of the Church of England all ſuch Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies, as are eſtabliſhed in the Church of Rome, and are not preſcribed in the Word of God. For the affirmatiue whereof we are now to anſwere ſuch proofes of theirs as haue beene before alleaged.

T. C. lib. 3. p. 177. And that this complaint of ours is iuſt, in that we are thus conſtrained to bee like vnto the Papiſts in any their Ceremonies; and that this cauſe only ought to mooue them to whom that belongeth, to doe theirs away, for as much as they are their Ceremonies: the Reader may further ſee in the Biſhop of Salisburie, who brings diuers proofes thereof.

That our allowing the cuſtomes of our Fathers to bee followed, is no proofe that we may not allow ſome cuſtomes which the Church of Rome hath, although wee do not account of them as of our Fathers.

5 Let the Church of Rome be what it will, let them that are of it be the people of God, & our Fathers in the Chriſtian Faith, or let them be otherwiſe, hold them for Catholikes, or hold them for Heretikes, it is not a thing eyther one way or other in this preſent queſtion greatly materiall. Our conformitie with thē in ſuch things as haue bin propoſed, is not proued as yet vnlawfull by all this S. *Auguſtine* hath ſaid, yea and we haue allowed his ſaying, *That the cuſtome of the people of God, & the decrees of our forefathers are to be kept, touching thoſe things whereof the Scripture had neither one way nor other giuen vs any charge.* What then? Doth it here therfore follow, that they being neither the people of God, nor our forefathers, are for that cauſe in nothing to be followed? This cōſequent were good if ſo be it were granted, that only the cuſtome of the people of God, and the decrees of our forefathers are in ſuch caſe to be obſerued. But then ſhould no other kind of later Lawes in the Church bee good, which were a groſſe abſurdity to thinke. S. *Auguſtines* ſpeech therefore doth import, that where we haue no diuine precept, if yet we haue the cuſtome of the people of God, or a decree of our forefathers, this is a Law and muſt be kept. Notwithſtanding it is not denied, but that we lawfully may obſerue the Poſitiue Conſtitutions of our owne Churches, although the ſame were but yeſterday made by our ſelues alone. Nor is there any thing in this ſo proue, that the Church of England might not by Law receiue Orders, Rites, or Cuſtomes from the Church of Rome, although they were neither the people of God, nor yet our forefathers. How much leſſe when wee haue receiued from them nothing but that which they did themſelues receiue from ſuch, as we cannot deny to haue bin the people of God, yea ſuch as either

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we muſt acknowledge for our own forefathers, or elſe diſdaine the race of Chriſt?

6 The Rites and Orders wherein we follow the Church of Rome, are of no other kind then ſuch as the Church of Geneua it ſelfe doth follow them in. We follow the Church of Rome in moe things; yet they in ſome things of the ſame nature about which our preſent cõtrouerſie is: ſo that the difference is not in the kind, but in the number of Rites onely, wherein they and wee doe follow the Church of Rome. The vſe of Wafer-cakes, the cuſtome of Godfathers & Godmothers in Baptiſme, are things not cõmanded nor forbidden in the Scripture; things which haue bin of old, and are retained in the Church of Rome, euen at this verie houre. Is conformitie with Rome in ſuch things a blemiſh vnto the Church of England, and vnto Churches abroad an ornament? Let them, if not for the reuerence they owe vnto this Church, in the bowels whereof they haue receiued I truſt that precious and bleſſed vigor, which ſhal quicken them to eternall life; yet at the leaſtwiſe for the ſingular affection which they doe beare towards others, take heed how they ſtrike, leſt they woũd whom they would not. For vndoubtedly it cutteth deeper then they are aware of, when they plead that euen ſuch Ceremonies of the Church of Rome, as containe in them nothing which is not of it ſelfe agreeable to the Word of God, ought neuertheleſſe to be aboliſhed, & that neither the Word of God, nor reaſon, nor the examples of the eldeſt Churches, doe permit the Church of Rome to be therein followed. Heretikes they are, and they are our Neighbours. By vs and amongſt vs they lead their liues. But what then? Therefore no Ceremony of theirs lawful for vs to vſe? We muſt yeeld and will, that none are lawfull, if God himſelfe bee a precedent againſt the vſe of any. But how appeareth it that God is ſo? Hereby they ſay it doth appeare, in that *God ſeuered his people from the Heathens, but ſpecially from the Ægyptians, and ſuch Nations as were neereſt Neighbours vnto them, by forbidding them to doe thoſe things, which were in themſelues very lawfull to be doe, yea very profitable ſome and incommodious to bee forborne; ſuch things it pleaſed God to forbid them, only becauſe thoſe Heathens did them, with whom conformitie in the ſame things might haue bred infection. Thus in ſhauing, cutting, apparell wearing, yea in ſundrie kinds of meats alſo, Swines fleſh, Conies, and ſuch like, they were forbidden to doſo, and ſo, becauſe the Gentiles did ſo. And the end why God forbad them ſuch things was, to ſeuer them for feare of infection by a great and an high wall from other Nations, as S. PAVL teacheth.* The cauſe of more carefull ſeparation from the neereſt Nations, was the greatneſſe of danger to be eſpecially by them infected. Now Papiſts are to vs as thoſe Nations were vnto Iſrael. Therefore if the wiſdome of God be our guide, we cannot allow conformitie with them, no not in any ſuch indifferent Ceremonie. Our direct anſwere hereunto is, that for any thing here alleaged we may ſtill doubt, whether the Lord in ſuch indifferent Ceremonies as thoſe whereof wee diſpute, did frame his people of ſet purpoſe vnto any vtter diſſimilitude, eyther with Egyptians, or with any other Nation elſe. And if God did not forbid them all ſuch indifferent Ceremonies, then our conformitie with the Church of Rome in ſome ſuch is not hitherto as yet diſproued, although Papiſts were vnto vs as thoſe Heathens were vnto Iſrael. *After the doings of the Land of Egypt, wherein you dwelt, ye ſhall not doe, ſaith the Lord; and after the manner of the land of Canaan, whither I will bring you, ſhall ye not doe, neither walke in their Ordinances: Doe after my iudgements,*

That the courſe which the wiſedome of God doth teach, maketh not againſt our conformitie with the Church of Rome in ſuch things.

T. C. lib. 1. pag. 89. & 131.

Leuit. 18.3.

Leuit. 19.27.
Leuit. 19.19.
Deut. 22.11.
Deut. 14.7. &
Leuit. 11.
Epheſ. 2.14.

Leuit. 18.3.

ments, and keep my Ordinances to walke there: I am the Lord your God. The ſpeech is indefinite, *ye ſhall not be like them:* It is not generall, *yee ſhall not bee like them in any thing, or like vnto them in any thing indifferent, or like vnto them in any indifferent Ceremonie of theirs.* Seeing therefore it is not ſet downe how farre the bounds of his ſpeech concerning diſſimilitude ſhould reach, how can any man aſſure vs, that it extendeth farder then to thoſe things only, wherin the Nations there mentioned were Idolatrous, or did againſt that which the Law of God commandeth? Nay doth it not ſeeme a thing very probable, that God doth purpoſely adde, *Do after my iudgemẽts*, as giuing therby to vnderſtand, that his meaning in the former ſentence was but to bar ſimilitude in ſuch things, as were repugnant vnto the Ordinances, Lawes and Statutes which he had giuen? Egyptians & Cananites are for example ſake named vnto them, becauſe the cuſtomes of the one they had bin, & of the other they ſhould be beſt acquainted with. But that wherin they might not be like vnto either of them, was ſuch peraduenture as had bin no whit leſſe vnlawfull, although thoſe Nations had neuer bin. So that there is no neceſſitie to thinke that God for feare of infection by reaſon of neerneſſe forbad them to be like to the Cananites or the Egyptians, in thoſe things which otherwiſe had bin lawful enough. For I would know what one thing was in thoſe Nations, & is here forbidden, being indifferent in it ſelfe, yet forbidden only becauſe they vſed it. In the Lawes of Iſrael we find it written, *Ye ſhall not cut round the corners of your heads, neither ſhalt thou teare the tufts of thy beard.* Theſe things were vſual amongſt thoſe Nations, and in themſelues they are indifferent. But are they indifferent being vſed as ſignes of immoderate and hopeleſſe lamentation for the dead? In this ſenſe it is that the Law forbideth them. For which cauſe the very next wordes following are, *Ye ſhall not cut your fleſh for the dead, nor make any print of a marke vpon you; I am the Lord.* The like in *Leuiticus*, where ſpeech is of mourning for the dead, *They ſhall not make bald parts vpon their head, nor ſhaue off the lockes of their beard, nor make any cutting in their fleſh.* Againe, in *Deut. Ye are the children of the Lord your God, ye ſhal not cut your ſelues, nor make you baldneſſe between your eies for the dead.* What is this but in effect the ſame which the Apoſtle doth more plainly expreſſe, ſaying, *Sorrow not as they do which haue no hope?* The very light of Nature it ſelfe was able to ſee herein a fault; that which thoſe Nations did vſe, hauing bin alſo in vſe with others, the ancient Roman lawes do forbid. That ſhauing therfore and cutting which the Law doth mention, was not a matter in it ſelfe indifferent, and forbidden onely becauſe it was in vſe amongſt ſuch Idolaters as were Neighbors to the people of God; but to vſe it had bin a crime, though no other people or Nation vnder heauen ſhould haue done it ſauing only themſelues. As for thoſe Lawes concerning attire, *There ſhall no garment of linnen & woollen come vpon thee*; as alſo thoſe touching food and diet, wherin *Swines fleſh* together with ſundry other meates are forbidden; the vſe of theſe things had bin indeed of it ſelfe harmeleſſe and indifferent: ſo that hereby it doth appeare, how the Law of God forbad in ſome ſpeciall conſideration, ſuch things as were lawfull enough in themſelues. But yet euen here they likewiſe faile of that they intend. For it doth not appeare that the conſideration in regard whereof the Law forbiddeth theſe things, was becauſe thoſe Nations did vſe them. Likely enough it is that the Cananites vſed to feed as well on Sheeps as on Swines fleſh; & therefore if the forbidding

Leuit.19.17.
Leuit.21.5.
Deut.14.1.
1.Theſ.4,13.
Leuit.19.19.
Deut.22.11.
Deut.14.7.
Leuit.11.

bidding of the later had no other reaſon then diſſimilitude with that people, they which of their owne heads alleage this for reaſon, can ſhew I thinke ſome reaſon more then we are able to finde, why the former was not alſo forbidden. Might there not be ſome other myſterie in this prohibition then they thinke of? Yes, ſome other myſterie there was in it by all likelyhood. For what reaſon is there which ſhould but induce, and therefore much leſſe enforce vs to thinke, that care of diſſimilitude betweene the people of God & the Heathen Nations about them, was any more the cauſe of forbidding them to put on garments of ſundry ſtuffe, then of charging them withall not to ſow their fields with Meſline, or that this was any more the cauſe of forbidding them to eate Swines fleſh, then of charging them withall not to eate the fleſh of Eagles, Hawkes, and the like? Wherefore although the Church of Rome were to vs, as to Iſrael the Egyptians and Canaanites were of old; yet doth it not follow that the wiſedome of God without reſpect doth teach vs to erect betweene vs and them a partition wall of difference, in ſuch things indifferent as haue beene hitherto diſputed of.

Leuit. 19. 19. *Deut.* 14. *Leuit.* 11. *Epheſ.* 2. 14.

7 Neither is the example of the eldeſt Churches a whit more auaileable to this purpoſe. Notwithſtanding ſome fault vndoubtedly there is in the very reſemblance of Idolaters. Were it not ſome kinde of blemiſh to be like vnto Infidels and Heathens, it would not ſo vſually bee obiected, men would not thinke it any aduantage in the cauſes of Religion, to bee able therewith iuſtly to charge their Aduerſaries as they doe. Wherefore to the end that it may a little more plainely appeare, what force this hath, and how farre the ſame extendeth: wee are to note how all men are naturally deſirous, that they may ſeeme neither to iudge, nor to doe amiſſe, becauſe euery errour and offence is a ſtaine to the beautie of nature, for which cauſe it bluſheth thereat, but glorieth in the contrarie. From whence it riſeth, that they which diſgrace or depreſſe the credit of others, doe it either in both or in one of theſe. To haue beene in either directed by a weake and vnperfect Rule, argueth imbecillitie and imperfection. Men being either led by reaſon, or by imitation of other mens examples; if their perſons be odious whoſe example we chooſe to follow, as namely, if we frame our opinions to that which condemned Heretiques thinke, or direct our actions according to that which is practiſed and done by them; it lyeth as an heauy preiudice againſt vs, vnleſſe ſomewhat mightier then their bare example, did moue vs to thinke or doe the ſame things with them. Chriſtian men therefore hauing beſides the common light of all men ſo great help of heauenly direction from aboue, together with the Lamps of ſo bright examples as the Church of God doth yeeld, it cannot but worthily ſeeme reprochfull for vs, to leaue both the one and the other, to become Diſciples vnto the moſt hatefull ſort that liue, to doe as they doe, onely becauſe we ſee their example before vs, and haue a delight to follow it. Thus wee may therefore ſafely conclude, that it is not euill ſimply to concurre with the Heathens either in opinion or in action: and that conformity with them is onely then a diſgrace, when either we follow them in that they thinke and doe amiſſe, or follow them generally in that they doe, without other reaſon then only the liking we haue to the pattern of their example: which liking doth intimate a more vniuerſall approbation of them then is allowable. *Fauſtus* the Manichey therefore obiecting againſt the Iewes, that they for-

That the example of the eldeſt Churches is not herein againſt vs. *T. C. l. 1. p. 132.* The Councels although they did not obſerue themſelues alwayes in making of decrees this Rule: yet haue kept this conſideration continually in making of their laws, that they would haue the Chriſtians differ from others in their Ceremonies.

forsooke the Idols of the Gentiles, but their Temples, & Oblations, & Altars, & Priesthoods, and all kinde of ministerie of holy things, they exercised euen as the Gentiles did, yea more superstitiously a great deale; against the Catholike Christians likewise, that betweene them and the Heathens there was in many things little difference, *From them* (saith FAVSTVS) *ye haue learned to hold that one only God is the Author of all, their sacrifices ye haue turned into feasts of Charitie, their Idols into Martyrs, whom ye honor with the like religious offices vnto theirs, the Ghosts of the dead ye appease with wine and delicates, the festiuall dayes of the Nations ye celebrate together with them, and of their kind of life ye haue vtterly changed nothing.* S. AVGVSTINES defence in behalfe of both is, that touching the matters of action, Iewes and Catholike Christians were free from the Gentiles faultinesse, euen in those things which were obiected as tokens of their agreement with the Gentiles: and concerning their consent in opinion, they did not hold the same with the Gentils, because Gentils had so taught, but because heauen & earth had so witnessed the same to be truth, that neither the one sort could erre in being fully perswaded thereof, nor the other but erre in case they should not consent with them. In things of their own nature indifferent, if either Councels or particular men haue at any time with sound iudgement misliked conformitie betweene the Church of God and Infidels, the cause thereof hath beene somewhat else then onely affectation of dissimilitude. They saw it necessarie so to doe, in respect of some speciall accident, which the Church being not alwayes subiect vnto, hath not still cause to doe the like. For example, in the dangerous dayes of triall, wherein there was no way for the truth of Iesus Christ to triumph ouer Infidelitie, but through the constancy of his Saints, whom yet a naturall desire to saue themselues from the flame, might peraduenture cause to ioyne with Pagans in externall customes, too farre vsing the same as a cloke to conceale themselues in, and a mist to darken the eyes of Infidels withall: for remedie hereof those Lawes it might be were prouided, which forbad that Christians should decke their houses with Boughes, as the Pagans did vse to doe, or rest those Festiuall dayes whereon the Pagans rested, or celebrate such Feasts as were, though not Heathenish, yet such that the simpler sort of Heathens might be beguiled in so thinking them. As for *Tertullians* iudgement concerning the Rites and Orders of the Church, no man hauing iudgement can be ignorant how iust exceptions may be taken against it. His opinion touching the Catholike Church was as vnindifferent, as touching our Church the opinion of them that fauor this pretended reformation is. He iudged all them who did not Montanize, to be but carnally minded, he iudged them still ouer-abiectly to fawne vpon the *Heathens*, & to curry fauor with *Infidels*. Which as the Catholike Church did wel prouide that they might not do indeed, so *Tertullian* ouer-often through discõtentment carpeth iniuriously at them, as though they did it euen when they were free from such meaning. But if it were so, that either the iudgement of those Councels before alleaged, or of *Tertullian* himselfe against the Christians, are in no such consideration to be vnderstood as we haue mentioned; if it were so, that men are condemned as well of the one as of the other, onely for vsing the ceremonies of a Religion *contrary* vnto their owne,

Tom. 6. cont. Faust. Manich. lib. 20. cap. 4.

T. C. l. 1. p. 132. Also it was decreed in another Councell, that they should not decke their houses with Bay leaues and greene Boughs, because the Pagans did vse so; & that they should not rest from their labor those daies that the Pagans did, that they should not keepe the first day of euery moneth as they did.

T. C. l. 1. p. 132. *Tertul.* saith, O saith he, better is the Religion of the Heathen: for they vse no solemnitie of the Christians, neither the Lords day, neither, &c. but we are not afraid to be called Heathē.

T. C. l. 1. p. 133. But hauing shewed this in generall to be the Politie of God first, and of his people afterward, to put as much difference as can be commodiously betweene the people of God and others which are not, I shall not, &c.

and

and that *this cauſe* is ſuch as ought to preuaile no leſſe with vs then with them; ſhall it not follow that ſeeing there is ſtil betweene our Religion and Paganiſme the ſelfe-ſame *contrarietie*, therefore wee are ſtill no leſſe rebukeable, if wee now decke our houſes with boughes, or ſend New-yeeres-gifts vnto our friends, or feaſt on thoſe dayes which the Gentiles then did, or ſit after Prayer as they were accuſtomed? For ſo they inferre vpon the Premiſes, that as great difference as commodiouſly may bee, there ſhould bee in all outward Ceremonies betweene the people of God, and them which are not his people. Againe, they teach, as hath beene declared, that there is not as great a difference as may bee betweene them, except the one doe auoid whatſoeuer Rites and Ceremonies vncommanded of God the other doth embrace. So that generally they teach, that the very difference of ſpirituall condition it ſelfe betweene the Seruants of Chriſt and others, requireth ſuch difference in Ceremonies betweene them, although the one bee neuer ſo farre diſioyned in time or place from the other. But in caſe the people of God and *Belial* doe chance to bee Neighbours; then as the danger of infection is greater, ſo the ſame difference they ſay is thereby made more neceſſarie. In this reſpect as the Iewes were ſeuered from the Heathen, ſo moſt eſpecially from the Heathen neereſt them. And in the ſame reſpect wee, which ought to differ howſoeuer from the Church of Rome, are now they ſay by reaſon of our neereneſſe more bound to differ from them in Ceremonies then from Turkes. A ſtrange kind of ſpeech vnto Chriſtian eares, and ſuch as I hope they themſelues do acknowledge vnaduiſedly vttered. *We are not ſo much to feare infection from Turkes as from Papiſts.* What of that? wee muſt remember that by conforming rather our ſelues in that reſpect to Turkes, wee ſhould be Spreaders of a worſe infection into others, then any we are likely to draw from Papiſts by our conformitie with them in Ceremonies. If they did hate as Turkes doe, the Chriſtian; or as Cananites of old did the Iewiſh Religion euen in groſſe; the circumſtance of locall neereneſſe in them vnto vs, might haply enforce in vs a dutie of greater ſeparation from them, then from thoſe other mentioned. But for as much as Papiſts are ſo much in Chriſt neerer vnto vs then Turkes, is there any reaſonable man trow you, but wil iudge it meeter that our Ceremonies of Chriſtian Religion ſhould be Popiſh then Turkiſh or Heatheniſh? Eſpecially conſidering that we were not brought to dwell amongſt them (as Iſrael in Canaan) hauing not beene of them. For euen a very part of them wee were. And when God did by his good Spirit put it into our hearts, firſt, to reforme our ſelues, (whence grew our ſeparation) and then by all good meanes to ſeeke alſo their Reformation; had wee not onely cut off their corruptions, but alſo eſtranged our ſelues from them in things indifferent; who ſeeth not how greatly preiudiciall this might haue beene to ſo good a cauſe, and what occaſion it had giuen them to thinke (to their greater obduration in euill) that through a froward or wanton deſire of innouation, wee did vnconſtrainedly thoſe things, for which Conſcience was pretended? Howſoeuer the caſe doth ſtand, as Iuda had beene rather to chooſe conformitie in things indifferent with Iſrael, when they were neereſt Oppoſites, then with the fartheſt remooued Pagans: So wee in like caſe, much rather with Papiſts then with Turkes. I might adde further for more full and complete anſwere, ſo much concerning the large oddes betweene

tweene the caſe of the eldeſt Churches in regard of thoſe Heathens, and ours in reſpect of the Church of Rome, that very cauillation it ſelfe ſhould be ſatisfied, and haue no ſhift to flye vnto.

That it is not our beſt policy for the eſtabliſhment of ſound Religion, to haue in theſe things no agreemẽt with the Church of Rome, being vnſound.

8 But that no one thing may detaine vs ouer-long, I returne to their reaſons againſt our conformitie with that Church. That extreme diſſimilitude which they vrge vpon vs, is now commended as our beſt and ſafeſt policie for eſtabliſhment of ſound Religion. The ground of which politike Poſition is, that *Euils muſt be cured by their contraries*; & therefore the cure of the Church infected with the poyſon of Antichriſtianitie, muſt be done by that which is thereunto as contrary as may be. A meddled eſtate of the orders of the Goſpel & the Ceremonies of Popery, is not the beſt way to baniſh Popery. We are contrariwiſe of opinion, that he which wil perfectly recouer a ſick, & reſtore a diſeaſed body vnto health, muſt not endeuour ſo much to bring it to a ſtate of ſimple contrarietie, as of fit proportion in contrarietie vnto thoſe euils which are to bee cured. Hee that will take away extreme heat, by ſetting the body in extremitie of cold, ſhall vndoubtedly remooue the diſeaſe, but together with it the diſeaſed too. The firſt thing therefore in skilfull cures, is the knowledge of the part affected; the next is of the euil which doth affect it; the laſt is not only of the kind, but alſo of the meſure of contrary things whereby to remoue it. They which meaſure Religion by diſlike of the Church of Rome, thinke euery man ſo much the more ſound, by how much hee can make the corruptions thereof to ſeeme more large. And therefore ſome there are, namely, the Arrians in Reformed Churches of Poland, which imagine the Canker to haue eaten ſo far into the very bones and marrow of the Church of Rome, as if it had not ſo much as a ſound beliefe, no not concerning God himſelfe, but that the very beliefe of the Trinity were a part of Antichriſtian corruption; and that the wonderfull prouidence of God did bring to paſſe, that the Biſhop of the Sea of Rome ſhould be famous for his Triple Crowne; a ſenſible marke whereby the World might know him to bee that Myſticall Beaſt ſpoken of in the Reuelation, to be that great and notorious Antichriſt in no one reſpect ſo much, as in this that he maintaineth the doctrine of the Trinity. Wiſdome therefore and skill is requiſite to know, what parts are ſound in that Church, and what corrupted. Neyther is it to all men apparant which complaine of vnſound parts, with what kind of vnſoundneſſe euery ſuch part is poſſeſſed. They can ſay that in *Doctrine*, in *Diſcipline*, in *Prayers*, in *Sacraments*, the Church of Rome hath (as it hath indeed) very foule and groſſe corruptions: the nature whereof notwithſtanding becauſe they haue not for the moſt part exact skill and knowledge to diſcerne, they thinke that amiſſe many times which is not, and the ſalue of reformation they mightily call for; but where and what the ſores are which need it, as they wote full little, ſo they thinke it not greatly materiall to ſearch. Such mens contentment muſt bee wrought by ſtratageme: the vſuall methode of Art is not for them. But with thoſe that profeſſe more then ordinary and common knowledge of good from euill, with them that are able to put a difference betweene things naught, and things indifferent in the Church of Rome, we are yet at controuerſie about the mãner of remouing that which is naught: whether it may not be perfectly helpt, vnleſſe that alſo which is indifferent be cut off with it, ſo farre till no Rite or Ceremonie remaine which

T.C. lib. 1. *p.* 132. Common reaſon alſo doth teach, that contraries are cured by their contraries. Now Chriſtianity and Antichriſtianitie, the Goſpel and Poperie, bee contraries, and therefore Antichriſtianitie muſt be cured, not by it ſelfe, but by that which is (as much as may bee) contrarie vnto it.

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the Church of Rome hath, being not found in the word of God. If we thinke this too extreme, they reply, that to draw men from great exceſſe, it is not amiſſe though we vſe them vnto ſomewhat leſſe then is competent; and that a crooked ſticke is not ſtraightned vnleſſe it be bent as farre on the cleane contrary ſide, that ſo it may ſettle it ſelfe at the length in a middle eſtate of euenneſſe betweene both. But how can theſe compariſons ſtand them in any ſtead? When they vrge vs to extreme oppoſition againſt the Church of Rome, doe they meane we ſhould be drawne vnto it onely for a time, and afterwards returne to a mediocrity? or was it the purpoſe of thoſe reformed Churches, which vtterly aboliſhed all Popiſh ceremonies, to come in the end backe againe to the middle point of euenneſſe and moderation? Then haue we conceiued amiſſe of their meaning. For we haue alwaies thought their opinion to be, that vtter inconformity with the Church of Rome was not an extremity whereunto we ſhould be drawn for a time, but the very mediocrity it ſelfe wherein they meant we ſhould euer continue. Now by theſe compariſons it ſeemeth cleane contrary, that howſoeuer they haue bent themſelues at firſt to an extreme contrariety againſt the Romiſh Church, yet therein they will continue no longer then onely till ſuch time as ſome more moderate courſe for eſtabliſhment of the Church may be concluded. Yea, albeit this were not at the firſt their intent, yet ſurely now there is great cauſe to leade them vnto it. They haue ſeene that experience of the former policy, which may cauſe the authors of it to hang downe their heads. When Germany had ſtriken off that which appeared corrupt in the doctrine of the Church of Rome, but ſeemed neuertheleſſe in diſcipline ſtill to reteine therewith very great conformitie: Fraunce by that rule of policy, which hath beene before mentioned, tooke away the Popiſh orders which Germany did reteine. But proceſſe of time hath brought more light into the world; whereby men perceiuing that they of the religion in Fraunce haue alſo reteined ſome orders which were before in the Church of Rome, and are not commaunded in the word of God; there hath ariſen a ſect in England, which following ſtill the very ſelfe ſame rule of policy, ſeeketh to reforme euen the French reformation, and purge out from thence alſo dregges of Popery. Theſe haue not taken as yet ſuch roote that they are able to eſtabliſh any thing. But if they had, what would ſpring out of their ſtocke, and how farre the vnquiet wit of man might be carried with rules of ſuch policy, God doth know. The tryall which we haue liued to ſee, may ſomewhat teach vs what poſterity is to feare. But our Lord of his infinite mercy, auert what ſoeuer euill our ſwaruings on the one hand or on the other may threaten vnto the ſtate of his Church.

T.C.l.1.p.132. If a man would bring a drunken man to ſobriety, the beſt and neereſt way is to carry him as far frō his exceſſe in drinke as may be: and if a man could not keepe a meane, it were better to fault in preſcribing leſſe then he ſhould drinke, then to fault in giuing him more then he ought. As wee ſee to bring a ſticke which is crooked to be ſtraight, we doe not onely bow it ſo farre vntill it come to be ſtraight, but we bend it ſo farre vntill we make it to be ſo crooked of the other ſide, as it was before of the firſt ſide, to this end that at the laſt it may ſtand ſtraight, and as it were in the mid-way betweene both the crookes.

9 That the Church of Rome doth hereby take occaſion to blaſpheme, and to ſay our religion is not able to ſtand of it ſelfe, vnleſſe it leane vpon the ſtaffe of their Ceremonies, is not a matter of ſo great moment, that it did need to be obiected,

That we are not to aboliſh our Ceremonies, either becauſe Papiſts vpbraide vs as hauing taken from them, or for that they are ſaid hereby to conceiue I know not what great hopes. *T.C.l.3.p.178.* By vſing of theſe Ceremonies, the Papiſts take occaſion to blaſpheme, ſaying, that our Religion cannot ſtand by it ſelfe, vnleſſe it leane vpon the ſtaffe of their Ceremonies.

iected, or doth deſerue to receiue anſwer. The name of blaſphemy in this place, is like the ſhoo of *Hercules* on a childs foote. If the Church of Rome doe vſe any ſuch kind of ſilly exprobration, it is no ſuch vgly thing to the eare, that we ſhuld thinke the honor and credit of our Religion to receiue therby any great wound. They which hereof make ſo perilous a matter, do ſeem to imagine, that we haue erected of late a frame of ſome new Religion; the furniture whereof we ſhould not haue borrowed from our enemies, leſt they relieuing vs might afterwardes laugh and gibe at our pouerty: whereas in truth the Ceremonies which we haue taken from ſuch as were before vs, are not things that belong to this or that Sect, but they are the ancient Rites and Cuſtomes of the Church of Chriſt; whereof our ſelues being a part, wee haue the ſelfe-ſame intereſt in them which our Fathers before vs had, from whom the ſame are deſcended vnto vs. Againe, in caſe we had beene ſo much beholding priuately vnto them, doth the reputation of one Church ſtand by ſaying vnto another, *I need thee not?* If ſome ſhould be ſo vaine and impotent, as to marre a benefit with reprochfull vpbraiding, where at the leaſt they ſuppoſe themſelues to haue beſtowed ſome good turne; yet ſurely a wiſe bodies part it were not, to put out his fire, becauſe his fond and fooliſh neighbour from whom he borrowed peraduenture wherewith to kindle it, might haply caſt him therewith in the teeth, ſaying, Were it not for mee, thou wouldeſt freeze, and not bee able to heate thy ſelfe. As for that other Argument deriued from the ſecret affection of Papiſts, with whom our conformitie in certaine Ceremonies is ſaid to put them in great hope, that their whole Religion in time will haue re-entrance; and therefore none are ſo clamorous amongſt vs for the obſeruation of theſe Ceremonies, as Papiſts and ſuch as Papiſts ſuborne to ſpeake for them, whereby it cleerely appeareth how much they reioyce, how much they triumph in theſe things; our anſwere hereunto is ſtill the ſame, that the benefit wee haue by ſuch Ceremonies ouerweigheth euen this alſo. No man which is not exceeding partiall can well denie, but that there is moſt iuſt cauſe wherefore wee ſhould bee offended greatly at the Church of Rome. Notwithſtanding at ſuch times as wee are to deliberate for our ſelues, the freer our mindes are from all diſtempered affections, the ſounder and better is our iudgement. When wee are in a fretting moode at the Church of Rome, and with that angry diſpoſition enter into any cogitation of the Orders and Rites of our Church; taking particular ſuruey of them, wee are ſure to haue alwayes one eye fixed vpon the countenance of our enemies, and according to the blithe or heauie aſpect thereof, our other eye ſheweth ſome other ſutable token eyther of diſlike or approbation towardes our owne Orders. For the rule of our iudgement in ſuch caſe being onely that of *Homer*, *This is the thing which our enemies would haue*; what they ſeeme contented with, euen for that very cauſe we reiect; and there is nothing but it pleaſeth vs much the better, if we eſpye that it gauleth them. Miſerable were the ſtate and condition of that Church, the waighтie affaires whereof ſhould bee ordered by thoſe deliberations, wherein ſuch an humour as this were predominant. Wee haue moſt heartily to thanke God therfore that they amongſt vs to whom the firſt conſultations of cauſes of this kind fell, were men which aiming at another marke, namely, the glorie of God and the good of this his Church, tooke that which they iudged thereunto

T.C. lib. 2. p. 179. To prooue the Papiſts triumph and ioy in theſe things, I alleaged further that there are none which make ſuch clamours for theſe Ceremonies, as the Papiſts and thoſe which they ſuborne.

οὐκ ἐγνώθησας Πρίαμος. Il. α.

unto neceſſary, not reiecting any good or conuenient thing, onely becauſe the Church of Rome might perhaps like it. If wee haue that which is meete and right, although they bee glad, wee are not to enuie them this their ſolace; we doe not thinke it a dutie of ours, to bee in euery ſuch thing their Tormentors. And whereas it is ſaid, that Poperie for want of this vtter extirpation hath in ſome places taken root and flouriſhed againe, but hath not beene able to reeſtabliſh it ſelfe in any place, after prouiſion made againſt it by vtter euacuation of all Romiſh Ceremonies; and therefore as long as we hold any thing like vnto them, we put them in ſome more hope, then if all were taken away; as wee denie not but this may bee true, ſo being of two euils to chuſe the leſſe, we hold it better that the friends and fauourers of the Church of Rome, ſhould bee in ſome kind of hope to haue a corrupt Religion reſtored, then both we and they conceiue iuſt feare, leſt vnder colour of rooting out Poperie, the moſt effectuall meanes to beare vp the ſtate of Religion be remoued, and ſo a way made either for Paganiſme, or for extreme Barbaritie to enter. If deſire of weakening the hope of others ſhould turne vs away from the courſe we haue taken; how much more the care of preuenting our owne feare with-hold vs from that wee are vrged vnto? Eſpecially ſeeing that our owne feare wee know, but wee are not ſo certaine what hope the Rites and Orders of our Church haue bred in the hearts of others. For it is no ſufficient Argument therefore to ſay, that in maintaining and vrging theſe Ceremonies none are ſo clamorous as Papiſts, and they whom Papiſts ſuborne; this ſpeech being more hard to iuſtifie then the former, and ſo their proofe more doubtfull then the thing it ſelfe which they prooue. Hee that were certaine that this is true, muſt haue marked who they be that ſpeake for Ceremonies; he muſt haue noted who amongſt them doth ſpeake oſteneſt, or is moſt earneſt; he muſt haue beene both acquainted thorowly with the Religion of ſuch, and alſo priuie what conferences or compacts are paſſed in ſecret betweene them and others; which kinds of notice are not wont to be vulgar and common. Yet they which alleage this, would haue it taken as a thing that needeth no proofe, a thing which all men know and ſee. And if ſo bee it were granted them as true, what gaine they by it? Sundry of them that bee Popiſh, are eager in maintenance of Ceremonies. Is it ſo ſtrange a matter to find a good thing furthered by ill men of a ſiniſter intent and purpoſe, whoſe forwardneſſe is not therefore a bridle to ſuch as fauour the ſame cauſe with a better and ſincerer meaning? They that ſeeke, as they ſay, the remouing of all Popiſh Orders out of the Church, and reckon the ſtate of Biſhops in the number of thoſe orders, do (I doubt not) preſume that the cauſe which they proſecute is holy. Notwithſtanding it is their owne ingenuous acknowledgemẽt, that euen this very cauſe which they terme ſo often by an excellency, *The Lords cauſe is*, gratiſſima, *moſt acceptable vnto ſome which hope for prey and ſpoile by it, and that our Age hath ſtore of ſuch, and that ſuch are the verie Sectaries of* DIONYSIVS *the famous Atheiſt.* Now if hereupon we ſhould vpbraid them with irreligious, as they doe vs with Superſtitious fauourers; if we

T.C.l.3.p.179. Thus they conceiuing hope of hauing the reſt of their Poperie in the end, it cauſeth them to bee more frozen in their wickedneſſe, &c. For not the cauſe but the occaſion alſo ought to bee taken away, &c. Although let the Reader iudge, whether they haue cauſe giuen to hope that the taile of Popery yet remaining, they ſhall the eaſiler hale in the whole body after: conſidering alſo that Maſter *Bucer* noteth, that where theſe things haue beene left, there Poperie hath returned: but on the other part in places which haue beene clenſed of theſe dregs, it hath not beene ſeene that it hath had any entrance.

Eccleſ.diſc.f.94.

ſhould follow them in their owne kind of pleading, and ſay, that the moſt clamorous for this pretended reformation, are either Atheiſts, or elſe Proctors ſuborned by Atheiſts; the anſwer which herein they would make vnto vs, let them apply vnto themſelues, and there an end. For they muſt not forbid vs to preſume, or cauſe in defence of our Church-orders, to bee as good as theirs againſt them, till the contrary be made manifeſt to the World.

The griefe which they ſay godly Brethren conceiue, in regard of ſuch Ceremonies as wee haue common with the Church of Rome. *T.C.l.3.p.180.* There be numbers which haue Antichriſtianitie in ſuch deteſtation, that they cannot without griefe of mind behold them. And afterwards, Such godly Brethren are not eaſily to bee grieued, which they ſeeme to bee when they are thus martyred in their minds, for Ceremonies which (to ſpeake the beſt of them) are vnprofitable.

10 In the meane while ſory we are, that any good and godly mind ſhould bee grieued with that which is done. But to remedie their griefe, lyeth not ſo much in vs as in themſelues. They doe not wiſh to bee made glad with the hurt of the Church: and to remooue all out of the Church, whereat they ſhew themſelues to bee ſorrowfull, would be as we are perſwaded hurtfull, if not pernicious thereunto. Till they be able to perſwade the contrarie, they muſt and will I doubt not find out ſome other good meanes to cheere vp themſelues. Amongſt which meanes the example of *Geneua* may ſerue for one. Haue not they the old Popiſh cuſtome of vſing Godfathers and Godmothers in Baptiſme; the old Popiſh cuſtome of adminiſtring the bleſſed Sacrament of the holy Eucharitt with Watercakes? Theſe things the godly there can digeſt. Wherfore ſhould not the godly here learne to doe the like, both in them and in the reſt of the like nature? Some further meane peraduenture it might be to aſſwage their griefe, if ſo be they did conſider the reuenge they take on them, which haue bin, as they interprete it, the Workers of their continuance in ſo great griefe ſo long. For if the maintenance of Ceremonies be a corroſiue to ſuch as oppugne them; vndoubtedly to ſuch as maintaine them, it can be no great pleaſure, when they behold how that which they reuerence is oppugned. And therfore they that iudge themſelues Martyrs when they are grieued, ſhould thinke withall what they are when they grieue. For wee are ſtill to put them in mind that the cauſe doth make no difference; for that it muſt be preſumed as good at the leaſt on our part as on theirs, till it be in the end decided who haue ſtood for truth and who for errour. So that till then the moſt effectuall medicine, and withall the moſt ſound to eaſe their griefe, muſt not bee (in our opinion) the taking away of thoſe things whereat they are grieued, but the altering of that perſwaſion which they haue concerning the ſame. For this wee therefore both pray and labour; the more becauſe wee are alſo perſwaded, that it is but conceit in them to thinke, that thoſe Romiſh Ceremonies whereof wee haue hitherto ſpoken, are like leprous clothes, infectious vnto the Church, or like ſoft and gentle poyſons, the venome whereof being inſenſibly pernicious, worketh death, and yet is neuer felt working. Thus they ſay: but becauſe they ſay it onely, and the World hath not as yet had ſo great experience of their art in curing the diſeaſes of the Church, that the bare authoritie of their word ſhould perſwade in a cauſe ſo waightie; they may not thinke much if it bee required at their hands to ſhew, Firſt, by what meanes ſo deadly infection can grow from ſimilitude betweene vs and the Church of Rome in theſe things indifferent; Secondly, for that it were infinite if the Church ſhould prouide againſt euery ſuch euill as may come to paſſe, it is not ſufficient that they

T.C.lib.3.p.171. Although the corruptions in them ſtrike not ſtraight to the heart, yet as gentle poyſons they conſume by little and little.

they ſhew poſſibilitie of dangerous euent, vnleſſe there appeare ſome likelihood alſo of the ſame to follow in vs, except we preuent it. Nor is this inough, vnleſſe it be moreouer made plaine, that there is no good and ſufficient way of preuention, but by euacuating cleane, and by emptying the Church of euerie ſuch rite and Ceremonie, as is preſently called in queſtion. Till this be done, their good affection towards the ſafetie of the Church is acceptable, but the way they preſcribe vs to preſerue it by, muſt reſt in ſuſpenſe. And leſt hereat they take occaſion to turne vpon vs the ſpeech of the Prophet *Ieremie* vſed againſt Babylon, *Behold, we haue done our endeuour to cure* the diſeaſes of Babylon, but ſhe through her wilfulneſſe doth reſt vncured: let them conſider into what ſtraights the Church might driue it ſelfe, in being guided by this their counſell. Their axiome is, that the ſound beleeuing Church of Ieſus Chriſt, may not be like Hereticall Churches in any of thoſe indifferent things, which men make choice of, and doe not take by preſcript appointment of the Word of God. In the Word of God the vſe of Bread is preſcribed, as a thing without which the Euchariſt may not bee celebrated: but as for the kind of bread, it is not denied to be a thing indifferent. Being indifferent of it ſelfe, wee are by this axiome of theirs to auoid the vſe of vnleauened Bread in their Sacrament, becauſe ſuch Bread the Church of Rome being Hereticall vſeth. But doth not the ſelfe-ſame axiome barre vs euen from leauened Bread alſo, which the Church of the Grecians vſeth; the opinions whereof are in a number of things the ſame, for which we condemne the Church of Rome; and in ſome things erroneous, where the Church of Rome is acknowledged to be ſound: as namely, in the Article proceeding of the Holy Ghoſt? And leſt heere they ſhould ſay that becauſe the Greeke Church is farther off, and the Church of Rome neerer, we are in that reſpect rather to vſe that which the Church of Rome vſeth not; let them imagine a Reformed Church in the Citie of Venice, where a Greeke Church and a Popiſh both are. And when both theſe are equally neere, let them conſider what the third ſhall doe. Without either leauened or vnleauened Bread, it can haue no Sacrament: the Word of God doth tye it to neither; and their axiome doth exclude it from both. If this conſtraine them, as it muſt, to grant that their axiome is not to take any place, ſaue in thoſe things onely where the Church hath larger ſcope; it reſteth that they ſearch out ſome ſtronger reaſon then they haue as yet alleaged; otherwiſe they conſtraine not vs to thinke that the Church is tyed vnto any ſuch rule or axiome, no not then when ſhe hath the wideſt field to walke in, and the greateſt ſtore of choice.

Ier. 51. 9.

11 Againſt ſuch Ceremonies generally as are the ſame in the Church of England and of Rome, we ſee what hath bin hitherto alleaged. Albeit therefore wee doe not find the one Churches hauing of ſuch things, to bee ſufficient cauſe why the other ſhould not haue them: neuertheleſſe in caſe it may be prooued, that amongſt the number of Rites and Orders common vnto both, there are particulars, the vſe whereof is vtterly vnlawful, in regard of ſome ſpeciall bad & noyſome qualitie; there is no doubt but we ought to relinquiſh ſuch Rites and Orders, what freedome ſoeuer we haue to retaine the other ſtil. As therefore we haue heard their generall exception againſt all thoſe things, which being not commanded in the Word of God, were firſt receiued in the Church of Rome, &

Their exception againſt ſuch Ceremonies as we haue receiued from the Church of Rome, that Church hauing taken them from the Iewes.

from thence haue beene deriued into ours, ſo it followeth that now we proceed vnto certaine kinds of them, as being excepted againſt not only for that they are in the Church of Rome, but are beſides either Iewiſh, or abuſed vnto Idolatry, and ſo grown ſcandalous. The Church of Rome, they ſay, being aſhamed of the ſimplicitie of the Goſpell, did almoſt out of all Religions take what ſoeuer had any faire and gorgeous ſhew, borrowing in that reſpect from the Iewes ſundry of their aboliſhed Ceremonies. Thus by fooliſh and ridiculous imitation, all their Maſſing furniture almoſt they tooke from the Law, leſt hauing an Altar and a Prieſt, they ſhould want Veſtments for their Stage; ſo that what ſoeuer we haue in common with the Church of Rome, if the ſame be of this kind we ought to remoue it. CONSTANTINE *the Emperor ſpeaking of the keeping of the Feaſt of Eaſter ſaith, That it is an vnworthy thing to haue any thing common with that moſt ſpitefull company of the Iewes. And a little after he ſaith, that it is moſt abſurd and againſt reaſon, that the Iewes ſhould vaunt and glorie that the Chriſtians could not keepe thoſe things without their Doctrine. And in another place it is ſaid after this ſort; It is conuenient ſo to order the matter, that wee haue nothing common with that Nation. The Councell of Laodicea, which was afterward confirmed by the ſixt generall Councell, decreed that the Chriſtians ſhould not take vnleauened Bread of the Iewes, or communicate with their impietie.* For the eaſier manifeſtation of truth in this point, two things there are which muſt be conſidered, namely, the cauſes wherefore the Church ſhould decline from Iewiſh Ceremonies; and how farre it ought ſo to doe. One cauſe is, that the Iewes were the deadlieſt and ſpiteſulleſt Enemies of Chriſtianitie that were in the World, and in this reſpect their Orders ſo far forth to be ſhunned, as we haue already ſet downe in handling the matter of Heatheniſh Ceremonies. For no Enemies being ſo venemous againſt Chriſt as Iewes, they were of all other moſt odious, and by that meane leaſt to be vſed as fit Church-patternes for imitation. Another cauſe is the ſolemne abrogation of the Iewes Ordinances; which Ordinances for vs to reſume, were to checke our Lord himſelfe which hath diſanulled them. But how farre this ſecond cauſe doth extend, it is not on all ſides fully agreed vpon. And touching thoſe things whereunto it reacheth not, although there be ſmall cauſe wherefore the Church ſhould frame it ſelfe to the Iewes example, in reſpect of their perſons which are moſt hatefull; yet God himſelfe hauing bin the Author of their Lawes, herein they are (notwithſtanding the former conſideration) ſtill worthy to be honored, and to be followed aboue others, as much as the ſtate of things will beare. Iewiſh Ordinances had ſome things naturall, and of the perpetuitie of thoſe things no man doubteth. That which was Poſitiue, wee likewiſe know to haue beene by the comming of Chriſt, partly neceſſarie not to be kept, and partly indifferent to bee kept or not. Of the former kind Circumciſion and Sacrifice were. For this point *Stephen* was accuſed; and the euidence which his Accuſers brought againſt him in iudgement was, *This man ceaſeth not to ſpeake blaſphemous words againſt this holy place and the Law, for we haue heard him ſay that this Ieſus of Nazaret ſhall deſtroy this place, & ſhall change the Ordinances that* MOSES *gaue vs.* True it is that this Doctrine was then taught, which vnbeleeuers condemning for blaſphemy, did therein commit that which they did condemne. The Apoſtles notwithſtanding from whom *Stephen* had receiued it, did not ſo teach the abrogation, no not of thoſe things which

were

Eccleſ. diſcip. fol. 93. And T.C.l.3 p.181. Many of theſe Popiſh Ceremonies fault by reaſon of the pompe in them; where they ſhould be agreeable to the ſimplicitie of the Goſpell of Chriſt crucified.

T.C.lib.1.p.132. Euſeb.l.3.c.17. Socr.1.lib.c.9. To.1.Concil. Laod.can.38.

Act.6.13.14.

were neceſſarily to ceaſe, but that euen the Iewes being Chriſtian, might for a time continue in them. And therfore in Ieruſalem the firſt Chriſtian Biſhop not circumciſed was *Marke*, and he not Biſhop till the daies of *Adrian* the Emperor, after the ouerthrow of Ieruſalem, there hauing bin fifteene Biſhops before him which were all of the Circũciſion. The Chriſtian Iewes did think at the firſt not only themſelues, but the Chriſtian Gentiles alſo bound, and that neceſſarily, to obſerue the whole Law. There went forth certain of the Sect of Phariſes which did beleeue, and they comming vnto Antioch, taught that it was neceſſarie for the Gentiles to bee circumciſed, and to keepe the Law of *Moſes*. Whereupon there grew diſſention, *Paul* and *Barnabas* diſputing againſt them. The determination of the Councel held at Ieruſalem concerning this matter, was finally this, *Touching the Gentiles which beleeue, we haue written and determined that they obſerue no ſuch thing*. Their proteſtation by Letters is, *For as much as wee haue heard that certaine which departed from vs, haue troubled you with words, and cumbred your minds, ſaying, Ye muſt be circumciſed and keepe the Law; know that we gaue no ſuch Commandement.* PAVL therefore continued ſtill teaching the Gentiles, not only that they were not bound to obſerue the Lawes of *Moſes*, but that the obſeruation of thoſe Lawes which were neceſſarily to bee abrogated, was in them altogether vnlawfull. In which point his Doctrine was miſreported, as though he had euerie where preached this, not only concerning the Gentiles, but alſo touching the Iewes. Wherefore comming vnto *Iames* and the reſt of the Cleargie at Ieruſalem, they told him plainely of it, ſaying, *Thou ſeeſt, Brother, how many thouſand Iewes there are which beleeue, and they are all zealous of the Law. Now they are informed of thee, that thou teacheſt all the Iewes which are amongſt the Gentiles, to forſake* MOSES, *and ſayeſt that they ought not to circumciſe their children, neither to liue after the cuſtomes.* And hereupon they gaue him counſell to make it apparant in the eyes of all men, that thoſe flying reports were vntrue, and that himſelfe being a Iew, kept the Law euen as they did. In ſome things therefore we ſee the Apoſtles did teach, that there ought not to bee conformitie betweene the Chriſtian Iewes and Gentiles. How many things this Law of inconformitie did comprehend, there is no need we ſhould ſtand to examine. This general is true, that the Gentiles were not made conformable vnto the Iewes, in that which was neceſſarily to ceaſe at the comming of Chriſt. Touching things poſitiue which might either ceaſe or continue as occaſion ſhould require, the Apoſtles tendering the zeale of the Iewes, thought it neceſſary to bind euen the Gentiles for a time to abſtaine as the Iewes did, from things offered vnto Idols, from bloud, from ſtrangled. Theſe Decrees were euery where deliuered vnto the Gentiles to bee ſtraightly obſerued and kept. In the other matters where the Gentiles were free, and the Iewes in their owne opinion ſtill tyed, the Apoſtles Doctrine vnto the Iew was, *Condemne not the Gentile*; vnto the Gentile, *Deſpiſe not the Iew*: the one ſort they warned to take heed that ſcrupuloſitie did not make them rigorous, in giuing vnaduiſed ſentence againſt their Brethren which were free; the other, that they did not become ſcandalous, by abuſing their libertie and freedome to the offence of their weake Brethren which were ſcrupulous. From hence therefore two concluſions there are which may euidently be drawne; the firſt, that whatſoeuer conformitie of Poſitiue Lawes the Apoſtles did bring in betweene the Churches of Iewes and Gentiles, it was in thoſe things only, which might either

Vide Niceph. l. 3. c. 25. & Sulpit. Seuer. p. 149. in Edit. Plant. *Act. 15.* *Act. 21. 25.* *Act. 15. 24.* *Act. 21. 20.* *Act. 15. 28.* *Act. 16. 4.* *Rom. 14. 10.*

ceaſe or continue a ſhorter or a longer time, as occaſion did moſt require; the ſecond, that they did not impoſe vpon the Churches of the Gentiles, any part of the Iewes Ordinances with bond of neceſſarie and perpetuall obſeruation, (as we all both by Doctrine and practice acknowledge) but only in reſpect of the conueniencie and fitneſſe for the preſent ſtate of the Church as then it ſtood. The words of the Councels Decree concerning the Gentiles are, *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and to vs, to lay vpon you no more burden ſauing only thoſe things of neceſſitie, abſtinence from Idoll offerings, from ſtrangled and bloud, and from fornication.* So that in other things poſitiue which the comming of Chriſt did not neceſſarily extinguiſh, the Gentiles were left altogether free. Neither ought it to ſeeme vnreaſonable, that the Gentiles ſhould neceſſarily be bound and tyed to Iewiſh Ordinances, ſo far forth as that Decree importeth. For to the Iew, who knew that their difference from other Nations which were Aliens and Strangers from God, did eſpecially conſiſt in this, that Gods people had poſitiue Ordinances giuen to them of God himſelfe, it ſeemed maruellous hard, that the Chriſtian Gentiles ſhould be incorporated into the ſame Cõmon-wealth with Gods owne choſen people, and bee ſubiect to no part of his Statutes, more then onely the Law of Nature, which Heathens count themſelues bound vnto. It was an opinion conſtantly receiued amongſt the Iewes, that God did deliuer vnto the Sons of *Noah* ſeuen precepts: namely, to liue in ſome forme of Regiment vnder; Firſt, publike Lawes: Secondly, to ſerue and call vpon the Name of God: Thirdly, to ſhunne Idolatry: Fourthly, not to ſuffer effuſion of bloud: Fiftly, to abhor all vncleane knowledge in the fleſh: Sixtly, to commit no rapine: Seuenthly, & finally, not to eate of any liuing creature whereof the bloud was not firſt let out. If therefore the Gentiles would be exempt from the Law of *Moſes*, yet it might ſeeme hard they ſhould alſo caſt off euen thoſe things poſitiue which were obſerued before *Moſes*, & which were not of the ſame kind with Lawes that were neceſſarily to ceaſe. And peraduenture hereupon the Councell ſaw it expedient to determine, that the Gentiles ſhould according vnto the third, the ſeuenth, and the fift of thoſe Precepts abſtaine from things ſacrificed vnto Idols, from ſtrangled and bloud, and from fornication. The reſt the Gentiles did of their owne accord obſerue, Nature leading them thereunto. And did not Nature alſo teach them to abſtaine from fornication? No doubt it did. Neither can wee with reaſon thinke, that as the former two are poſitiue, ſo likewiſe this, being meant as the Apoſtle doth otherwiſe vſually vnderſtand it. But very marriage within a number of degrees, being not onely by the Law of *Moſes*, but alſo by the Law of the Sonnes of *Noah* (for ſo they tooke it) an vnlawfull diſcouerie of nakedneſſe; this diſcouerie of nakedneſſe by vnlawfull marriages, ſuch as *Moſes* in the Law reckoneth vp, I thinke it for mine owne part more probable to haue beene meant in the words of that Canon, then fornication according vnto the ſenſe of the Law of Nature. Words muſt be taken according to the matter whereof they are vttered. The Apoſtles command to abſtaine from bloud. Conſter this according to the Law of Nature, and it will ſeeme that Homicide only is forbidden. But conſter it in reference to the Law of the Iewes about which the queſtion was, and it ſhall eaſily appeare to haue a cleane other ſenſe, and in any mans iudgement a truer, when we expound it of eating, and not of ſhedding bloud. So if we ſpeake of fornication, he that knoweth no Law but only the Law of nature,

Lib. qui Seder Olam inſcribitur.

ריניז 1
ברכתחשם 2
עא 3
שפיכותרמים 4
גילוישרויות 5
חגזל 6
אבר מין חחי 7

*Heb.*13.4. *1.Cor.*5.11. *Gal.*5.19.

*Leuit.*18.

ture, muſt needes make thereof a narrower conſtruction, then he which meaſureth the ſame by a Law, wherein ſundrie kindes euen of coniugal copulation are prohibited as impure, vncleane, vnhoneſt. *S. Paul* himſelfe doth terme inceſtuous marriage Fornication. If any do rather thinke that the Chriſtian Gentiles themſelues through the looſe and corrupt cuſtome of thoſe times, tooke ſimple fornication for no ſinne, and were in that reſpect offenſiue vnto beleeuing Iewes which by the Law had been better taught; our propoſing of another coniecture, is vnto theirs no preiudice. Some things therefore we ſee there were, wherein the Gentiles were forbidden to be like vnto the Iewes, ſome things wherin they were commanded not to be vnlike. Againe, ſome things alſo there were, wherein no Law of God did let, but that they might be either like or vnlike, as occaſion ſhould require. And vnto this purpoſe *Leo* ſaith, *Apoſtolicall ordinance (beloued) knowing that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt came not into this world to vndoe the Law, hath in ſuch ſort diſtinguiſhed the myſteries of the old Teſtament, that certayne of them it hath choſen out to benefit Euangelicall knowledge withall, and for that purpoſe appointed that thoſe things which before were Iewiſh, might now be Chriſtian cuſtomes.* The cauſe why the Apoſtles did thus conforme the Chriſtians, as much as might be, according to the patterne of the Iewes, was to reyne them in by this meane the more, & to make them cleaue the better. The Church of Chriſt hath had in no one thing ſo many and ſo contrarie occaſions of dealing as about Iudaiſme; ſome hauing thought the whole Iewiſh law wicked and damnable in it ſelfe; ſome not condemning it as the former ſort abſolutely, haue notwithſtanding iudged it either ſooner neceſſary to be abrogated, or further vnlawful to be obſerued then truth can beare; ſome of ſcrupulous ſimplicitie vrging perpetuall and vniuerſall obſeruation of the Law of *Moſes* neceſſary, as the Chriſtian Iewes at the firſt in the Apoſtles times; ſome as Heretikes, holding the ſame no leſſe euen after the contrarie determination ſet downe by conſent of the Church at Ieruſalem; finally, ſome being herein reſolute through meere Infidelitie, and with open profeſt enmitie againſt Chriſt, as vnbeleeuing Iewes. To controll ſlanderers of the Law and Prophets, ſuch as *Marcionites* & *Manichees* were, the Church in her Liturgies hath intermingled with readings out of the new Teſtament, Leſſons taken out of the Law and Prophets; whereunto *Tertullian* alluding, ſaith of the Church of Chriſt, *It intermingleth with Euangelical and Apoſtolical writings, the Law & the Prophets; & from thence it drinketh in that faith, which with water it ſealeth, cloatheth with the Spirit, nouriſheth with the Euchariſt, with Martyrdom ſetteth forward.* They wold haue wondred in thoſe times to heare, that any man being not a fauourer of Hereſie, ſhould terme this by way of diſdain, *mangling of the Goſpels & Epiſtles.* They which honor the Law as an Image of the wiſdom of God himſelfe, are notwithſtanding to know that the ſame had an end in Chriſt. But what? was the Law ſo abliſhed with Chriſt, that after his aſcenſion the office of Prieſts became immediatly wicked, & the very name hateful, as importing the exerciſe of an vngodly function? No, as long as the glory of the Temple continued, and till the time of that finall deſolation was accompliſhed, the very Chriſtian Iewes did continue with their Sacrifices & other parts of legall Seruice. That very Law therefore which our Sauiour was to aboliſh, did not *ſo ſoone* become vnlawful to be obſerued as ſome imagine: nor was it afterwards vnlawful *ſo far*, that the very name of Altar,

1. *Cor.* 5. 1.

Leo in Ieiun. menſ. Sept. Ser. 9

Tertull. de Præſcript. aduerſ. Hæret.

T. C. l. 3. *p.* 171. What an abuſing alſo is it to affirme, the mangling of the Goſpels and Epiſtles to haue beene brought into the Church by Godly and learned men? *T. C. lib.* 1. *p.* 216. Seeing that the office and function of Prieſts was after our Sauiour Chriſts Aſcenſion naught and vngodly: the name whereby they were called which did exerciſe that vngodly function, cannot be otherwiſe taken then in the euill part.

Altar, of Prieſt, of Sacrifice it ſelfe, ſhould be baniſhed out of the world. For though God doe now hate ſacrifice, whether it be Heatheniſh or Iewiſh, ſo that we cannot haue the ſame things which they had, but with impietie; yet vnleſſe there be ſome greater let then the only euacuatiõ of the law of *Moſes*, the names themſelues may (I hope) be retayned without ſin, in reſpect of that proportion which things eſtabliſhed by our Sauiour haue vnto them which by him are abrogated. And ſo throughout al the writings of the anciẽt Fathers we ſee that the words which were doe continue; the only difference is, that whereas before they had a literall, they now haue a metaphoricall vſe, and are as ſo many notes of remembrance vnto vs, that what they did ſignifie in the letter, is accõpliſhed in the truth. And as no man can depriue the Church of this liberty, to vſe names wherunto the Law was accuſtomed; ſo neither are we generally forbidden the vſe of things which the Law hath, though it neither cõmand vs any particularitie, as it did the Iewes a number; & the waightieſt which it did command them, are vnto vs in the Goſpell prohibited. Touching ſuch as through ſimplicitie of error did vrge vniuerſall & perpetuall obſeruation of the law of *Moſes* at the firſt, we haue ſpoken alreadie. Againſt Iewiſh Heretikes & falſe Apoſtles teaching afterwards the ſelfeſame, S. *Paul* in euery Epiſtle commonly either diſputeth or giueth warning. Iewes that were zealous for the law, but withal Infidels in reſpect of Chriſtianitie, and to the name of Ieſus Chriſt moſt ſpitefull enemies, did while they flouriſhed no leſſe perſecute the Church then Heathens. And after their eſtate was ouerthrowne, they were not that way ſo much to be feared. Howbeit becauſe they had their Synagogues in euery famous Citie almoſt throughout the world, and by that meanes great oportunitie to with-draw from the Chriſtian faith, which to doe they ſpared no labour; this gaue the Church occaſion to make ſundrie Lawes againſt them. As in the Councell of Laodicea, *The feſtiuall preſents which Iewes or Heretikes vſe to ſend muſt not be receiued, nor holy dayes ſolemnized in their companie.* Againe, *From the Iewes men ought not to receiue their vnleauened, nor to communicate with their impieties.* Which Councell was afterwards indeede confirmed by the ſixt generall Councell. But what was the true ſenſe or meaning both of the one & the other? Were Chriſtians here forbidden to communicate in vnleauened bread, becauſe the Iewes did ſo being enemies of the Church? He which attentiuely ſhall waigh the words, will ſuſpect that they rather forbid Communion with Iewes, then imitation of them: much more, if with theſe two decrees be compared a third in the Councell of Conſtantinople: *Let no man either of the Clergie or Laytie eate the vnleauened of the Iewes, nor enter into any familiaritie with them, nor ſend for them in ſickneſſe, nor take phyſicke at their hands, nor as much as goe into the Bath with them. If any doe otherwiſe being a Clergyman, let him be depoſed; if being a Lay perſon, let excommunication be his puniſhment.* If theſe Canons were any argument, that they which made them did vtterly condemne ſimilitude betweene the Chriſtians and Iewes, in things indifferent appertaining vnto religion, either becauſe the Iews were enemies vnto the Church, or elſe for that their Ceremonies were abrogated; theſe reaſons had beene as ſtrong and effectuall againſt their keeping the feaſt of Eaſter on the ſame day the Iewes kept theirs, and not according to the cuſtome of the Weſt Church. For ſo they did from the firſt beginning til *Conſtantines* time. For in theſe two things the

Concil. Laod. Can. 37. 38. T.C.l.1.p.132.

T.C.l.3.p.176.

Concil. Conſtantinop. 6. cap. 11.

Eaſt

Eaſt and Weſt Churches did interchangeably both confront the Iewes, and concurre with them: the Weſt Church vſing vnleauened bread, as the Iewes in their Paſſe-ouer did, but differing from them in the day whereon they kept the feaſt of Eaſter; contrariwiſe the Eaſt Church celebrating the feaſt of Eaſter on the ſame day with the Iewes, but not vſing the ſame kind of bread which they did. Now if ſo be the Eaſt Church in vſing leauened bread had done well, either for that the Iewes were enemies to the Church, or becauſe Iewiſh ceremonies were abrogated; how ſhould we thinke but that *Victor* the Biſhop of Rome (whom all iudicious men doe in that behalfe diſallow) did well to be ſo vehement and fierce in drawing them to the like diſſimilitude for the feaſt of Eaſter? Againe, if the Weſt Churches had in either of thoſe two reſpects affected diſſimilitude with the Iewes in the feaſt of Eaſter, what reaſon had they to draw the Eaſterne Church herein vnto them, which reaſon did not enforce them to frame themſelues vnto it in the ceremonie of leauened bread? Difference in Rites ſhould breede no controuerſie betweene one Church and another: but if controuerſie be once bred, it muſt be ended. The feaſt of Eaſter being therefore litigious in the dayes of *Conſtantine*, who honored of all other Churches moſt the Church of Rome, which Church was the Mother from whoſe breſts he had drawn that foode, which gaue him nouriſhment to eternall life; ſith agreement was neceſſarie, and yet impoſſible, vnleſſe the one part were yeelded vnto; his deſire was that of the two the Eaſterne Church ſhould rather yeeld. And to this end hee vſeth ſundrie perſwaſiue ſpeeches. When *Stephen* the Biſhop of Rome going about to ſhew what the Catholike Church ſhould doe, had alleaged what the Heretikes themſelues did, namely, that they receiued ſuch as came vnto them, and offered not to baptize them anew: S. *Cyprian* being of a contrarie minde to him about the matter at that time in queſtion, which was, *Whether Heretikes conuerted ought to be rebaptized, yea or no*, anſwered the allegation of Pope *Stephen* with exceeding great ſtomacke, ſaying, * *To this degree of wretchednesse the Church of God and Spouſe of Chriſt is now come, that her wayes ſhee frameth to the example of Heretikes; that to celebrate the Sacraments which heauenly inſtruction hath deliuered, light it ſelfe doth borrow from darkeneſſe, and Chriſtians doe that which Antichriſts doe.* Now albeit *Conſtantine* haue done that to further a better cauſe, which *Cyprian* did to countenance a worſe, namely, The rebaptization of Heretikes; and haue taken aduantage at the odiouſneſſe of the Iewes, as *Cyprian* of Heretikes, becauſe the Eaſterne Church kept their feaſt of Eaſter alwayes the fourteenth day of the Moneth as the Iewes did, what day of the weeke ſoeuer it fell; or howſoeuer *Conſtantine* did take occaſion in the handling of that cauſe, to ſay, [a] *It is vnworthy to haue any thing common with that ſpitefull Nation of the Iewes*; ſhall euery motiue argument vſed in ſuch kinde of conferences, be made a Rule for others ſtill to conclude the like by, concerning all things of like nature, when as probable inducements may leade them to the contrarie? Let both this and other allegations ſuteable vnto it, ceaſe to barke any longer idlely againſt that truth, the courſe and paſſage whereof it is not in them to hinder.

* *Cypr. ad Pompei. lib. cont. Epiſt. Stephani.*

a Socr. Eccleſ. hiſt. l. 5. c. 21. *Plerique in Aſiâ Minore antiquitus 14. die menſis, nullâ ratione diei Sabbati habitâ hoc feſtum obſeruarunt. Quod dum faciebant, cum eius qui aliam rationem in eodem feſto agendo ſequebantur, vſq; eò nequaquam diſſenſerùt, quoad Victor Epiſc. Romanus ſupra modum iracundiâ inflammatus, omnes in Aſiâ qui erant τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατίτας, appellati excommunicauerit. Ob quod factum Irenæus Epiſcopus Lugduni in Victorem per Epiſtolam, grauiter inuectus eſt.* Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. l. 3. c. 17. *Quid præſtabilius, quidue auguſtius eſſe poterat, quàm vt hoc feſtum per quod ſpem immortalitatis nobis oſtentatam habemus, vno modo & ratione apud omnes integrè ſincereque obſeruaretur? Ac primùm omnium indignum planè videbatur, vt ritum & cõſuetudinem imitantes Iudæorũ,*

(qui quoniam ſuas ipſorum manus immani ſcelere polluerunt, meritò, vt ſceleſtos decet, cæco animorum errore tenentur irretiti) iſtud feſtum ſanctiſsimum ageremus. In noſtrâ enim ſitum eſt poteſtate, vt illorum more reiecto, veriore ac magis ſincero inſtituto, (quod quidem vſque à primâ paſſionis die hactenus recoluimus) huius feſti celebrationem ad poſterorum ſeculorum memoriam propagemus. Nihil igitur ſit nobis cum Iudæorum turbâ omnium odiosâ maximè.

12 But

Their exception againſt ſuch Ceremonies as haue beene abuſed by the Church of Rome, and are ſaid in that reſpect to be ſcandalous.

12 But the waightieſt exception, and of all the moſt worthy to be reſpected, is againſt ſuch kinde of Ceremonies, as haue beene ſo groſſely and ſhamefully abuſed in the Church of Rome, that where they remayne they are ſcandalous, yea they cannot chooſe but be ſtumbling blocks and grieuous cauſes of offence. Concerning this point therefore wee are firſt to note, what properly it is to be ſcandalous or offenſiue: ſecondly, what kinde of Ceremonies are ſuch: and thirdly, when they are neceſſarily for remedy thereof to be taken away, & when not. The common conceit of the vulgar ſort is, whenſoeuer they ſee any thing which they miſlike and are angrie at, to thinke that euery ſuch thing is ſcandalous, and that themſelues in this caſe are the men concerning whom our Sauiour ſpake in ſo fearefull manner, ſaying, *Whoſoeuer ſhall ſcandalize or offend any one of theſe little ones which beleeue in me* [that is, as they conſter it, whoſoeuer ſhall anger the meaneſt and ſimpleſt Artizan which carryeth a good minde, by not remouing out of the Church ſuch Rites and Ceremonies as diſpleaſe him] *better he were drowned in the bottome of the Sea.* But hard were the caſe of the Church of Chriſt, if this were to ſcandalize. Men are ſcandalized when they are moued, led, and prouoked vnto ſinne. At good things euill men may take occaſion to doe euill; and ſo Chriſt himſelfe was a Rock of offence in Iſrael, they taking occaſion at his poore eſtate, and at the ignominie of his Croſſe, to thinke him vnworthy the name of that great and glorious Meſſias, whom the Prophets deſcribe in ſuch ample and ſtately termes. But that which wee therefore terme offenſiue, becauſe it inuiteth men to offend, and by a dumbe kinde of prouocation incourageth, moueth, or any way leadeth vnto ſinne, muſt of neceſſitie be acknowledged actiuely ſcandalous. Now ſome things are ſo euen by their very eſſence and nature, ſo that whereſoeuer they be found, they are not, neither can be without this force of prouocation vnto euill; of which kind all examples of ſinne and wickedneſſe are. Thus *Dauid* was ſcandalous in that bloudie act, whereby he cauſed the enemies of God to be blaſphemous: thus the whole ſtate of Iſrael ſcandalous, when their publique diſorders cauſed the name of God to be ill ſpoken of amongſt the Nations. It is of this kinde that *Tertullian* meaneth: *Offence or ſcandall, if I be not deceiued,* ſaith he, *is when the example not of a good but of an euill thing, doth ſet men forward vnto ſinne. Good things can ſcandalize none ſaue onely euill mindes*: good things haue no ſcandalizing nature in them. Yet that which is of it owne nature either good or at leaſt not euill, may by ſome accident become ſcandalous at certayne times, and in certayne places, and to certayne men, the open vſe thereof neuertheleſſe being otherwiſe without danger. The very nature of ſome Rites and Ceremonies therefore is ſcandalous, as it was in a number of thoſe which the Manichees did vſe, and is in all ſuch as the law of God doth forbid. Some are offenſiue only through the agreement of men to vſe them vnto euill, and not elſe; as the moſt of thoſe things indifferent which the Heathens did to the ſeruice of their falſe gods; which another in heart condemning their Idolatrie, could not doe with them in ſhew and token of approbation, without being guiltie of ſcandall giuen. Ceremonies of this kinde are either deuiſed at the firſt vnto euill; as the Eunomian Heretikes, in diſhonor of the bleſſed Trinitie, brought in the laying on of water but once, to croſſe the cuſtome of the Church, which in Baptiſme did it thrice: or elſe hauing

*Matth.*18.6.

1.*Pet.*2.8.

2.*Sam.*12.14. *Rom.*2.24. *Ezech.*36.20.

Tertull. lib. de Virgin. veland.

uing had a profitable vſe, they are afterwards interpreted & wreſted to the contrary; as thoſe Heretikes which held the Trinitie to be three diſtinct not perſons but natures, abuſed the ceremonie of three times laying on water in Baptiſme vnto the ſtrengthning of their Hereſie. The element of water is in Baptiſme neceſſary: once to lay it on or twice is indifferent. For which cauſe *Gregorie* making mention thereof, ſaith, *To diue an Infant either thrice or but once in Baptiſme, can be no way a thing reproueable, ſeeing that both in three times waſhing, the Trinitie of perſons: and in one, the vnitie of God-head may be ſignified.* So that of theſe two ceremonies, neither being hurtfull in it ſelfe, both may ſerue vnto good purpoſe; yet one was deuiſed, and the other conuerted vnto euill. Now whereas in the Church of Rome certayne ceremonies are ſaid to haue been ſhamefully abuſed vnto euill, as the ceremonie of croſſing at Baptiſme, of kneeling at the Euchariſt, of vſing Wafer-cakes, and ſuch like; the queſtion is, whether for remedie of that euill wherein ſuch ceremonies haue beene ſcandalous, and perhaps may be ſtill vnto ſome euen amongſt our ſelues, whom the preſence and ſight of them may confirme in that former error whereto they ſerued in times paſt, they are of neceſſitie to be remoued. Are theſe or any other Ceremonies we haue common with the Church of Rome, ſcandalous and wicked in their very nature? This no man obiecteth. Are any ſuch, as haue beene polluted from their very birth, and inſtituted euen at the firſt vnto that thing which is euill? That which hath beene ordayned impiouſly at the firſt, may weare out that impietie in tract of time; and then what doth let, but that the vſe thereof may ſtand without offence? The names of our Moneths and of our Dayes, we are not ignorant from whence they came, and with what diſhonor vnto God they are ſaid to haue beene deuiſed at the firſt. What could be ſpoken againſt any thing more effectuall to ſtirre hatred, then that which ſometime the ancient Fathers in this caſe ſpeake? Yet thoſe very names are at this day in vſe throughout Chriſtendome, without hurt or ſcandall to any. Cleere and manifeſt it is; that things deuiſed by Heretikes, yea deuiſed of a very hereticall purpoſe euen againſt Religion, and at their firſt deuiſing worthy to haue beene withſtood, may in time grow meete to be kept; as that cuſtome, the Inuenters whereof were the Eunomian Heretikes. So that cuſtomes once eſtabliſhed and confirmed by long vſe, being preſently without harm, are not in regard of their corrupt original to be held ſcandalous. But concerning thoſe our ceremonies, which they reckon for moſt Popiſh, they are not able to auouch that any of them was otherwiſe inſtituted, then vnto good; yea ſo vſed at the firſt. It followeth then that they all are ſuch, as hauing ſerued to good purpoſe, were afterward conuerted vnto the contrary. And ſith it is not ſo much as obiected againſt vs, that we retayne together with them the euil, wherwith they haue bin infected in the Church of Rome: I would demand who they are whom we ſcandalize, by vſing harmles things vnto that good end for which they were firſt inſtituted. Amongſt our ſelues that agree in the approbation of this kinde of good vſe, no man wil ſay that one of vs is offenſiue and ſcandalous vnto another.

Epiſt. ad Leandrum Hiſp.

Hom. 11. de Paſch. *Idololatriæ conſuetudo in tantum homines occæcauerat; vt Solis, Lunæ, Martis atque Mercurÿ, Iouis, Veneris, Saturni, & diuerſis elementorum ac Dæmonum appellationibus dies vocitarent, & luci tenebrarum nomen imponerent.* Beda de ratione temp. c. 4. *Octauus dies idem primus eſt, ad quem reditur, indeq; rurſus Hebdomada inchoatur. His nomina à planetis Gentilitas indidit, habere ſe credentes à Sole Spiritum, à Luna Corpus, à Marte Sanguinem, à Mercurio Ingenium & Linguam, à Ioue Temperantiam, à Venere Voluptatem, à Saturno Tarditatem.* Iſid. Hiſp. lib. 5. Etymol. c. 30. *Dies dicti à Dijs, quorum nomina Romani quibuſdam ſyderibus ſacrauerunt.*

As

As for the fauourers of the Church of Rome, they know how farre we herein differ & diſſent from them; which thing neither we conceale; and they by their publike writings alſo profeſſe daily how much it grieueth them: ſo that of them there will not many riſe vp againſt vs, as witneſſes vnto the Inditement of ſcandall, whereby we might be condemned and caſt, as hauing ſtrengthned them in that euill wherewith they pollute themſelues in the vſe of the ſame ceremonies. And concerning ſuch as withſtand the Church of England herein, & hate it becauſe it doth not ſufficiently ſeeme to hate Rome, they (I hope) are far enough from being by this meane drawne to any kinde of Popiſh error. The multitude therefore of them, vnto whom we are ſcandalous through the vſe of abuſed ceremonies, is not ſo apparent, that it can iuſtly be ſaid in generall of any one ſort of men or other, we cauſe them to offend. If it be ſo that now or then ſome few are eſpyed, who hauing beene accuſtomed heretofore to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Rome, are not ſo ſcowred of their former ruſt, as to forſake their ancient perſwaſion which they haue had, howſoeuer they frame themſelues to outward obedience of Lawes & Orders; becauſe ſuch may miſconſter the meaning of our ceremonies, and ſo take them as though they were in euery ſort the ſame they haue beene, ſhall this be thought a reaſon ſufficient whereon to conclude, that ſome Law muſt neceſſarily be made to aboliſh al ſuch ceremonies? They anſwere, that there is no Law of God which doth bind vs to retayne them. And S. *Pauls* rule is, that in thoſe things from which without hurt we may lawfully abſtaine, wee ſhould frame the vſage of our libertie with regard to the weakeneſſe and imbecillitie of our brethren. Wherefore vnto them which ſtood
1. Cor. 6. 12. vpon their owne defence, ſaying, *All things are lawfull vnto me*; he replyeth, *But all things are not expedient* in regard of others. All things are cleane, all meates are lawfull; but euill vnto that man that eateth offenſiuely. If for thy meates ſake
Rom. 14. thy brother be grieued, thou walkeſt no longer according to charitie. Deſtroy
Rom 15. 1. not him with thy meate, for whom Chriſt dyed. Diſſolue not for foodes ſake the worke of God. We that are ſtrong, muſt beare the imbecillities of the impotent, and not pleaſe our ſelues. It was a weakeneſſe in the Chriſtian Iewes, and a maime of iudgement in them, that they thought the Gentiles polluted by the eating of thoſe meates, which themſelues were afraid to touch, for feare of tranſgreſſing the Law of *Moſes*; yea, hereat their hearts did ſo much riſe, that the Apoſtle had iuſt cauſe to feare, leſt they would rather forſake Chriſtianitie, then endure any fellowſhip with ſuch, as made no conſcience of that which was vnto them abominable. And for this cauſe mention is made of deſtroying the weake by meats, and of diſſoluing the worke of God, which was his Church, a part of the liuing ſtones whereof were beleeuing Iewes. Now thoſe weake brethren before mentioned are ſaid to be as the Iewes were, and our ceremonies which haue been abuſed in the Church of Rome, to be as the ſcandalous meats from which the Gentiles are exhorted to abſtaine in the preſence of Iewes, for feare of auerting them from Chriſtian faith. Therfore as Charitie did bind them to refrain from that for their brethrēs ſake, which otherwiſe was lawfull enough for them; ſo it bindeth vs for our brethrens ſake likewiſe to aboliſh ſuch ceremonies, although we might lawfully elſe retaine them. But betweene theſe two caſes there are great ods. For neither are our weake brethren as the Iewes, nor the

the Ceremonies which we vſe as the meates which the Gentiles vſed. The Iewes were knowne to be generally weake in that reſpect; wheras contrariwiſe the imbecillity of ours is not common vnto ſo many, that we can take any ſuch certain notice of them. It is a chance if here and there ſome one be found; and therefore ſeeing we may preſume men commonly otherwiſe, there is no neceſſity that our practice ſhould frame it ſelfe by that which the Apoſtle doth preſcribe to the Gentiles. Againe, their vſe of meates was not like vnto our Ceremonies; that being a matter of priuate action in common life, where euery man was free to order that which himſelfe did; but this a publike conſtitution for the ordering of the Church: and we are not to looke that the Church ſhould change her publike Lawes and Ordinances, made according to that which is iudged ordinarily and commonly fitteſt for the whole, although it chance that for ſome particular men the ſame be found inconuenient, eſpecially when there may be other remedy alſo againſt the ſores of particular inconueniences. In this caſe therefore where any priuate harme doth grow, wee are not to reiect inſtruction, as being an vnmeete plaſter to apply vnto it; neither can we ſay that he which appointeth Teachers for Phyſicians in this kind of euill, is as if a man *would ſet one to watch a child all day long leſt he ſhould hurt himſelfe with a knife, whereas by taking away the knife from him, the danger is auoided, and the ſeruice of the man better imployed.* For a knife may bee taken away from a childe, without depriuing them of the benefit thereof which haue yeeres and diſcretion to vſe it. But the Ceremonies which children doe abuſe, if wee remoue quite and cleane, as it is by ſome required that wee ſhould; then are they not taken from children onely, but from others alſo; which is as though becauſe children may perhaps hurt themſelues with kniues, wee ſhould conclude, that therefore the vſe of kniues is to bee taken quite and cleane euen from men alſo. Thoſe particular Ceremonies which they pretend to be ſo ſcandalous, we ſhal in the next Booke haue occaſion more throughly to ſift, where other things alſo traduced in the publike duties of the Church whereunto each of theſe appertaineth, are together with theſe to be touched, and ſuch reaſons to be examined as haue at any time bin brought eyther againſt the one or the other. In the meane while againſt the conueniencie of curing ſuch euils by inſtruction, ſtrange it is that they ſhould obiect the multitude of other neceſſary matters, wherein Preachers may better beſtow their time, then in giuing men warning not to abuſe Ceremonies; a wonder it is that they ſhould obiect this, which haue ſo many yeeres together troubled the Church with quarrels concerning theſe things, and are euen to this very houre ſo earneſt in them, that if they write or ſpeake publikely but fiue wordes, one of them is lightly about the dangerous eſtate of the Church of England in reſpect of abuſed Ceremonies. How much happier had it beene for this whole Church, if they which haue rayſed contention therein about the abuſe of Rites and Ceremonies, had conſidered in due time that there is indeed ſtore of matters fitter and better a great deale for Teachers to ſpend time and labour in? It is through their importunate and vehement aſſeuerations, more then through any ſuch experience which wee haue had of our owne, that wee are enforced to thinke it poſſible for one or other now and then, at leaſt-

Vide Harmenop. l. 1. tit. 1. §. 28.

T. C. l. 3. p. 178.

T. C. l. 3. p. 177. It is not ſo conuenient that the Miniſter hauing ſo many neceſſary points to beſtow his time in, ſhould bee driuen to ſpend it in giuing warning of not abuſing them, of which (although they were vſed to the beſt) there is no profit.

wiſe in the prime of the Reformation of our Church, to haue ſtumbled at ſome kind of Ceremonies. Wherein for as much as we are contented to take this vpon their credit, and to thinke it may bee; ſith alſo they further pretend the ſame to be ſo dangerous a ſnare to their ſoules, that are at any time taken therein, they muſt giue our Teachers leaue for the ſauing of thoſe ſoules (bee they neuer ſo few) to intermingle ſometime with other more neceſſary things, admonition concerning theſe not vnneceſſary. Wherein they ſhould in reaſon more eaſily yeeld this leaue, conſidering that hereunto we ſhal not need to vſe the hundreth part of that time, which themſelues thinke very needfull to beſtow in making moſt bitter Inuectiues againſt the Ceremonies of the Church.

Our Ceremonies excepted againſt, for that ſome Churches reformed before ours haue caſt out thoſe things, which wee notwithſtanding their example to the contrary doe retaine ſtill.

13 But to come to the laſt point of all, the Church of England is grieuouſly charged with forgetfulneſſe of her dutie, which dutie had beene to frame her ſelfe vnto the patterne of their example, that went before her in the Worke of Reformation. For *as the Churches of Chriſt ought to be moſt vnlike the Synagogue of Antichriſt in their indifferent Ceremonies; ſo they ought to be moſt like one vnto another, and for preſeruation of vnity to haue as much as poſſible may be all the ſame Ceremonies. And* T.C. lib. 1. p. 133.

1. Cor. 16. 1. *therefore* S. Paul *to eſtabliſh this order in the Church of Corinth, That they ſhould make their gatherings for the Poore vpon the firſt day of the Sabbath (which is our Sunday) alleageth this for a reaſon, that he had ſo ordained in other Churches.* Againe, *as children of one father, and ſeruants of one family, ſo all Churches ſhould not only haue one dyet in that they haue one Word, but alſo weare as it were one Liuery in vſing the ſame Ceremonies.*

Can. 20. Thirdly, *this rule did the great Councell of Nice follow, when it ordained, that where certaine at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt did pray kneeling, they ſhould pray ſtanding; the reaſon whereof is added, which is, that one cuſtome ought to bee kept throughout all Churches. It is true that the diuerſitie of Ceremonies ought not to cauſe the Churches to diſſent one with another: but yet it maketh moſt to the anoyding of diſſention, that there bee amongſt them an vnitie, not onely in Doctrine, but alſo in Ceremonies. And therefore our forme of Seruice is to be amended, not only for that it commeth too neere that of the Papiſts, but alſo becauſe it is ſo different from that of the Reformed Churches.* Being asked to what Churches ours ſhould conforme it ſelfe, & why other Reformed Churches ſhould not as well frame themſelues to ours; their anſwere is, *That if there be any Ceremonies which we haue better then others, they ought to frame themſelues to vs: if they haue better then wee, then we ought to frame our ſelues to them: if the Ceremonies be alike commodious, the later Churches ſhould conforme themſelues to the firſt, as the yonger daughter to the elder. For as* S. Paul *in the members, where al other things are equall, noteth it for a marke of honour aboue the reſt, that one is called before another to the Goſpel: ſo is it for the ſame cauſe amongſt the Churches. And in this reſpect he pincheth the Corinths, that not being the firſt which receiued the Goſpel, yet they would haue their ſeuerall manners from other Churches. Moreouer where the Ceremonies are alike commodious, the fewer ought to conforme themſelues vnto the moe. For as much therefore as all the Churches* (ſo farre as they know which plead after this manner) *of our confeſſion in Doctrine, agree in the abrogation of diuers things which wee retaine: our Church ought eyther to ſhew that they haue done euill, or elſe ſhee is found to bee in fault that doth not conforme her ſelfe in that, which ſhee cannot denie to bee well abrogated.*

The Canon of that Councell which is here cited, doth prouide againſt kneeling at Prayer on Sundayes, or for fifty dayes after Eaſter on any day, and not at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt onely.

T.C. lib. 1. pag. 182. 183.

Rom. 16. 5. 7.

1. Cor. 14. 37.

In

In this axiome that preſeruation of peace and vnity amongſt Chriſtian Churches ſhould be by all good meanes procured, we ioyne moſt willingly and gladly with them. Neither deny we but that to the auoyding of diſſention it auaileth much, that there be amongſt them an vnitie as well in Ceremonies as in Doctrine. The only doubt is about the māner of their vnitie, how far Churches are bound to be vniforme in their ceremonies, & what way they ought to take for that purpoſe. Touching the one, the rule which they haue ſet downe is, that in ceremonies indifferent all Churches ought to be one of them vnto another as like as *poſsibly* they may be. Which *poſsibly* we cannot otherwiſe conſter, then that it doth require them to be euen as like as they may be, without breaking any Poſitiue Ordinance of God. For the ceremonies wherof we ſpeake, being matter of Poſitiue Law; they are indifferent, if God haue neither himſelfe commanded nor forbidden them, but left them vnto the Churches diſcretion. So that if as great vniformity be required as is poſſible in theſe things, ſeeing that the law of God forbiddeth not any one of them; it followeth, that from the greateſt vnto the leaſt they muſt be in euery Chriſtian Church the ſame, except meere impoſſibility of ſo hauing it be the hindrance. To vs this opinion ſeemeth ouer-extreme & violent: we rather incline to thinke it a iuſt and reaſonable cauſe for any Church, the ſtate whereof is free and independent, if in theſe things it differ from other Churches, only for that it doth not iudge it ſo fit and expedient to be framed therein by the patterne of their example, as to be otherwiſe framed then they. That of *Gregorie* vnto *Leander* is a charitable ſpeech and a peaceable: *In vnâ fide nil officit Eccleſiæ ſanctæ conſuetudo diuerſa; where the faith of the holy Church is one, a difference in cuſtomes of the Church doth no harme.* That of S. *Auguſtine* to *Caſſulanus* is ſomewhat particular, and toucheth what kinde of ceremonies they are, wherin one Church may varie from the example of another without hurt: *Let the faith of the whole Church, how wide ſoeuer it haue ſpredst ſelfe, be alwayes one, although the vnitie of beliefe be famous for varietie of certayne ordinances, whereby that which is rightly beleeued ſuffereth no kinde of let or impediment.* CALVIN goeth further, *As concerning rites in particular let the ſentence of* AVGVSTINE *take place, which leaueth it free vnto all Churches to receiue their owne cuſtome. Yea, ſometime it profiteth and is expedient that there be difference, leſt men ſhould thinke that Religion is tyed to outward ceremonies. Alwayes prouided that there be not any emulation, nor that Churches delighted with nouelty, affect to haue that which others haue not.* They which grant it true that the diuerſitie of ceremonies in this kinde ought not to cauſe diſſention in Churches, muſt either acknowledge that they grant in effect nothing by theſe wordes; or if any thing be granted, there muſt as much be yeelded vnto, as we affirme againſt their former ſtrict Aſſertion. For if Churches be vrged by way of dutie to take ſuch Ceremonies as they like not of; how can diſſention be auoyded? Will they ſay that there ought to be no diſſention, becauſe ſuch as are vrged ought to like of that whereunto they are vrged? If they ſay this, they ſay iuſt nothing. For how ſhould any Church like to be vrged of dutie, by ſuch as haue no authoritie or power ouer it, vnto thoſe things which being indifferent it is not of dutie bound vnto them? Is it their meaning, that there ought to be no diſſention, becauſe that which Churches are not bound vnto, no man ought by way of dutie to vrge vpon them; and if any man doe, he ſtandeth in the ſight both of

Reſpon. ad Mediol.

God and men moſt iuſtly blameable, as a needles Diſturber of the Peace of Gods Church, and an Author of Diſſention? In ſaying this they both condemne their owne practice, when they preſſe the Church of England with ſo ſtrict a bond of dutie in theſe things, and they ouerthrow the ground of their practice, which is, that there ought to be in all kind of Ceremonies vniformitie, vnleſſe impoſſibilitie hinder it. For proofe whereof it is not enough to alleage what Saint *Paul* did about the matter of collections, or what Noble men doe in the Liueries of their Seruants, or what the Councell of Nice did for ſtanding in time of Prayer on certaine daies: becauſe though S. *Paul* did will them of the Church of Corinth euery man to lay vp ſomewhat by him vpon the Sunday and to reſerue it in ſtore, till himſelfe did come thither to ſend it vnto the Church of Ieruſalem for reliefe of the Poore there; ſignifying withall that he had taken the like order with the Churches of Galatia; yet the reaſon which he yeeldeth of this order taken both in the one place & the other, ſheweth the leaſt part of his meaning to haue beene that, whereunto his words are writhed. *Concerning collection for the Saints* (he meaneth them of Ieruſalem) *as I haue giuen order to the Church of Galatia, ſo likewiſe doe yee*, (ſayth the Apoſtle) *that is, in euery firſt of the Weeke let each of you lay aſide by himſelfe, and reſerue according to that which God hath bleſſed him with, that when I come, collections be not then to make; and that when I am come, whom you ſhall chooſe, them I may forthwith ſend away by Letters to carry your beneficence vnto Ieruſalem.* Out of which wordes to conclude the dutie of vniformity throughout all Churches in all manner of indifferent Ceremonies will be very hard, and therefore beſt to giue it ouer. But perhaps they are by ſo much the more loth to forſake this argument, for that it hath, though nothing elſe, yet the name of Scripture, to giue it ſome kind of countenance more then the next of liuery coats affoordeth them. For neither is it any mans duty to cloath all his Children, or all his Seruants with one Weed; nor theirs to cloath themſelues ſo, if it were left to their owne iudgements, as theſe Ceremonies are left of God to the iudgement of the Church. And ſeeing Churches are rather in this caſe like diuers Families, then like diuers Seruants of one Family; becauſe euery Church, the State whereof is independent vpon any other, hath authoritie to appoint Orders for it ſelfe in things indifferent; therefore of the two wee may rather inferre, that as one Family is not abridged of libertie to be clothed in Friers Gray, for that another doth weare Clay-Colour; ſo neyther are all Churches bound to the ſelfe ſame indifferent Ceremonies which it liketh ſundry to vſe. As for that Canon in the Councell of Nice, let them but reade it and weigh it well. The ancient vſe of the Church throughout all Chriſtendome was, for fiftie dayes after Eaſter (which fiftie dayes were called Pentecoſt, though moſt commonly the laſt day of them which is Whitſunday bee ſo called) in like ſort on all the Sundayes throughout the whole Yeere their manner was to ſtand at Prayer, whereupon their meetings vnto that purpoſe on thoſe dayes had the name of *Stations* giuen them. Of which cuſtome *Tertullian* ſpeaketh in this wiſe; *It is not with vs thought fit eyther to faſt on the Lords Day, or to pray kneeling. The ſame immunitie from faſting and kneeling we keepe all the time which is betweene the Feaſts of Eaſter and Pentecoſt.*

T.C.l.1.p.133. And therefore S. *Paul*, to eſtabliſh this order in the Church of Corinth, that they ſhould make their gatherings for the Poore vpon the firſt day of the Sabbath, (which is our Sunday) alleageth this for a reaſon, that he had ſo ordained in other Churches.

1. *Cor.* 16. 1.

T.C.l.3.p.133. So that as children of one father, and ſeruants of one Maſter, he will haue all the Churches not only haue one diet in that they haue one word, but alſo weare, as it were one Liuerie in vſing the ſame Ceremonies.

T.C.l.1.p.133. This rule did the great Councell of Nice follow, &c.

Die Dominico & per omnem Pentecoſtem, nec de geniculis adorare, & ieiunium ſoluere. De Coro. Militis.

This

This being therefore an order generally receiued in the Church; when ſome began to bee ſingular and different from all others, and that in a Ceremonie which was then iudged very conuenient for the whole Church euen by the whole, thoſe few excepted which brake out of the common pale: the Councell of Nice thought good to incloſe them againe with the reſt, by a Law made in this ſort: *Becauſe there are certaine which will needes kneele at the time of Prayer on the Lords Day, and in the fiftie dayes after Eaſter, the Holy Synode iudging it meete that a conuenient cuſtome bee obſerued throughout all Churches, hath decreed, that ſtanding wee make our Prayers to the Lord.* Whereby it plainely appeareth, that in things indifferent, what the whole Church doth thinke conuenient for the whole, the ſame if any part doe wilfully violate, it may bee reformed and inrayled againe by that generall Authoritie whereunto each particular is ſubiect, and that the Spirit of ſingularitie in a few ought to giue place vnto publike iudgement; this doth cleerely enough appeare: but not that all Chriſtian Churches are bound in euery indifferent Ceremonie to bee vniforme; becauſe where the whole hath not tyed the parts vnto one and the ſame thing, they being therein left each to their owne choice, may either doe, as other doe or elſe otherwiſe, without any breach of dutie at all. Concerning thoſe indifferent things, wherein it hath beene heretofore thought good that all Chriſtian Churches ſhould bee vniforme, the way which they now conceiue to bring this to paſſe was then neuer thought on. For till now it hath beene iudged, that ſeeing the Law of God doth not preſcribe all particular Ceremonies which the Church of Chriſt may vſe, and in ſo great variety of them as may be found out, it is not poſſible that the Law of nature and reaſon ſhould direct all Churches vnto the ſame things, each deliberating by it ſelfe what is moſt conuenient: the way to eſtabliſh the ſame things indifferent throughout them all, muſt needs bee the iudgement of ſome iudicial authoritie drawne into one onely ſentence, which may be a rule for euery particular to follow. And becauſe ſuch authoritie ouer all Churches, is too much to be granted vnto any one mortall man; there yet remaineth that which hath beene alwaies followed, as the beſt, the ſafeſt, the moſt ſincere and reaſonable way, namely, the verdict of the whole Church orderly taken, and ſet downe in the aſſembly of ſome generall Councell. But to maintaine that all Chriſtian Churches ought for vnities ſake to bee vniforme in all Ceremonies, and then to teach that the way of bringing this to paſſe muſt be by mutual imitation, ſo that where we haue better Ceremonies then others, they ſhall be bound to follow vs, and wee them where theirs are better: how ſhould wee thinke it agreeable and conſonant vnto reaſon? For ſith in things of this nature there is ſuch varietie of particular inducements, whereby one Church may be led to thinke that better, which another Church led by other inducements iudgeth to bee worſe: (For example, the Eaſt Church did think it better to keep Eaſter day after the manner of the Iewes, the Weſt Church better to doe otherwiſe; the Greeke Church iudgeth it worſe to vſe vnleauened bread in the Euchariſt, the Latine Church leauened: one Church eſteemeth it not ſo good to receiue the Euchariſt ſitting as ſtanding, another Church not ſo good ſtanding as ſitting; there being on the one ſide probable Motiues as well as on the other:) vnleſſe they adde ſomewhat elſe to define more certainly what Ceremonies ſhall ſtand for beſt, in ſuch ſort

that all Churches in the World ſhal know them to be the beſt, and ſo know them that there may not remaine any queſtion about this point, we are not a whit the neerer for that they haue hitherto ſaid. They themſelues although reſolued in their owne iudgements what Ceremonies are beſt, the foreſeeing that ſuch as they are addicted vnto, be not all ſo cleerly and ſo incomparably beſt, but others there are or may bee at leaſtwiſe when all things are well conſidered as good, knew not which way ſmoothly to rid their hands of this matter, without prouiding ſome more certaine rule to be followed for eſtabliſhment of vniformitie in Ceremonies, when there are diuers kinds of equall goodneſſe; and therefore in this caſe they ſay, that the later Churches and the fewer ſhould conforme themſelues vnto the elder and the moe. Hereupon they conclude, that for as much as all the Reformed Churches (ſo farre as they know) which are of our confeſſion in Doctrine, haue agreed already in the abrogation of diuers things which we retaine: our Church ought eyther to ſhew that they haue done euill, or elſe ſhe is found to be in fault for not conforming her ſelfe to thoſe Churches, in that which ſhe cannot denie to be in them well abrogated. For the authoritie of the firſt Churches, (and thoſe they account to be the firſt in this cauſe which were firſt reformed) they bring the compariſon of yonger Daughters conforming themſelues in attire to the example of their elder Siſters; wherein there is iuſt as much ſtrength of reaſon as in the Liuery Coates before mentioned. S. *Paul* they ſay, noteth it for a marke of ſpeciall honour, that *Epænetus* was the firſt man in all Achaia which did imbrace the Chriſtian faith; after the ſame ſort hee toucheth it alſo as a ſpeciall preeminence of *Iunias* and *Andronicus*, that in Chriſtianitie they were his Ancients; the Corinthians hee pincheth with this demand, *Hath the word of God gone out from you, or hath it lighted on you alone?* But what of all this? If any man ſhould thinke that alacritie and forwardneſſe in good things doth adde nothing vnto mens commendation; the two former ſpeeches of S. *Paul* might lead him to reforme his iudgement. In like ſort to take downe the ſtomacke of proud conceited men, that glory as though they were able to ſet all others to ſchoole, there can be nothing more fit then ſome ſuch words as the Apoſtles third ſentence doth containe; wherein he teacheth the Church of Corinth to know, that there was no ſuch great odds betweene them and the reſt of their brethren, that they ſhould thinke themſelues to bee Gold, and the reſt to be but Copper. He therefore vſeth ſpeech vnto them to this effect: *Men inſtructed in the knowledge of Ieſus Chriſt there both were before you, and are beſides you in the World; ye neyther are the Fountaine from which firſt, nor yet the Riuer into which alone the Word hath flowed.* But although as *Epænetus* was the firſt man in all Achaia, ſo Corinth had beene the firſt Church in the whole World that receiued Chriſt: the Apoſtle doth not ſhew that in any kind of things indifferent whatſoeuer, this ſhould haue made their example a Law vnto all others. Indeed the example of ſundry Churches for approbation of one thing doth ſway much; but yet ſtil as hauing the force of an example onely, and not of a Law. They are effectuall to moue any Church, vnleſſe ſome greater thing doe hinder; but they bind none, no not though they bee many; ſauing onely when they are the Maior part of a generall Aſſembly, and then their voyces being moe in number muſt ouer-ſway their iudgements who are fewer, becauſe in ſuch caſes the greater halfe is the whole.

T.C.l.3.p.183. If the Ceremonies bee alike commodious, the later Churches ſhould conforme themſelues to the firſt, &c. And againe; The fewer ought to conforme themſelues vnto the moe.

Rom.16.5.

1.Cor.14.36.

whole. But as they ſtand out ſingle each of them by it ſelfe, their number can purchaſe them no ſuch Authoritie, that the reſt of the Churches being fewer ſhould be therefore bound to follow them, and to relinquiſh as good Ceremonies as theirs for theirs. Whereas therefore it is concluded out of theſe ſo weake Premiſſes, that the retaining of diuers things in the Church of England, which other reformed Churches haue caſt out, muſt needs argue that we doe not well, vnleſſe wee can ſhew that they haue done ill; what needed this wreſt to draw out from vs an accuſation of forraine Churches? It is not proued as yet, that if they haue done wel, our dutie is to follow them, and to forſake our owne courſe, becauſe it differeth from theirs, although indeed it bee as well for vs euery way, as theirs for them. And if the proofes alleaged for confirmation hereof had beene ſound, yet ſeeing they lead no further then onely to ſhew, that where we can haue no better Ceremonies, theirs muſt be taken; as they cannot with modeſtie thinke themſelues to haue found out abſolutely the beſt which the wit of men may deuiſe, ſo liking their owne ſomewhat better then other mens, euen becauſe they are their own, they muſt in equity allow vs to be like vnto them in this affection; which if they doe, they eaſe vs of that vncourteous burden, whereby we are charged either to condemne them, or elſe to follow them. They grant wee need not follow them, if our owne wayes alreadie bee better. And if our own be but equal, the Law of common Indulgence alloweth vs to thinke them at the leaſt halfe a thought the better, becauſe they are our owne; which wee may very well doe, and neuer draw any Inditement at all againſt theirs, but thinke commendably euen of them alſo.

T.c.l.3.p.183. Our Church ought eyther to ſhew that they haue done euill, or elſe ſhe is found to be in fault that doth not conforme her ſelfe in that which ſhe cannot denie to bee well abrogated.

14 To leaue reformed Churches therefore and their actions for him to iudge of, in whoſe ſight they are as they are, and our deſire is that they may euen in his ſight bee found ſuch, as wee ought to endeuour by all meanes that our owne may likewiſe bee: ſomewhat wee are enforced to ſpeake by way of ſimple Declaration, concerning the proceedings of the Church of England in theſe affaires; to the end that men whoſe minds are free from thoſe partiall conſtructions, whereby the only name of difference from ſome other Churches is thought cauſe ſufficient to condemne ours, may the better diſcerne whether that wee haue done bee reaſonable, yea or no. The Church of England being to alter her receiued Lawes concerning ſuch Orders, Rites and Ceremonies, as had beene in former times an hinderance vnto Pietie and Religious Seruice of God, was to enter into conſideration firſt, that the change of Lawes, eſpecially concerning matter of Religion, muſt bee warily proceeded in. Lawes, as all other things humane, are many times full of imperfection, and that which is ſuppoſed behoofefull vnto men, prooueth oftentimes moſt pernicious. The wiſedome which is learned by tract of time, findeth the Lawes that haue beene in former Ages eſtabliſht, needfull in later to bee abrogated. Beſides, that which ſometime is expedient, doth not alwayes ſo continue: and the number of needleſſe Lawes vnabroliſht, doth weaken the force of them that are neceſſarie. But true withall it is, that alteration though it be from worſe to better, hath in it inconueniences and thoſe waightie; vnleſſe it bee in ſuch Lawes as haue beene made vpon ſpeciall occaſions, which occaſions ceaſing, Lawes of that kind doe abrogate themſelues. But when we abrogate a Law as being ill made, the

A Declaration of the proceedings of the Church of England, for eſtabliſhment of things as they are.

the whole cauſe for which it was made ſtill remayning; do we not herein reuoke our very owne deed, and vpbraid our ſelues with folly, yea, all that were makers of it with ouer-ſight and with error? Further, if it be a Law which the cuſtome and continuall practice of many ages or yeeres hath confirmed in the mindes of men, to alter it muſt needes be troubleſome and ſcandalous. It amazeth them, it cauſeth them to ſtand in doubt, whether any thing be in it ſelfe by nature either good or euill, and not all things rather ſuch as men at this or that time agree to account of them, when they behold euen thoſe things diſproued, diſanulled, reiected, which vſe had made in a manner naturall. What haue we to induce men vnto the willing obedience and obſeruation of Lawes, but the waight of ſo many mens iudgement, as haue with deliberate aduice aſſented thereunto; the waight of that long experience, which the world hath had thereof with conſent and good liking? So that to change any ſuch Law, muſt needes with the common ſort impaire and weaken the force of thoſe grounds, whereby all Lawes are made effectuall. Notwithſtanding, we doe not deny alteration of Lawes to be ſometimes a thing neceſſarie; as when they are vnnaturall, or impious, or otherwiſe hurtfull vnto the publique communitie of men, and againſt that good for which humane ſocieties were inſtituted. When the Apoſtles of our Lord and Sauiour were ordayned to alter the Lawes of Heatheniſh religion receiued throughout the whole world; choſen I grant they were (*Paul* excepted) the reſt ignorant, poore, ſimple, vn-ſchooled altogether and vn-lettered men: howbeit extraordinarily indued with ghoſtly wiſedome from aboue before they euer vndertooke this enterpriſe, yea, their authoritie confirmed by miracle, to the end it might plainely appeare that they were the Lords Ambaſſadors, vnto whoſe Soueraigne power for all fleſh to ſtoope, for all the Kingdomes of the earth to yeeld themſelues willingly conformable in whatſoeuer ſhould be required, it was their duetie. In this caſe therefore their oppoſitions in maintenance of publique ſuperſtition againſt Apoſtolique endeuours, as that they might not condemne the wayes of their ancient Predeceſſors, that they muſt keepe *Religiones traditas*, the rites which from Age to Age had deſcended, that the ceremonies of Religion had beene euer accounted by ſo much holyer as elder; theſe and the like allegations in this caſe were vaine and friuolous. Not to ſtay longer therefore in ſpeech concerning this point, we will conclude, that as the change of ſuch Lawes as haue beene ſpecified is neceſſary, ſo the euidence that they are ſuch muſt be great. If we haue neither voyce from heauen that ſo pronounceth of them; neither ſentence of men grounded vpon ſuch manifeſt and cleere proofe, that they in whoſe hands it is to alter them, may likewiſe infallibly euen in heart and conſcience iudge them ſo; vpon neceſſitie to vrge alteration is to trouble and diſturbe without neceſſitie. As for arbitrarie alterations, when Lawes in themſelues not ſimply bad or vnmeete are changed for better and more expedient, if the benefit of that which is newly better deuiſed be but ſmall, ſith the cuſtome of eaſineſſe to alter and change is ſo euill, no doubt but to beare a tolerable ſore is better then to venter on a dangerous remedie. Which being generally thought vpon, as a matter that touched neerely their whole enterpriſe; whereas change was notwithſtanding concluded neceſſarie, in regard of the great hurt which the Church did receiue by a number of things then in

vſe

vſe, whereupon a great deale of that which had bin was now to be taken away & remoued out of the Church; yet ſith there are diuers waies of abrogating things eſtabliſhed, they ſaw it beſt to cut off preſently ſuch things, as might in that ſort bee extinguiſhed without danger, leauing the reſt to bee aboliſhed by diſuſage through tract of time. And as this was done for the manner of abrogation: ſo touching the ſtint or meaſure therof, Rites and Ceremonies, and other external things of like nature being hurtfull vnto the Church, eyther in reſpect of their qualitie, or in regard of their number; in the former there could be no doubt or difficulty what ſhould be done, their deliberatiõ in the later was more hard. And therefore in as much as they did reſolue to remoue only ſuch things of that kind as the Church might beſt ſpare, retaining the reſidue; their whole counſell is in this point vtterly condemned, as hauing eyther proceeded from the blindnes of thoſe times, or from negligence, or from deſire of honour and glory, or from an erroneous opinion that ſuch things might be tolerated for a while, or if it did proceed (as they which would ſeeme moſt fauourable are content to thinke it poſſible) from a purpoſe *partly the eaſilier to draw Papiſts vnto the Goſpell*, by keeping ſo many orders ſtill the ſame with theirs, *and partly to redeeme peace thereby, the breach whereof they might feare would enſue vpon more thorow alteration*, or howſoeuer it came to paſſe, the thing they did is iudged euil. But ſuch is the lot of all that deale in publike affaires whether of Church or Common-wealth, that which men liſt to ſurmiſe of their doings being it good or ill, they muſt beforehand patiently arme their minds to indure. Wherfore to let go priuate ſurmiſes, wherby the thing in it ſelfe is not made either better or worſe; if iuſt and allowable reaſons might lead them to do as they did, then are all theſe cẽſures fruſtrate. Touching Ceremonies harmleſſe therefore in themſelues, and hurtful only in reſpect of number: was it amiſſe to decree, that thoſe things which were leaſt needful and newlieſt come ſhould be the firſt that were taken away, as in the abrogating of a number of Saints daies and of other the like cuſtomes it appeareth they did, till afterwards the forme of Common Prayer being perfitted, Articles of ſound Religion and Diſcipline agreed vpon, Catechiſmes framed for the needfull inſtruction of youth, Churches purged of things that indeed were burthenſome to the people, or to the ſimple offenſiue and ſcandalous, all was brought at the length vnto that wherein now we ſtand? Or was it amiſſe, that hauing this way eaſed the Church as they thought of ſuperfluity, they went on till they had pluckt vp euen thoſe things alſo, which had taken a great deale ſtronger and deeper roote; thoſe things which to abrogate without conſtraint of manifeſt harme thereby ariſing, had beene to alter vnneceſſarily (in their iudgements) the ancient receiued cuſtome of the whole Church, the vniuerſall practice of the people of God, and thoſe very decrees of our Fathers, which were not only ſet downe by agreement of general Councels, but had accordingly bin put in vre, and ſo continued in vſe till that very time preſent? True it is that neither Councels nor cuſtomes, be they neuer ſo ancient and ſo generall, can let the Church from taking away that thing which is hurtfull to be retained. Where things haue beene inſtituted, which being conuenient and good at the firſt, doe afterwards in proceſſe of time waxe otherwiſe; we make no doubt but they may be altered, yea though Councels or Cuſtomes generall haue receiued them. And therefore it is but a needles kind

T.C.l.2.p.29. It may wel be, their purpoſe was by that temper of Poliſh Ceremonies with the Goſpell, partly the eaſilier to draw the Papiſts to the Goſpell, &c. partly to redeeme peace thereby.

T.C.l.3.p.33.

T.C. lib.3. p.30. kind of oppoſition which they make who thus diſpute, *If in thoſe things which are not expreſſed in the Scripture, that is to be obſerued of the Church, which is the cuſtome of the people of God and decree of our forefathers; then how can theſe things at any time be varied*, which heretofore haue beene once ordayned in ſuch ſort? Whereto we ſay, that things ſo ordayned are to be kept, howbeit not neceſſarily any longer, then till there grow ſome vrgent cauſe to ordayne the contrarie. For there is not any Poſitiue Law of men, whether it be generall or particular, receiued by formall expreſſe conſent, as in Councels; or by ſecret approbation, as in cuſtomes it commeth to paſſe, but the ſame may be taken away if occaſion ſerue. Euen as we all know, that many things generally kept heretofore, are now in like ſort generally vnkept and aboliſhed euerywhere. Notwithſtanding till ſuch things be aboliſhed, what exception can there be taken againſt the iudgement of S. *Auguſtine*, who ſaith, that, Of things harmeleſſe whatſoeuer there is, which the whole Church doth obſerue throughout the world, to argue for any mans immunitie from obſeruing the ſame, it were a point of moſt inſolent madnes. And ſurely, odious it muſt needs haue beene for one Chriſtian Church, to aboliſh that which all had receiued and held for the ſpace of many ages, and that without any detriment vnto Religion ſo manifeſt and ſo great, as might in the eyes of vnpartiall men appeare ſufficient to cleere them from all blame of raſh and inconſiderate proceeding, if in feruor of zeale they had remoued ſuch things. Whereas contrariwiſe ſo reaſonable moderation herein vſed, hath freed vs from being deſeruedly ſubiect vnto that bitter kinde of obloquy, whereby as the Church of Rome doth vnder the colour of loue towards thoſe things which be harmeleſſe, maintayne extremely moſt hurtful corruptions; ſo we peraduenture might be vpbraided, that vnder colour of hatred towards thoſe things that are corrupt, we are on the other ſide as extreme, euen againſt moſt harmeleſſe Ordinances. And as they are obſtinate to retayne that, which no man of any conſcience is able well to defend: ſo we might be reckoned fierce and violent, to teare away that, which if our owne mouthes did condemne, our conſciences would ſtorme and repine thereat. The Romanes hauing baniſhed *Tarquinius* the Proud, and taken a ſolemne oath that they neuer would permit any man more to reigne, could not herewith content themſelues, or thinke that tyrannie was throughly extinguiſhed, till they had driuen one of their Conſuls to depart the Citie, againſt whom they found not in the world what to obiect, ſauing onely that his name was *Tarquine*, and that the Common-wealth could not ſeeme to haue recouered perfect freedome, as long as a man of ſo dangerous a name was left remayning. For the Church of England to haue done the like, in caſting out Papall tyrannie and ſuperſtition, to haue ſhewed greater willingnes of accepting the very Ceremonies of the Turke, Chriſts profeſſed enemy, then of the moſt indifferent things which the Church of Rome approueth: to haue left not ſo much as the names which the Church of Rome doth giue vnto things innocent: to haue eiected whatſoeuer that Church doth make account of, be it neuer ſo harmeleſſe in it ſelfe, and of neuer ſo ancient continuance, without any other crime to charge it with, then onely that it hath beene the hap thereof to be vſed by the Church of Rome, and not to be commanded in the Word of God: this kinde of proceeding might happily haue pleaſed ſome few men, who hauing begunne ſuch a courſe themſelues,

Aug. Ep. 118.

T.C. lib. 1. p. 131 For indeede it were more ſafe for vs to conforme our indifferent ceremonies to the Turkes which are far off, then to the Papiſts which are ſo neere.

ſelues muſt needes bee glad to ſee their example followed by vs. But the Almightie which giueth wiſdome, and inſpireth with right vnderſtanding whomſoeuer it pleaſeth him, he foreſeeing that which mans wit had neuer beene able to reach vnto, namely, what Tragedies the attempt of ſo extreme alteration would raiſe in ſome parts of the Chriſtian World, did for the endleſſe good of his Church (as we cannot chuſe but interprete it) vſe the bridle of his prouident reſtrayning hand, to ſtay thoſe eager affections in ſome, and to ſettle their reſolution vpon a courſe more calme and moderate; leſt as in other moſt ample and heretofore moſt flouriſhing Dominions it hath ſince fallen out, ſo likewiſe if in ours it had come to paſſe, that the aduerſe part being enraged, and betaking it ſelfe to ſuch practices as men are commonly wont to embrace, when they behold things brought to deſperate extremities, and no hope left to ſee any other end, then onely the vtter oppreſſion and cleane extinguiſhment of one ſide; by this meane Chriſtendome flaming in all parts of greateſt importance at once, they all had wanted that comfort of mutuall reliefe, whereby they are now for the time ſuſtained (and not the leaſt by this our Church which they ſo much impeach) till mutuall combuſtions, bloud-ſheds and waſtes (becauſe no other inducement will ſerue) may enforce them through very faintnes, after the experience of ſo endleſſe miſeries, to enter on all ſides at the length into ſome ſuch conſultation, as may tend to the beſt re-eſtabliſhment of the whole Church of Ieſus Chriſt. To the ſingular good whereof it cannot but ſerue as a profitable direction, to teach men what is moſt likely to proue auailable, when they ſhall quietly conſider the tryall that hath beene thus long had of both kinds of Reformation, as well this moderate kind which the Church of England hath taken, as that other more extreme and rigorous which certaine Churches elſewhere haue better liked. In the meane while it may be, that ſuſpence of iudgement and exerciſe of charitie were ſafer and ſeemelier for Chriſtian men, then the hote purſuite of theſe Controuerſies, wherein they that are more feruent to diſpute, bee not alwayes the moſt able to determine. But who are on his ſide and who againſt him, our Lord in his good time ſhall reueale. And ſith thus farre we haue proceeded in opening the things that haue beene done, let not the principall doers themſelues be forgotten. When the Ruines of the Houſe of God (that Houſe which cõſiſting of religious ſoules is moſt immediatly the precious Temple of the Holy Ghoſt) were become not in his ſight alone, but in the eyes of the whole World ſo exceeding great, that very Superſtition began euen to feele it ſelfe too farre growne: the firſt that with vs made way to repayre the decayes thereof by beheading Superſtition, was King *Henry* the Eighth. The Son and Succeſſor of which famous King, as wee know, was *Edward* the Saint: in whom (for ſo by the euent wee may gather) it pleaſed God Righteous and Iuſt to let England ſee, what a bleſſing ſinne and iniquitie would not ſuffer it to enioy. Howbeit that which the Wiſe man hath ſayd concerning *Enoch* (whoſe dayes were, though many in reſpect of ours, yet ſcarce, as three to nine in compariſon of theirs with whom he liued) the ſame to that admirable Child moſt worthily may be applied, *Though He departed this World ſoone, yet fulfilled He much time.* But what enſued? That worke, which the one in ſuch ſort had begun, and the other ſo farre proceeded in, was in ſhort ſpace ſo ouerthrowne, as if almoſt it had neuer

uer beene: till ſuch time as that God, whoſe property is to ſhew his mercies then greateſt when they are neereſt to be vtterly deſpaired of, cauſed in the depth of diſcomfort and darkneſſe a moſt glorious Starre to ariſe, and on her head ſettled the Crowne, whom himſelfe had kept as a Lambe from the ſlaughter of thoſe bloudy times, that the experience of his goodneſſe in her owne deliuerance, might cauſe her mercifull diſpoſition to take ſo much the more delight in ſauing others, whom the like neceſſitie ſhould preſſe. What in this behalfe hath beene done towards nations abroad, the parts of Chriſtendome moſt afflicted can beſt teſtifie. That which eſpecially concerneth our ſelues in the preſent matter wee treat of, is the ſtate of reformed Religion, a thing at her comming to the Crowne euen raiſed as it were by miracle from the dead, a thing which we ſo little hoped to ſee, that euen they which beheld it done, ſcarcely beleeued their owne ſenſes at the firſt beholding. Yet being then brought to paſſe, thus many yeeres it hath continued, ſtanding by no other worldly meane but that one onely hand which erected it, that hand which as no kind of imminent danger could cauſe at the firſt to with-hold it ſelfe, ſo neither haue the practices ſo many ſo bloudie following ſince beene euer able to make weary. Nor can wee ſay in this caſe ſo iuſtly, that *Aaron* and *Hur* the Eccleſiaſticall and Ciuill States haue ſuſtained the hand which did lift it ſelfe to Heauen for them; as that Heauen it ſelfe hath by this hand ſuſtained them, no aide or helpe hauing thereunto beene miniſtred for performance of the worke of reformation, other then ſuch kind of helpe or aide as the Angell in the Prophet *Zacharie* ſpeaketh of, ſaying, *Neither by an Army nor ſtrength, but by my Spirit, ſayth the Lord of Hoſtes.* Which grace and fauour of Diuine aſſiſtance, hauing not in one thing or two ſhewed it ſelfe, nor for ſome few dayes or yeeres appeared, but in ſuch ſort ſo long continued, our manifold ſinnes and tranſgreſſions ſtriuing to the contrary; what can wee leſſe thereupon conclude, then that God would at leaſt wiſe by tract of time teach the World, that the thing which he bleſſeth, defendeth, keepeth, ſo ſtrangely, cannot chooſe but be of him? Wherefore if any refuſe to beleeue vs diſputing for the veritie of Religion eſtabliſhed, let them beleeue God himſelfe thus miraculouſly working for it, and wiſh life euen for euer and euer vnto that Glorious and Sacred Inſtrument whereby he worketh.

OF

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITIE.

The fifth Booke.

By

RICHARD HOOKER.

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1616.



TO

THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, MY VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD ARCH-BISHOP OF CANTERBVRY HIS GRACE, Primate and Metropolitane of all ENGLAND.

MOST Reuerend in Christ, the long continued, and more then ordinary fauour, which hitherto your Grace hath beene pleased to shew towards me, may iustly claime at my hands some thankefull acknowledgement thereof. In which consideration, as also for that I embrace willingly the auncient receiued course, and conueniency of that Discipline, which teacheth inferiour degrees, and orders in the Church of God, to submit their writings to the same authority, from which their allowable dealings whatsoeuer, in such affaires, must receiue approbation, I nothing feare but that your accustomed clemency will take in good worth, the offer of these my simple and meane labours, bestowed for the necessary iustification of lawes heretofore made questionable, because, as I take it, they were not perfectly vnderstood. For surely, I can not find any great cause of iust complaint, that good lawes haue so much been wanting vnto vs, as we to them. To seeke

reformation of euil lawes is a cõmendable endeuour, but for vs the more neceſſary is a ſpeedy redreſſe of our ſelues. We haue on all ſides loſt much of our firſt feruency towards God; and therfore concerning our owne degenerated waies, we haue reaſon to exhort with S. Gregory, ὁπὲρ ἡμεῖς γλιχώμεθα,

Greg. Naz. Let vs returne againe vnto that which we ſometime were: *but touching the exchange of lawes in practice, with lawes in deuice, which, they ſay, are better for the ſtate of the Church, if they might take place, the farther we examine them, the greater cauſe we finde to conclude* μέτρια δὲ ὁπὲρ ἰσμέν, although we continue the ſame we are, the harme is not great. *Theſe feruent reprehenders of things eſtabliſhed by publique authoritie, are alwayes confident and bold ſpirited men. But their confidence for the moſt part riſeth from too much credit giuen to their owne wits, for which cauſe they are ſeldome free from errours. The errours which we ſeeke to reforme in this kind of men, are ſuch as both receiued at your owne hands their firſt wound, and from that time to this preſent, haue beene proceeded in with that moderation, which vſeth by patience to ſuppreſſe boldneſſe, and to make them conquer that ſuffer. Wherein conſidering the nature and kinde of theſe controuerſies, the dãgerous ſequels whereunto they were likely to grow, and how many wayes wee haue beene thereby taught wiſedome, I may boldly auerre concerning the firſt, that as the waightieſt conflicts the Church hath had, were thoſe which touched the head, the perſon of our Sauiour Chriſt, and the next of importance, thoſe queſtions, which are at this day betweene vs and the Church of Rome, about the actions of the body of the Church of God, ſo theſe which*

haue

haue laſtly ſprung vp for complements, rites and ceremonies of Church actions, are in truth for the greateſt part ſuch ſilly things, that very eaſineſſe doth make them hard to bee diſputed of in ſerious manner. Which alſo may ſeeme to be the cauſe, why diuers of the Reuerend Prelacie, and other moſt judicious men, haue eſpecially beſtowed their paines about the matter of juriſdiction. Notwithſtanding led by your Graces example, my ſelfe haue thought it conuenient to wade through the whole cauſe, following that method, which ſearcheth the trueth by the cauſes of trueth. Now, if any maruaile, how a thing in it ſelfe ſo weak, could import any great danger, they muſt conſider not ſo much how ſmall the ſpark is that flieth vp, as how apt things about it are to take fire. Bodies politique, being ſubiect as much as naturall, to diſſolution, by diuers meanes, there are vndoubtedly moe eſtates ouerthrowne through diſeaſes, bred within themſelues, then through violence from abroad. becauſe our manner is alwayes to caſt a doubtfull and a more ſuſpicious eye towards that, ouer which we know we haue leaſt power; and therefore, the feare of externall dangers, cauſeth forces at home to bee the more vnited, it is to all ſorts a kinde of bridle, it maketh vertuous mindes watchfull, it holdeth contrarie diſpoſitions in ſuſpence, and it ſetteth thoſe wits on worke in better things, which could be elſe imployed in worſe; whereas on the other ſide, domeſticall euils, for that we thinke wee can maſter them at all times, are often permitted to runne on forward, till it be too late to recall them. In the meane while the Common-wealth is not onely through vnſoundneſſe ſo farre impaired, as thoſe euils chance to preuaile; but farther alſo

through oppoſition ariſing betweene the vnſound parts & the ſound, where each endeuoureth to draw euermore contrary waies, till deſtruction in the end bring the whole to ruine. To reckon vp how many cauſes there are by force wherof diuiſions may grow in a Common-wealth, is not here neceſſarie. Such as riſe from varietie in matter of Religion, are not onely the fartheſt ſpred, becauſe in Religion all men preſume themſelues intereſſed alike; but they are alſo for the moſt part hotlier proſecuted and purſued then other ſtrifes, for as much as coldneſſe, which in other contentions may be thought to proceede from moderation, is not in theſe ſo fauourably conſtrued. The part which in this preſent quarrell ſtriueth againſt the current & ſtreame of Lawes, was a long while nothing feared, the wiſeſt contented not to call to minde how errours haue their effect, many times not proportioned to that little appearance of reaſon whereupon they would ſeeme built, but rather to the vehement affection or fancy which is caſt towards them, and proceedeth from other cauſes. For there are diuers motiues, drawing men to fauour mightily thoſe opinions, wherein their perſwaſions are but weakely ſettled: and if the paſsions of the minde be ſtrong, they eaſily ſophiſticate the vnderſtanding, they make it apt to beleeue vpon very ſlender warrant, and to imagine infallible truth, where ſcarce any probable ſhew appeareth. Thus were thoſe poore ſeduced creatures Hacquet, *and his other two adherents, whom I can neither ſpeake nor thinke of, but with much commiſeration and pitie, thus were they trained by faire wayes firſt, accompting their owne extraordinary loue to this Diſcipline, a token of Gods more then ordinary loue towards them;*

them; from hence they grew to a ſtrong conceit, that God which had moued them to loue his Diſcipline, more then the common ſort of men did, might haue a purpoſe by their meanes to bring a wonderful work to paſſe, beyond all mens expectation, for the aduancement of the throne of diſcipline by ſome tragicall execution, with the particularities wherof it was not ſafe for their friends to bee made acquainted, of whom they did therefore but couertly demaund what they thought of extraordinary motions of the ſpirit in theſe dayes, and withall requeſt to be commended vnto God by their Prayers, whatſoeuer ſhould be vndertaken by men of God, in meere zeale to his glory, and the good of his diſtreſſed Church. With this vnuſuall and ſtrange courſe they went on forward, till God, in whoſe heauieſt worldly iudgements, I nothing doubt, but that there may lie hidden mercie, gaue them ouer to their owne inuentions, and left them made in the end an example for head-ſtrong & inconſiderate zeale, no leſſe fearefull then Achitophel, *for proud and irreligious wiſedome. If a ſparke of error haue thus farre preuailed, falling euen where the wood was greene, and fartheſt off to all mens thinking, from any inclination vnto furious attempts, muſt not the perill thereof be greater in men, whoſe minds are of themſelues as dry fewell, apt before-hand vnto tumults, ſeditions and broyles? But by this we ſee in a cauſe of Religion, to how deſperate aduentures men will ſtraine themſelues for reliefe of their owne part, hauing law & authority againſt them. Furthermore, let not any man think, that in ſuch diuiſions, either part can free it ſelfe from inconueniences, ſuſtained not only through a kinde of truce, which vertue on both ſides doth make*

with

with vice, during warre betweene truth and error; but also in that there are hereby so fit occasions ministred for men to purchase to themselues well-willers by the colour, vnder which they oftentimes prosecute quarrels of enuy or inueterate malice, and especially because contentions were as yet neuer able to preuent two euils, the one a mutuall exchange of vnseemely and vniust disgraces, offered by men, whose tongues & passions are out of rule, the other, a common hazard of both, to be made a prey by such as study how to work vpon all occurrents, with most aduantage in priuate. I deny not therfore, but that our Antagonists in these controuersies, may peraduenture haue met with some, not vnlike to Ithacius, *who mightily bending himselfe by all meanes against the heresie of* Priscillian, *the hatred of which one euill, was all the vertue he had, became so wise in the end, that euery man, carefull of vertuous conuersation, studious of Scripture, and giuen vnto any abstinence in diet, was set downe in his Kalender of suspected Priscillianists, for whome it should be expedient to approue their soundnesse of faith by a more licentious and loose behauior. Such Proctors and Patrons the truth might spare. Yet is not their grossenesse so intolerable, as on the contrary side, the scurrilous and more then Satyricall immodestie of Martinisme, the first published schedules whereof, being brought to the hands of a graue, and a very Honourable Knight, with signification giuen, that the Booke would refresh his spirits, he tooke it, saw what the title was, read ouer an vnsauorie sentence or two, and deliuered backe the Libell with this answere;* I am sorrie you are of the minde to be solaced with these sports, and sorrier you haue herein thought mine affection

Sulp. Seuer. Epi. hist. Eccl.

fection to be like your owne. *But as theſe ſores on all hands lie open, ſo the deepeſt wounds of the Church of God haue beene more ſoftly and cloſely giuen. It being perceiued that the plot of Diſcipline did not onely bend it ſelfe to reforme ceremonies, but ſeeke farther to erect a popular authoritie of Elders, and to take away Epiſcopal iuriſdiction, together with all other ornaments and meanes, wherby any difference or inequalitie is vpheld in the Eccleſiaſticall order, towards this deſtructiue part, they haue found many helping hands, diuers although peraduenture not willing to be yoked with Elderſhips, yet contented (for what intent God doth know) to vphold oppoſition againſt Biſhops, not without greter hurt to the courſe of their whole proceedings in the buſines of God & her Maieſties ſeruice, then otherwiſe much more waighty aduerſaries had been able by their owne power to haue brought to paſſe. Men are naturally better contented to haue their cõmendable actions ſuppreſt, then the contrary much diuulged. And becauſe the wits of the multitude are ſuch, that many things they cannot lay hold on at once, but being poſſeſt with ſome notable either diſlike or liking of any one thing whatſoeuer, ſundry other in the meane time may eſcape them vnperceiued; therefore if men deſirous to haue their vertues noted, doe in this reſpect grieue at the fame of others, whoſe glory obſcureth & darkneth theirs, it cãnot be choſen, but that when the eares of the people are thus cõtinually beaten with exclamations againſt abuſes in the Church, theſe tunes come alwaies moſt acceptable to them, whoſe odious & corrupt dealings in ſecular affaires, both paſſe by that meane the more couertly, and whatſoeuer happen doe alſo the leaſt feele that ſcourge*

of

of vulgar imputation, which notwithstanding they most deserue. All this considered, as behoueth, the sequele of duty on our part is only that, which our Lord and Sauiour requireth, harmlesse discretion, the wisdome of Serpents tempered with the innocent meeknes of doues. For this world wil teach them wisedome that haue capacitie to apprehend it. Our wisdome in this case must be such, as doth not propose to it selfe τὸ ἴδιον *our own particular, the partial & immoderate desire wherof poisoneth where soeuer it taketh place: but the scope & marke which we are to aime at, is* τὸ κοινὸν *the publike and cõmon good of all, for the easier procurement whereof, our diligence must search out all helps and furtherances of direction, which Scriptures, councels, fathers, histories, the lawes and practices of al Churches, the mutuall conference of all mens collections and obseruations may afford, our industrie must euen anatomize euery particle of that body, which we are to vphold sound; & because, be it neuer so true which we teach the world to beleeue, yet if once their affections begin to be alienated, a small thing perswadeth them to change their opinions, it behoueth that we vigilantly note and preuent by all meanes those euils, whereby the harts of men are lost, which euils for the most part being personall, do arme in such sort the aduersaries of God and his Church against vs, that if through our too much neglect and security the same should runne on, soone might wee feele our estate brought to those lamentable termes, whereof this hard and heauy sentence was by one of the ancients vttered vpon like occasions,* Dolens dico, gemens denuncio, sacerdotium quod apud nos intus cecidit, foris diu stare non poterit. *But the gracious prouidence of Almightie God*

Leg. Carol. Mag. fol. 421.

hath

hath, I truſt, put theſe thornes of contradiction in our ſides, leſt that ſhould ſteale vpon the Church in a ſlumber, which now, I doubt not, but through his aſsiſtance may be turned away from vs, bending thereunto our ſelues with conſtancy, conſtancy in labour to doe all men good, conſtancy in prayer vnto God for all men, her eſpecially, whoſe ſacred power matched with incomparable goodnes of nature, hath hitherto beene Gods moſt happy inſtrument, by him miraculouſly kept for workes of ſo miraculous preſeruation and ſafety vnto others; that as, By the ſword of God and Gedeon, *was ſometime the cry of the people Iſrael, ſo it might deſeruedly be at this day the ioyfull ſong of innumerable multitudes, yea the Embleme of ſome Eſtates and Dominions in the world, and (which muſt bee eternally confeſt euen with teares of thankefulneſſe) the true inſcription, ſtile or title of all Churches as yet ſtanding within this Realme,* By the goodneſſe of Almightie God and his ſeruant Elizabeth we are. *That God, who is able to make mortalitie immortall, giue her ſuch future continuance as may be no leſſe glorious vnto all poſteritie, then the dayes of her regiment paſt haue beene happy vnto our ſelues, and for his moſt deare annoynteds ſake, grant them all proſperitie, whoſe labours, cares, and counſels, vnfainedly are referred to her endleſſe welfare, through his vnſpeakable mercy, vnto whom we all owe euerlaſting praiſe. In which deſire I will here reſt, humbly beſeeching your Grace, to pardon my great boldneſſe, and God to multiply his bleſsings vpon them that feare his name.*

Iud. 7. 20.

Your Graces in all dutie,

Richard Hooker.

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE.

The fifth Booke.

Of their fourth Aſſertion, that touching the ſeuerall *publike dueties of Chriſtian Religion, there is amongſt vs much ſuperſtition* retained in them; and concerning perſons which for performance of thoſe *dueties are indued with the power of Eccleſiaſticall order, our Lawes* and proceedings according thereunto are many waies *herein alſo corrupted.*

The matter contained in this fifth Booke.

1 TRVE *Religion is the roote of all true vertues, and the ſtay of all well-ordered common wealths.*
2 *The moſt extreme oppoſite to true Religion is affected Atheiſme.*
3 *Of ſuperſtition and the roote thereof, either miſguided zeale or ignorant feare of diuine glorie.*
4 *Of the redreſſe of ſuperſtition in Gods Church, and concerning the queſtion of this Booke.*
5 *Foure generall propoſitions demanding that which may reaſonably be granted concerning matters of outward forme in the exerciſe of true Religion. And fiftly, Of a rule, not ſafe, nor reaſonable in theſe caſes.*
6 *The firſt Propoſition touching iudgement, what things are conuenient in the outward publike ordering of Church affaires.*
7 *The ſecond Propoſition.*
8 *The third Propoſition.*
9 *The fourth Propoſition.*
10 *The Rule of mens priuate Spirits, not ſafe in theſe caſes to be followed.*
11 *Places for the publike ſeruice of God.*
12 *The ſolemnitie of erecting Churches, condemned; the hallowing and dedicating of them, ſcorned by the Aduerſarie.*
13 *Of the names, whereby we diſtinguiſh our Churches.*
14 *Of the faſhion of our Churches.*

15 *The ſumptuouſneſſe of Churches.*
16 *What holineſſe and vertue we aſcribe to the Church, more then other places.*
17 *Their pretence, that would haue Churches vtterly razed.*
18 *Of publike teaching, or preaching, and the firſt kinde thereof, Catechizing.*
19 *Of preaching, by reading publikely the Bookes of holy Scripture; and concerning ſuppoſed vntruths in thoſe tranſlations of Scripture, which we allow to be read; as alſo of the choice which we make in reading.*
20 *Of preaching by the publike reading of other profitable inſtructions; and concerning bookes Apocriphall.*
21 *Of preaching by Sermons, and whether Sermons be the only ordinarie way of teaching, whereby men are brought to the ſauing knowledge of Gods truth.*
22 *What they attribute to Sermons only, and what we to reading alſo.*
23 *Of Prayer.*
24 *Of publike Prayer.*
25 *Of the forme of Common Prayer.*
26 *Of them, which like not to haue any ſet forme of common Prayer.*
27 *Of them, who allowing a ſet forme of Prayer, yet allow not ours.*
28 *The forme of our Liturgie too neare the Paviſts, too farre different from that of other reformed Churches, as they pretend.*
29 *Attire belonging to the ſeruice of God.*
30 *Of geſture in praying, and of different places, choſen to that purpoſe:*
31 *Eaſineſſe of praying after our forme.*
32 *The length of our ſeruice.*
33 *In ſtead of ſuch prayers, as the Primitiue Churches haue vſed, and thoſe that bee reformed now vſe, we haue (they ſay) diuers ſhort cuts, or ſhreddings, rather Wiſhes then Prayers.*
34 *Leſſons intermingled with our Prayers.*
35 *The number of our Prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearſing of the Lords Prayer.*
36 *The peoples ſaying after the Miniſter.*
37 *Our manner of reading the Pſalmes, otherwiſe then the reſt of the Scripture.*
38 *Of Muſique with Pſalmes.*
39 *Of ſinging or ſaying Pſalmes, and other parts of common Prayer, wherin the people and the Miniſter anſwere one another by courſe.*
40 *Of* Magnificat, Benedictus, *and* Nunc dimittis.
41 *Of the Letanie.*
42 *Of* Athanaſius *Creede, and* Gloria Patri.
43 *Our want of particular thankſgiuing.*
44 *In ſome things the matter of our Prayer, as they affirme, is vnſound.*
45 *When thou hadſt ouercome the ſharpneſſe of death, thou didſt open the Kingdome of heauen vnto all beleeuers.*
46 *Touching Prayer for deliuerance from ſuddaine death.*
47 *Prayer for thoſe things, which we for our vnworthineſſe dare not aske, God, for the worthineſſe of his ſonne, would vouchſafe to grant.*
48 *Prayer to be euermore deliuered from all aduerſitie.*
49 *Prayer that all men may finde mercy, and of the will of God, that all men might be ſaued.*

50 Of the name, the Authour, and the force of Sacraments, which force conſiſteth in this, that God hath ordained them as meanes, to make vs partakers of him in Chriſt, and of life through Chriſt.

51 That God is in Chriſt by the perſonall incarnation of the Sonne, who is very God.

52 The miſinterpretations, which hereſie hath made, of the manner, how God and Man are vnited in one Chriſt.

53 That by the vnion of the one, with the other nature in Chriſt, there groweth neither gaine nor loſſe of eſſentiall properties to either.

54 What Chriſt hath obtained according to the fleſh, by the vnion of his fleſh with Deity.

55 Of the perſonall preſence of Chriſt euery where, and in what ſenſe it may be granted he is euery where preſent according to the fleſh.

56 The vnion or mutuall participation, which is betweene Chriſt and the Church of Chriſt, in this preſent world.

57 The neceſſitie of Sacraments vnto the participation of Chriſt.

58 The ſubſtance of Baptiſme, the rites or ſolemnities therunto belonging, and that the ſubſtance thereof being kept, other things in Baptiſme may giue place to neceſſitie.

59 The ground in Scripture, whereupon a neceſſitie of outward Baptiſme hath bin built.

60 What kinde of neceſſitie in outward Baptiſme hath beene gathered by the words of our Sauiour Chriſt, and what the true neceſſitie thereof indeede is.

61 What things in Baptiſme haue beene diſpenſed with by the Fathers, reſpecting neceſſitie.

62 Whether Baptiſme by women, be true Baptiſme, good, and effectuall, to them that receiue it.

63 Of interrogatories in Baptiſme, touching faith, and the purpoſe of a Chriſtian life.

64 Interrogatories propoſed vnto Infants in Baptiſme, and anſwered, as in their names by God-fathers.

65 Of the Croſſe in Baptiſme.

66 Of Confirmation after Baptiſme.

67 Of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt.

68 Of faults noted in the forme of adminiſtring that holy Sacrament.

69 Of Feſtiuall daies, and the naturall cauſes of their conuenient inſtitution.

70 The manner of celebrating Feſtiuall daies.

71 Exceptions againſt our keeping of other Feſtiuall daies, beſides the Sabboth.

72 Of daies appointed, as well for ordinarie as for extraordinarie faſts in the Church of God.

73 The celebration of Matrimonie.

74 The Churching of Women.

75 The rites of Buriall.

76 Of the nature of that Miniſtrie, which ſerueth for performance of diuine duties in the Church of God, and how happineſſe, not eternall only, but alſo temporall, doth depend vpon it.

77 Of power giuen vnto men, to execute that heauenly office, of the gift of the holy Ghoſt in ordination; and whether conueniently the power of order may be ſought or ſued for.

78 Of degrees, whereby the power of order is diſtinguiſhed, and concerning the attire of Miniſters.

79 *Of oblations, foundations, endowments, Tithes, all intended for perpetuitie of Religion, which purpoſe being chiefely fulfilled by the Clergies certaine and ſufficient maintenance, muſt needs by alienation of Church liuings be made fruſtrate.*

80 *Of ordinations lawfull without title, and without any popular election precedent, but in no caſe without regard of due information what their qualitie is that enter into holy orders.*

81 *Of the learning that ſhould be in Miniſters, their reſidence, and the number of their liuings.*

True Religion is the roote of all true vertues, and the ſtay of all well ordered Common-weales.

FEW there are of ſo weake capacitie, but publique euils they eaſily eſpie; fewer ſo patient, as not to complaine, when the grieuous inconueniences thereof worke ſenſible ſmart. Howbeit, to ſee wherein the harme which they feele conſiſteth, the ſeeds from which it ſprang, and the method of curing it, belongeth to a skill, the ſtudie whereof is ſo full of toile, and the practiſe ſo beſet with difficulties, that wary and reſpectiue men had rather ſeeke quietly their owne, and wiſh that the world may goe well, ſo it be not long of them, then, with paine and hazard, make themſelues aduiſers for the common good. Wee which thought it at the very firſt a ſigne of cold affection towards the Church of God, to preferre priuate eaſe before the labour of appeaſing publique diſturbance, muſt now of neceſſitie, referre euents to the gracious prouidence of Almightie God, and, in diſcharge of our dutie towards him, proceed with the plaine, and vnpartiall defence of a common cauſe. Wherein our endeauour is not ſo much to ouerthrow them, with whom wee contend, as to yeeld them iuſt and reaſonable cauſes of thoſe things, which for want of due conſideration heretofore, they miſconceiued, accuſing lawes for mens ouerſights, imputing euils growne through perſonall defects, vnto that which is not euill, framing vnto ſome ſoares vnholeſome plaſters, and applying otherſome where no ſoare is. To make therefore our beginning that which to both parts is moſt acceptable, *Wee agree*, that pure and vnſtained Religion ought to bee the higheſt of all cares appertaining to publique regiment: as well in regard of that [a] ayde and protection, which they, who faithfully ſerue God, confeſſe they receiue at his merciſull hands; as alſo for the force which Religion hath to qualifie all ſorts of men, and to make them in publique affaires the more ſeruiceable, gouernours the apter to rule with conſcience, inferiours for conſcience ſake the willinger to obey. It is no peculiar conceit, but a matter of ſound conſequence, that all duties are by ſo much the better performed, by how much the men are more religious, from whoſe abilities the ſame proceed. For if [b] the courſe of publique affaires cannot in any good ſort goe forward without fit inſtruments, and that which fitteth them be their vertues, let Politie acknowledge it ſelfe indebted to Religion, godlineſſe being the [c] chiefeſt top and wel-ſpring of all true vertues, euen as God is of all good things. So naturall is the vnion of Religion with Iuſtice, that we may boldly deeme there is neither,

where

a *Pſal.* 144. 2. C. Th. lib. 6. tit. 2. *Gaudere & gloriari ex fide ſemper volumus, ſcientes magis religionibus quàm officijs & labore corporis vel ſudore noſtram rempublicam contineri.*

b Ἔστι δ' ἁθὲν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς δωατὸν πρᾶξαι ἄνευ τῦ ποιοῦσιν εἶναι, λέγω δὲ ὅιον σωτηρίαν. τὸ δὲ σωτηρίαν εἶναι ἐστι τὸ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἔχειν. *Ariſt. Magn. moral. lib.* 1. c. 1. c Ἀρχὴ δ' ἁρίστη πάντων τῶν ὄντων θεὸς ἀρετῶν δ' εὐσέβεια. *Philo de dec. præcept.*

where both are not. For how ſhould they be vnfainedly iuſt, whom religion doth not cauſe to be ſuch; or they religious, which are not found ſuch by the proofe of their iuſt actions? If they, which imploy their labour and trauaile about the publique adminiſtration of Iuſtice, follow it only as a trade, with vnquenchable and vnconſcionable thirſt of gaine, being not in heart perſwaded that [d] Iuſtice is Gods owne worke, and themſelues his agents in this buſineſſe, the ſentence of right, Gods owne verdict, and themſelues his Prieſts to deliuer it; formalities of Iuſtice doe but ſerue to ſmother right, and that which was neceſſarily ordained for the common good, is through ſhamefull abuſe made the cauſe of common miſerie. The ſame pietie, which maketh them that are in authoritie deſirous to pleaſe and reſemble God by Iuſtice, inflameth euery way men of action with zeale to doe good (as farre as their place will permit) vnto all. For [e] that they know, is moſt noble and diuine. Whereby, if no naturall nor caſuall inabilitie croſſe their deſires, they alwaies delighting to inure themſelues with actions moſt beneficiall to others, cannot but gather great experience, and through experience the more wiſedome, becauſe conſcience, and the feare of ſwaruing from that which is right, maketh them diligent obſeruers of circumſtances, the looſe regard whereof is the nurſe of vulgar folly, no leſſe then *Salomons* attention thereunto was of naturall furtherances the moſt effectuall to make him eminent aboue others. For he [f] gaue good heed, and pierced euery thing to the very ground, and by that meanes became the author of many parables. Concerning fortitude, ſith euils great and vnexpected (the true touchſtone of conſtant mindes) doe cauſe oftentimes euen them to thinke vpon diuine power with [g] fearefulleſt ſuſpicions, which haue beene otherwiſe the moſt ſecure deſpiſers thereof, how ſhould we looke for any conſtant reſolution of minde in ſuch caſes, ſauing onely where vnfained affection to God-ward hath bred the moſt aſſured confidence to be aſſiſted by his hand? For proofe whereof, let but the acts of the ancient Iewes be indifferently weighed, from whoſe magnanimitie, in cauſes of moſt extreame hazard, thoſe ſtrange and vnwonted reſolutions haue growne, which for all circumſtances, no people vnder the roofe of heauen did euer hitherto match. And that which did alwayes animate them, was their meere religion. Without which, if ſo be it were poſſible that all other ornaments of minde might be had in their full perfection, neuertheleſſe, the minde that ſhould poſſeſſe them diuorced from pietie, could be but a ſpectacle of commiſeration; euen as that bodie is, which adorned with ſundry other admirable beauties, wanteth eye-ſight, the chiefeſt grace that Nature hath in that kinde to beſtow. They which commend ſo much the felicitie of that innocent world, wherein it is ſaid, that men of their owne accord did embrace fidelitie and honeſtie, not for feare of the Magiſtrate, or becauſe reuenge was before their eyes, if at any time they ſhould doe otherwiſe, but that which held the people in awe, was the ſhame of ill doing, the loue of equitie and right it ſelfe, a barre againſt all oppreſſions which greatneſſe of power cauſeth, they which deſcribe vnto vs any ſuch eſtate of happineſſe amongſt men, though they ſpeake not of religion, doe notwithſtanding declare that which is in truth her onely working. For if religion did poſſeſſe ſincerely and ſufficiently the hearts of all men, there

d 2. *Chron.* 19. 6.

e Ἀγαπητὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐν μέρει, κάλλιον δὲ καὶ θειότερον ἑνὶ καὶ πόλεσιν. *Ariſt. Ethic. lib.* 1. *cap.* 2.

f *Eccleſ.* 12. 10.

g *Wiſd.* 17. 13.

would need no other reſtraint from euill. This doth not onely giue life and perfection to all endeuours wherewith it concurreth; but what euent ſoeuer enſue, it breedeth, if not ioy and gladneſſe alwayes, yet alwayes patience, ſatisfaction, and reaſonable contentment of minde. Whereupon it hath beene ſet downe as an axiome of good experience, that all things religiouſly taken in hand, are [a] proſperouſly ended; becauſe whether men in the end haue that which Religion did allow them to deſire, or that which it teacheth them contentedly to ſuffer, [b] they are in neither euent vnfortunate. But leſt any man ſhould heere conceiue, that it greatly skilleth not of what ſort our Religion bee, in as much as Heathens, Turkes, and Infidels, impute to Religion a great part of the ſame effects, which our ſelues aſcribe thereunto, they hauing ours in the ſame deteſtation that wee theirs: it ſhall bee requiſite to obſerue well, how farre-foorth there may bee agreement in the effects of different Religions. Firſt, by the bitter ſtrife, which riſeth oftentimes from ſmall differences in this behalfe, and is by ſo much alwayes greater, as the matter is of more importance; wee ſee a generall agreement in the ſecret opinion of men, that euery man ought to embrace the Religion which is true, and to ſhunne, as hurtfull, whatſoeuer diſſenteth from it, but that moſt, which doth fartheſt diſſent. The generalitie of which perſwaſion argueth, that God hath imprinted it by nature, to the end it might be a ſpurre to our induſtrie, in ſearching and maintaining that Religion, from which as to ſwarue in the leaſt points is errour, ſo the capitall enemies thereof God hateth as his deadly foes, aliens, and without repentance, children of endleſſe perdition. Such therefore, touching mans immortall ſtate after this life, are not likely to reape benefit by their Religion, but to looke for the cleane contrarie, in regard of ſo important contrarietie betweene it and the true Religion. Neuertheleſſe, in as much as the errours of the moſt ſeduced this way haue beene mixed with ſome truthes, wee are not to maruaile, that although the one did turne to their endleſſe woe and confuſion, yet the other had many notable effects, as touching the affaires of this preſent life. There were in [c] theſe quarters of the world, ſixteene hundred yeares agoe, certaine ſpeculatiue men, whoſe authoritie diſpoſed the whole Religion of thoſe times. By their meanes it became a receiued opinion, that the ſoules of men departing this life, doe flit out of one bodie into ſome other. Which opinion, though falſe, yet entwined with a true, that the ſoules of men doe neuer periſh, abated the feare of death in them which were ſo reſolued, and gaue them courage vnto all aduentures. The Romans had a vaine ſuperſtitious cuſtome in moſt of their enterpriſes, to coniecture beforehand of the euent, by certaine tokens which they noted in birds, or in the intrailes of beaſts, or by other the like friuoulous diuinations. From whence notwithſtanding as oft as they could receiue any ſigne, which they tooke to be fauourable, it gaue them ſuch hope, as if their gods had made them more then halfe a promiſe of proſperous ſucceſſe. Which many times was the greateſt cauſe that they did preuaile, eſpecially being men of their owne naturall inclination, hopefull and ſtrongly conceited, whatſoeuer they tooke in hand. But could their fond ſuperſtition haue furthered ſo great attempts, without the mixture of a true perſwaſion,

a *Pſal.1.3.*

b Τὸν γὰρ οἷς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἔμφρονα πράσσειν οἰόμεθα τὰς τύχας εὐσχήμονας φέρειν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αἰεὶ τὰ κάλλιστα πράττειν. *Ariſt. Ethic. l.1.c.10.*

c *Cæſ. de Bel. Gall. lib.6.*

ſion, concerning the vnreſiſtable force of diuine power? Vpon the wilfull violation of oathes, execrable blaſphemies, and like contempts, offered by deriders of Religion, euen vnto falſe gods, fearefull tokens of diuine renenge haue beene knowne to follow. Which occurrents the deuouter ſort did take for manifeſt arguments, that the gods whom they worſhipped, were of power to reward ſuch as ſought vnto them, and would plague thoſe that feared them not. In this they erred. For (as the [a] *Wiſeman* rightly noteth concerning ſuch) it was not the power of them by whom they ſware, but the vengeance of them that ſinned, which puniſhed the offences of the vngodly. It was their hurt vntruely to attribute ſo great power vnto falſe gods. Yet the right conceit which they had, that to periurie vengeance is due, was not without good effect, as touching the courſe of their liues, who feared the wilfull violation of oaths in that reſpect. And whereas we reade ſo many of them ſo much commended, ſome for their milde and mercifull diſpoſition, ſome for their vertuous ſeuerity, ſome for integritie of life, all theſe were the fruits of true and infallible principles deliuered vnto vs in the word of God, as the axiomes of our Religion, which being imprinted by the God of Nature in their hearts alſo, and taking better roote in ſome then in moſt others, grew, though not from, yet with and amidſt the heapes of manifold repugnant errors, which errors of corrupt religion had alſo their ſutable effects in the liues of the ſelfeſame parties. Without all controuerſie, the purer and perfecter our religion is, the worthier effects it hath in them, who ſtedfaſtly and ſincerely embrace it, in others not. They that loue the religion which they profeſſe, may haue failed in choiſe, but yet they are ſure to reape what benefit the ſame is able to afford; whereas the beſt and ſoundeſt profeſſed by them that beare it not the like affection, yeeldeth them, retayning it in that ſort, no benefit. *Dauid* was a man after Gods owne hart, ſo termed, becauſe his affection was heartie towards God. Beholding the like diſpoſition in them which liued vnder him, it was his prayer to Almightie God, [b] *O keepe this for euer in the purpoſe and thoughts of the heart of this people.* But when, after that *Dauid* had ended his dayes in peace, they who ſucceeded him in place, for the moſt part followed him not in qualitie, when their Kings (ſome few excepted) to better their worldly eſtate (as they thought) left their owne and their peoples ghoſtly condition vncared for, by woefull experience they both did learne, that to forſake the true God of heauen, is to fall into all ſuch euils vpon the face of the earth, as men either deſtitute of grace diuine may commit, or vnprotected from aboue endure. Seeing therefore it doth thus appeare, that the ſafetie of all eſtates dependeth vpon Religion; that Religion vnfainedly loued, perfecteth mens abilities vnto all kindes of vertuous ſeruices in the Common-wealth; that mens deſire is in generall to hold no Religion but the true; and that whatſoeuer good effects doe grow out of their religion, who embrace in ſtead of the true, a falſe; the rootes thereof are certaine ſparkes of the light of truth intermingled with the darkneſſe of errour, becauſe no Religion can wholly and onely conſiſt of vntruthes, we haue reaſon to thinke that all true vertues are to honour true Religion as their parent, and all well ordered Common-weales to loue her as their chiefeſt ſtay.

a *Wiſd.* 14.13.

b 1. *Chro.* 29.17.

2 They

The most extreame oppoſite to true religion, is affected Atheiſme.

2 They of whom God is altogether vnapprehended, are but few in number, and for groſſeneſſe of wit ſuch, that they hardly and ſcarcely ſeeme to hold the place of humane being. Theſe wee ſhould iudge to be of all others moſt miſerable, but that a wretcheder ſort there are, on whom, whereas nature hath beſtowed riper capacitie, their euill diſpoſition ſeriouſly goeth about therewith to apprehend God, as being not God. Whereby it commeth to paſſe, that of theſe two ſorts of men, both godleſſe, the one hauing vtterly no knowledge of God, the other ſtudie how to perſwade themſelues that there is no ſuch thing to be knowne. The [a] fountaine and welſpring of which impietie, is a reſolued purpoſe of minde to reape in this world what ſenſuall profit or pleaſure ſoeuer the world yeeldeth, and not to be barred from any whatſoeuer meanes auaileable thereunto. And that that is the very radicall cauſe of their Atheiſme, no man (I thinke) will doubt, which conſidereth what pains they take to deſtroy thoſe principall ſpurs and motiues vnto all vertue, the creation of the World, the prouidence of God, the reſurrection of the Dead, the ioyes of the Kingdome of Heauen, and the endleſſe paines of the wicked, yea aboue all things, the authoritie of the Scripture, becauſe on theſe points it euermore beateth, and the Soules immortalitie, which granted, draweth eaſily after it the reſt, as a voluntarie traine. Is it not wonderfull, that baſe deſires ſhould ſo extinguiſh in men the ſenſe of their owne excellencie, as to make them willing that their ſoules ſhould be like to the ſoules of beaſts, mortall and corruptible with their bodies? till ſome admirable or vnuſuall accident happen (as it hath in ſome) to worke the beginning of a better alteration. In their mindes, diſputation about the knowledge of God with ſuch kinde of perſons commonly preuaileth little. For how ſhould the brightneſſe of wiſedome ſhine, where the windowes of the ſoule are of [b] very ſet purpoſe cloſed? True Religion hath many things in it, the onely mention whereof gaulleth and troubleth their mindes. Being therefore loth, that inquirie into ſuch matters ſhould breed a perſwaſion in the end contrarie vnto that they embrace, it is their endeuour to baniſh, as much as in them lyeth, quite and cleane from their cogitation whatſoeuer may ſound that way. But it commeth many times to paſſe (which is their torment) that the thing they ſhunne doth follow them, truth, as it were, euen obtruding it ſelfe into their knowledge, and not permitting them to be ſo ignorant as they would be. Whereupon, in as much as the nature of man is vnwilling to continue doing that wherein it ſhall alwayes condemne it ſelfe, they continuing ſtill obſtinate, to follow the courſe which they haue begunne, are driuen to deuiſe all the ſhifts that witte can inuent for the ſmoothering of this light, all that may but with any the leaſt ſhew of poſſibilitie ſtay their mindes from thinking that true, which they heartily wiſh were falſe, but [c] cannot thinke it ſo, without ſome ſcruple and feare of the contrarie. Now becauſe that iudicious learning, for which wee commend moſt worthily the ancient Sages of the world, doth not in this caſe ſerue the turne, theſe trencher-mates (for ſuch the moſt of them be) frame to themſelues a way more pleaſant, a new method they haue of turning things that are ſerious into mockerie, an arte of Contradiction by way of ſcorne, a learning wherewith wee

[a] *Wiſd.* 2.21. Such things they imagine, and go aſtray, becauſe their owne wickednes hath blinded them. Ἐστὶ γὰρ ἡ κακία φθαρτικὴ ἀρχῆς. *Ariſt. Ethic. l.6. cap.5.*

[b] *Suſan. verſ.9* They turned away their minde, and caſt downe their eyes, that they might not ſee heauen, nor remember iuſt iudgements.

[c] *Hæc eſt ſumma delicti, nolle agnoſcere quem ignorare non poſſis. Cypr. de Idol. vanit.*

were [b] long ſithence forewarned, that the miſerable times wherevnto we are fallen ſhould abound. This they ſtudie, this they practiſe, this they grace with a wanton ſuperfluitie of wit, too much inſulting ouer the patience of more vertuouſly diſpoſed minds. For towards theſe ſo forlorne creatures we are (it muſt be confeſſed) too patient. In zeale to the glorie of God, Babylon hath exceeded Sion. We want that [c] decree of *Nabuchodonoſor*; the furie of this wicked brood hath the reines too much at libertie, their tongues walke at large, the ſpit-venome of their poiſoned hearts breaketh out to the annoyance of others, what their vntamed luſt ſuggeſteth, the ſame their licencious mouthes doe euery where ſet abroach. With our contentions their irreligious humor alſo is much ſtrengthened. Nothing pleaſeth them better, then theſe manifold oppoſitions about the matter of religion, as well for that they haue hereby the more oportunitie to learne on one ſide how another may be oppugned, and ſo to weaken the credit of all vnto themſelues; as alſo becauſe by their hot purſute of lower controuerſies amongſt men profeſſing Religion, and agreeing in the principall foundations thereof, they conceiue hope that about the higher principles themſelues, time will cauſe altercation to grow. For which purpoſe, when they ſee occaſion, they ſticke not ſometime in other mens perſons, yea ſometime, without any vizard at all, directly to trie, what the moſt religious are able to ſay in defence of the higheſt points, whereupon all religion dependeth. Now for the moſt part it ſo falleth out touching things which generally are receiued, that although in themſelues they be moſt certaine, yet becauſe men preſume them granted of all, we are hardlieſt able to bring ſuch proofe of their certaintie, as may ſatisfie gaine-ſayers, when ſuddenly and beſides expectation they require the ſame at our hands. Which impreparation and vnreadineſſe, when they finde in vs, they turne it to the ſoothing vp of themſelues in that curſed phanſie, whereby they would faine beleeue that the heartie deuotion of ſuch, as indeed feare God, is nothing elſe but a kinde of harmeleſſe error, bred and confirmed in them by the ſlights of wiſer men. For a politique vſe of Religion they ſee there is, and by it they would alſo gather, that religion it ſelfe is a meere politike deuice, forged purpoſely to ſerue for that vſe. Men fearing God, are thereby a great deale more effectually, then by poſitiue lawes reſtrained from doing euill, in as much as thoſe lawes haue no farther power, then ouer our outward actions onely, whereas vnto mens [d] inward cogitations, vnto the priuie intents and motions of their hearts, Religion ſerueth for a bridle. What more ſauage, wilde, and cruell then man, if he ſee himſelfe able either by fraud to ouerreach, or by power to ouerbeare, the lawes whereunto he ſhould be ſubiect? Wherefore in ſo great boldneſſe to offend, it behoueth that the world ſhould be held in awe, not by a vaine ſurmiſe, but a true apprehenſion of ſomewhat, which no man may thinke himſelfe able to withſtand. This is the politike vſe of religion. In which reſpect there are of theſe wiſe malignants ſome, who haue vouchſafed it their maruellous fauourable countenance and ſpeech, very gravely affirming that religion honored, addeth greatneſſe, and contemned, bringeth ruine vnto Common-weales; that Princes and States, which will continue, are aboue all things to vphold the reuerend regard of Religion, and to prouide for the ſame by all meanes in

b 2. *Pet.* 3. 2. *Iud. verſe* 18.

c *Dan.* 3. 29.

d *Vos ſcelera admiſſa punitis, apud nos & cogitare peccare eſt; vos conſcios timetis, nos etiam conſcientiam ſolam, ſine qua eſſe non poſſumus. Minut. Fel. in Octav. Summum præſidium regni eſt juſtitia ob apertos tumultus, & religio ob occultos. Carda. de Sapien. lib. 3.*

in the making of their lawes. But when they ſhould define what meanes are beſt for that purpoſe, behold, they extoll the wiſedome of Paganiſme, they giue it out as a myſticall precept of great importance, that Princes, and ſuch as are vnder them in moſt authoritie or credit with the people, ſhould take all occaſions of rare euents, and from what cauſe ſoeuer the ſame doe proceed, yet wreſt them to the ſtrengthning of their religion, and not make it nice for ſo good a purpoſe to vſe, if need be, plaine forgeries. Thus while they ſtudie how to bring to paſſe that Religion may ſeeme but a matter made, they loſe themſelues in the very maze of their owne diſcourſes, as if reaſon did purpoſely forſake them, who of purpoſe forſake God the Author thereof. For ſurely a ſtrange kinde of madneſſe it is, that thoſe men, who though they be voyd of pietie, yet, becauſe they haue wit, cannot chuſe but know, that treacherie, guile and deceit are things, which may for a while, but doe not vſe long to goe vneſpied, ſhould teach that the greateſt honour to a State is perpetuitie; and grant, that alterations in the ſeruice of God, for that they impaire the credit of Religion, are therefore perillous in Commonweales, which haue no continuance longer then Religion hath all reuerence done vnto it; and withall acknowledge (for ſo they doe) that when people began to eſpie the falſhood of Oracles, whereupon all gentilitie was built, their hearts were vtterly auerted from it; and notwithſtanding counſell, Princes, in ſober earneſt for the ſtrengthning of their ſtates, to maintaine Religion, and, for the maintenance of Religion not to make choiſe of that which is true, but to authorize that they make choiſe of by thoſe falſe and fraudulent meanes, which in the end muſt needs ouerthrow it. Such are the counſels of men godleſſe, when they would ſhew themſelues politike deuiſers, able to create God in man by arte.

Of ſuperſtition, and the roote thereof, either miſguided zeale, or ignorant feare of diuine glorie.

3 Wherefore to let goe this execrable crue, and to come to extremities on the contrarie hand, two affections there are, the forces whereof, as they beare the greater or leſſer ſway in mans hart, frame accordingly to the ſtampe and character of his religiõ, the one zeale, the other fear. Zeale, vnleſſe it be rightly guided, when it endeuoureth moſt buſily to pleaſe God, forceth vpon him thoſe vnſeaſonable offices which pleaſe him not. For which cauſe, if they who this way ſwarue, be compared with ſuch ſincere, ſound and diſcreete as *Abraham* was in matter of Religion, the ſeruice of the one, is like vnto flatterie, the other like the faithfull ſedulitie of [a] friendſhip. Zeale, except it be ordered aright, when it bendeth it ſelf vnto cõflict with all things either in deed, or but imagined to be oppoſite vnto religion, vſeth the razor many times with ſuch eagernes, that the very life of religion it ſelfe is therby hazarded, through hatred of tares the corne in the field of God is pluckt vp. So that zeale needeth both wayes a ſober guide. Feare, on the other ſide, if it haue not the light of true vnderſtanding concerning God, wherewith to be moderated, breedeth likewiſe ſuperſtition. It is therfore dangerous, that in things diuine, we ſhould work too much vpon the ſpur, either of zeale or feare. Feare is a good ſolicitor to deuotion. Howbeit, ſith feare in this kinde doth grow from an apprehenſion of deitie indued with irreſiſtable power to hurt, and is of all affections (anger excepted) the vnapteſt to admit any conference with reaſon, for which cauſe the [b] *Wiſeman* doth ſay of feare, that it is a betrayer of the forces of reaſonable

a 2. *Chron.* 20. 7. *Abraham* thy friend.

b *Wiſd.* 17. 11.

ſonable vnderſtanding, therefore except men know beforehand what manner of ſeruice pleaſeth God, while they are fearfull, they trie all things which fancy offereth. Many there are who neuer thinke on God, but when they are in extremitie of feare: and then becauſe, what to thinke, or what to doe they are vncertaine, perplexity not ſuffering them to be idle, they thinke and doe, as it were in a phrenſie, they know not what. Superſtition neither knoweth the right kinde, nor obſerueth the due meaſure of actions belonging to the ſeruice of God, but is alwayes ioyned with a wrong opinion touching things diuine. Superſtition is, when things are either abhorred or obſerued, with a zealous or fearefull, but erronious relation to God. By meanes whereof, the ſuperſtitious doe ſometimes ſerue, though the true God, yet with needleſſe offices, and defraud him of duties neceſſarie, ſometime loade others then him with ſuch honours as properly are his. The one their ouerſight, who miſſe in the choyce of that wherewith; the other theirs, who faile in the election of him towards whom they ſhew deuotion: this the crime of Idolatrie, that the fault of voluntarie, eyther niceneſſe, or ſuperfluitie in Religion. The Chriſtian world it ſelfe being diuided into two graund parts, it appeareth by the generall view of both, that with matter of hereſie the Weſt hath beene often and much troubled; but the Eaſt part neuer quiet, till the deluge of miſery wherein now they are, ouerwhelmed them. The chiefeſt cauſe whereof doth ſeeme to haue lien in the reſtleſſe wits of the Grecians, euermore proud of their owne curious and ſubtile inuentions, which when at any time they had contriued, the great facility of their language ſerued them readily to make all things faire and plauſible to mens vnderſtanding. Thoſe graund heretical impieties therfore, which moſt highly and immediatly touched God and the glorious Trinity, were all in a manner the monſters of the Eaſt. The Weſt bred fewer a great deale, and thoſe commonly of a lower nature, ſuch as more neerely and directly concerned rather men then God, the Latines being alwayes to capitall hereſies leſſe inclined, yet vnto groſſe ſuperſtition more. Superſtition ſuch as that of the [b] Phariſies was, by whom diuine things in deed were leſſe, becauſe other things were more diuinely eſteemed of then reaſon would; the ſuperſtition that riſeth voluntarily, and by degrees, which are hardly diſcerned, mingleth it ſelfe with the rites euen of very diuine ſeruice done to the onely true God, muſt be conſidered of, as a creeping and incroching euill, an euil; the firſt beginnings whereof are commonly harmeleſſe, ſo that it proueth onely then to be an euill, when ſome farther accident doth grow vnto it, or it ſelfe come vnto farther growth. For in the Church of God ſometimes it commeth to paſſe, as in ouer battle grounds, the fertile diſpoſition whereof is good; yet becauſe it exceedeth due proportion, it bringeth forth abundantly, through too much rankneſſe, things leſſe profitable, whereby, that which principally it ſhould yeeld, being either preuented in place, or defrauded of nouriſhment, faileth. This (if ſo large a diſcourſe were neceſſarie) might be exemplified euen by heapes of rites and cuſtomes, now ſuperſtitious in the greateſt part of the Chriſtian world, which in their firſt originall beginnings, when the ſtrength of vertuous, deuout or charitable affection bloomed them, no man could iuſtly haue condemned as euill.

b *Marke 7.9.*

4 But

Of the redreſſe of ſuperſtition in Gods Church, and concerning the queſtion of this booke.

4 But howſoeuer ſuperſtition doe grow, that wherein vnſounder times haue done amiſſe, the better ages enſuing muſt rectifie, as they may. I now come therefore to thoſe accuſations brought againſt vs by pretenders of reformation, the firſt in the ranke whereof is ſuch, that if ſo bee the Church of England did at this day therwith as iuſtly deſerue to be touched, as they in this cauſe haue imagined it doth, rather would I exhort all ſorts to ſeeke pardon euen with teares at the hands of God, then meditate words of defenſe for our doings, to the end that men might thinke fauourably of them. For as the caſe of this world, eſpecially now, doth ſtand, what other ſtay or ſuccour haue wee to leane vnto, ſaue the teſtimonie of our conſcience, and the comfort we take in this, that we ſerue the liuing God (as neere as our wits can reach vnto the knowledge thereof) euen according to his owne will, and doe therefore truſt that his mercie ſhall be our ſafegard againſt thoſe enraged powers abroad, which principally in that reſpect are become our enemies? But ſith no man can doe ill with a good conſcience, the conſolation which wee herein ſeeme to finde, is but a meere deceitfull pleaſing of our ſelues in errour, which at the length muſt needs turne to our greater griefe, if that which we doe to pleaſe God moſt, be for the manifold defects thereof offenſiue vnto him. For ſo it is iudged, our prayers, our Sacraments, our faſts, our times and places of publique meeting together for the worſhip and ſeruice of God, our marriages, our burials, our functions, elections and ordinations Eccleſiaſticall, almoſt whatſoeuer we doe in the exerciſe of our Religion according to lawes for that purpoſe eſtabliſhed, all things are ſome way or other thought faultie, all things ſtained with ſuperſtition. Now although it may be, the wiſer ſort of men are not greatly moued hereat, conſidering how ſubiect the very beſt things haue bin alwayes vnto cauill, when wits poſſeſſed either with diſdaine or diſlike thereof, haue ſet them vp as their marke to ſhoot at: ſafe notwithſtanding it were not therefore to neglect the danger which from hence may grow, and that eſpecially in regard of them, who deſiring to ſerue God as they ought, b it being not ſo skilfull as in euery point to vnwinde themſelues where the ſnares of gloſing ſpeech doe lye to intangle them, are in minde not a little troubled, when they heare ſo bitter inuectiues againſt that which this Church hath taught them to reuerence as holy, to approue as lawfull, and to obſerue as behouefull for the exerciſe of Chriſtian dutie. It ſeemeth therefore at the leaſt for their ſakes very meete, that ſuch as blame vs in this behalfe be directly anſwered, and they which follow vs, informed plainly in the reaſons of that we doe. On both ſides the end intended betweene vs, is to haue lawes and ordinances, ſuch as may rightly ſerue to aboliſh ſuperſtition, and to eſtabliſh the ſeruice of God with all things thereunto appertaining, in ſome perfect forme. There is an inward a reaſonable, and there is a b ſolemne outward ſeruiceable worſhip belonging vnto God. Of the former kinde are all manner vertuous duties, that each man in reaſon and conſcience to God-ward oweth. Solemne and ſeruiceable worſhip wee name for diſtinction ſake, whatſoeuer belongeth to the Church or publique ſocietie of God by way of externall adoration. It is the later of theſe two, whereupon our preſent queſtion groweth. Againe, this later being ordered, partly, and as touching principall matters, by none but

a *Rom.*12 1.
b *Luc.*1.23.

precepts

precepts diuine onely, partly, and as concerning things of inferior regard, by ordinances as well humane as diuine: about the substance of religion wherein Gods only law must be kept, there is heere no controuersie; the crime now intended against vs is, that our lawes haue not ordered those inferiour things as behoueth, and that our customes are either superstitious, or otherwise amisse, whether we respect the exercise of publike duties in religion, or the functions of persons authorised thereunto.

Foure general propositions, demanding that which may reasonably be granted concerning matters of outward forme in the exercise of true religion. And fiftly, of a rule not safe nor reasonable in these cases.

5 It is with teachers of Mathematicall sciences vsuall, for vs in this present question necessary, to lay downe first certaine reasonable demands, which in most particulars following are to serue as principles whereby to worke, and therefore must be beforehand considered. The men whom we labour to informe in the truth, perceiue that so to proceed is requisite. For to this end they also propose touching customes and rites indifferent their generall axiomes, some of them subiect vnto iust exceptions, and as we thinke, more meete by them to be farther considered, then assented vnto by vs. As that, *In outward things belonging to the seruice of God, reformed Churches ought by all meanes to shunne conformitie with the Church of Rome*; that, *The first reformed should be a paterne whereunto all that come after ought to conforme themselues*; that *Sound religion may not vse the things, which being not commanded of God, haue beene either deuised or abused vnto superstition.* These and the rest of the same consort we haue in the booke going before examined. Other Canons they alleadge, and rules not vnworthie of approbation, as *That in all such things the glorie of God and the edification or ghostly good of his people must be sought*; *that nothing should be vndecently or vnorderly done.* But for as much as all the difficultie is in discerning what things doe glorifie God, and edifie his Church, what not; when we should thinke them decent and fit, when otherwise: because these rules being too generall, come not neere enough vnto the matter which we haue in hand; and the former principles being neerer the purpose, are too farre from truth, we must propose vnto all men certaine petitions incident, and very materiall in causes of this nature, such as no man of moderate iudgement hath cause to thinke vniust or vnreasonable.

The first proposition touching iudgement, what things are conuenient in the outward publique ordering of Church affaires.

6 The first thing therefore which is of force to cause approbation with good conscience towards such customes or rites, as publikely are established, is, when there riseth from the due consideration of those customes and rites in themselues apparent reason, although not alwayes to proue them better, then any other that might possibly be deuised, (for who did euer require this in mans ordinances?) yet competent to shew their conueniencie and fitnesse, in regard of the vse for which they should serue. Now touching the nature of religious seruices, and the manner of their due performance, thus much generally we know to be most cleare, that whereas the greatnesse and dignitie of all manner actions is measured by the worthinesse of the subiect from which they proceed, and of the obiect whereabout they are conuersant, we must of necessitie in both respects acknowledge, that this present world affordeth not any thing comparable vnto the publike duties of religion. For if the best things haue the perfectest and best operations, it will follow, that seeing man is the worthiest creature vpon earth, and euery societie of men more worthie then

any man, and of ſocieties that moſt excellent which we call the Church; there can bee in this world no worke performed equall to the exerciſe of true religion, the proper operation of the Church of God. Againe, for as much as religion worketh vpon him, who in maieſtie and power is infinite, as we ought we account not of it, vnleſſe wee eſteeme it euen [a] according to that very height of excellencie which our hearts conceiue, when diuine ſublimitie it ſelfe is rightly conſidered. In the powers and faculties of our ſoules God requireth the vttermoſt which our vnfained affection towards him is able to yeeld: So that if wee affect him not farre aboue and before all things, our religion hath not that inward perfection which it ſhould haue, neither doe wee indeed worſhip him as our God. That which inwardly each man ſhould bee, the Church outwardly ought to teſtifie. And therefore the duties of our religion which are ſeene, muſt be ſuch as that affection which is vnſeene ought to be. Signes muſt reſemble the things they ſignifie. If religion beare the greateſt ſway in our hearts, our outward religious duties muſt ſhew it as farre as the Church hath outward abilitie. Duties of religion performed by whole ſocieties of men, ought to haue in them according to our power a ſenſible excellencie, [b] correſpondent to the maieſtie of him whom wee worſhippe. Yea then are the publike duties of religion beſt ordered, when the militant Church doth [c] reſemble by ſenſible meanes, as it may in ſuch caſes, that hidden dignitie and glorie wherewith the Church triumphant in heauen is beautified. Howbeit, euen as the very heat of the Sunne it ſelfe, which is the life of the whole world, was to the people of God in the Deſert a grieuous annoyance, for eaſe whereof his extraordinarie prouidence ordained a cloudie piller to ouer-ſhadow them: So things of generall vſe and benefit (for in this world what is ſo perfect that no inconuenience doth euer follow it?) may by ſome accident bee incommodious to a few. In which caſe, for ſuch priuate euils remedies there are of like condition, though publike ordinances wherein the common good is reſpected, be not ſtirred. Let our firſt demand be therefore, that in the externall forme of Religion ſuch things as are apparently, or can be ſufficiently proued effectuall and generally fit to ſet forward godlineſſe, either as betokening the greatneſſe of God, or as beſeeming the dignitie of religion, or as concurring with celeſtiall impreſſions in the mindes of men, may be reuerently thought of; ſome few, rare, caſuall, and tolerable, or otherwiſe curable inconueniences notwithſtanding.

a *Iob.4.24. Wiſd.6.10. 1.Chro.29.17.*

b *2.Chron.2.5.*

c Ἐκκλησία ἐστὶν ἐπίγειος οὐρανὸς. *Germa. περὶ τῶν ἱερουργουμένων. Delectatio Domini in Eccleſia eſt, Eccleſia verò eſt imago cœleſtium. Ambr. de interpel. Dau. Facit in terris opera cœlorum. Sidon. Apol. Epiſt. lib.6.*

The ſecond propoſition.

7 Neither may wee in this caſe lightly eſteeme what hath beene allowed as fit in the iudgement of antiquitie, and by the long continued practiſe of the whole Church, from which vnneceſſarily to ſwarue, experience hath neuer as yet found it ſafe. For wiſedomes ſake wee reuerence them no leſſe that are yong, or not much leſſe, then if they were ſtricken in yeares. And therefore of ſuch it is rightly ſaid, that their ripeneſſe of vnderſtanding is [d] *gray haire*, and their vertues *olde age*. But becauſe wiſedome and youth are ſeldome ioyned in one, and the ordinarie courſe of the world is more according to *Iobs* obſeruation, who giueth men aduice to ſeeke wiſedome [e] *amongſt the ancient*, and in the *length of dayes* vnderſtanding, therefore if the compariſon doe ſtand betweene man and man, which ſhall harken vnto other, ſith the aged for the moſt

d *Wiſd.4.9.*

e *Iob 10.12.*

moſt part are beſt experienced, leaſt ſubiect to raſh and vnaduiſed paſſions, it hath beene euer iudged reaſonable, that their ſentence in matter of counſell ſhould be better truſted, and more relied vpon then other mens. The goodneſſe of God hauing furniſhed man with two chiefe inſtruments, both neceſſarie for this life, hands to execute, and a minde to deuiſe great things; the one is not profitable longer then the vigour of youth doth ſtrengthen it, nor the other greatly, till age and experience haue brought it to perfection. In whom therefore time hath not perfected knowledge, ſuch muſt bee contented to follow them in whom it hath. For this cauſe none is more attentiuely heard, then they whoſe ſpeeches are as *Dauids* were, *I haue beene yong, and now am olde*, much I haue ſeene and obſerued in the world. Sharpe and ſubtile diſcourſes of witte procure many times very great applauſe, but being laid in the ballance with that which the habit of ſound experience plainely deliuereth, they are ouer-weighed. God may indue men extraordinarily with vnderſtanding as it pleaſeth him. But let no man preſuming thereupon neglect the inſtructions, or deſpiſe the ordinances of his elders, ſith he, whoſe gift wiſedome is, hath ſaid, [a] *Aske thy Father, and he will ſhew thee, thine Ancients, and they ſhall tell thee.* It is therefore the voice both of God and Nature, not of learning onely, that eſpecially in matters of action and policie, [b] *The ſentences and iudgements of men experienced, aged and wiſe, yea though they ſpeake without any proofe or demonſtration, are no leſſe to bee harkened vnto, then as being demonſtrations in themſelues, becauſe ſuch mens long obſeruation is as an eye, wherewith they preſently and plainely behold thoſe principles which ſway ouer all actions.* Whereby wee are taught both the cauſe wherefore wiſe mens iudgements ſhould bee credited, and the meane how to vſe their iudgements to the increaſe of our owne wiſedome. That which ſheweth them to bee wiſe, is the gathering of principles out of their owne particular experiments. And the framing of our particular experiments according to the rule of their principles, ſhall make vs ſuch as they are. If therefore, euen at the firſt, ſo great account ſhould be made of wiſe mens counſels touching things that are publikely done, as time ſhall adde thereunto continuance and approbation of ſucceeding ages, their credit and authoritie muſt needes bee greater. They, which doe nothing but that which men of account did before them, are, although they doe amiſſe, yet the leſſe faultie, becauſe they are not the authors of harme. And doing well, their actions are freed from preiudice of noueltie. To the beſt and wiſeſt, [c] while they liue, the world is continually a froward oppoſite, a curious obſeruer of their defects and imperfections, their vertues it afterwards as much admireth. And for this cauſe, many times that which moſt deſerueth approbation, would hardly bee able to finde fauour, if they which propoſe it, were not content to profeſſe themſelues therein ſchollers and followers of the ancient. For the world will not endure to heare that wee are wiſer then any haue beene which went before. In which conſideration there is cauſe why wee ſhould bee ſlow and vnwilling to change, without very vrgent neceſſitie, the ancient ordinances, rites, and long approued cuſtomes of our venerable predeceſſors. The loue of things ancient doth argue [d] ſtayednes; but leuitie and want of experience maketh apt vnto innouations. That which wiſedome did firſt begin,

a *Deut.32.7.*

b *Ariſt.6th.6. cap.11.*

c Πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ ποδῶν φθόνος ἐυδεὶς φύεται. *Philo.* Πᾶσα δυσμένεια τῶ ζῶντι τοῦτο σωματοτίθεται. *Syneſ.* Τὸ ἐκ ποδῶν οὐτ' ἀντιπίπτει ἢ τετίμηται ἀφθόνως. *Gregor. Naz. ἐν Στιχ.*

d ὅσοι δὲ ἐυσάθειαν τρόπων τὸ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος σεμνὸν τῶ καινοπρεποῦς

προετίμησαν καὶ ἀπαραποίητον τῶν πατέρων διεφύλαξαν τὴν παράδοσιν κατὰ τε χώρας καὶ πόλιν ταύτῃ κέχρωνται τῇ φωνῇ. Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. cap. 7.

and hath beene with good men long continued, chalengeth allowance of them that succeed, although it pleade for it selfe nothing. That which is new, if it promise not much, doth feare condemnation before triall; till triall, no man doth acquite or trust it, what good soeuer it pretend and promise. So that in this kinde there are few things knowne to bee good, till such time as they grow to be ancient. The vaine pretence of those glorious names, where they could not be with any truth, neither in reason ought to haue beene so much alleaged, hath wrought such a preiudice against them in the mindes of the common sort, as if they had vtterly no force at all, whereas (especially for these obseruances which concerne our present question) antiquitie, custome, and consent in the Church of God, making with that which Law doth establish, are themselues most sufficient reasons to vphold the same, vnlesse some notable publique inconuenience inforce the contrarie. For a [a] small thing in the eye of Law is as nothing. We are therefore bold to make our second petition this, that in things the fitnesse whereof is not of it selfe apparent, nor easie to be made sufficiently manifest vnto all, yet the iudgement of antiquitie concurring with that which is receiued, may induce them to thinke it not vnfit, who are not able to alleage any knowne waightie inconuenience which it hath, or to take any strong exception against.

[a] ὁ μὲν μικρὸν τῶν οὐ παρεκβαίνων ὀφθαλμῶν. Arist. Ethic. 2. cap. 9. Modici nulla fere ratio haberi solet. Tiraquel de iud. in rob. exig. cap. 10.

8. All things cannot bee of ancient continuance, which are expedient and needfull for the ordering of spirituall affaires: but the Church being a bodie which dieth not, hath alwayes power, as occasion requireth, no lesse to ordaine that which neuer was, then to ratifie what hath beene before. To prescribe the order of doing in all things, is a peculiar prerogatiue which [b] *Wisedome* hath as Queene or soueraigne commandresse ouer other vertues. This in euery seuerall mans actions of common life appertaineth vnto *Morall*; in publique and politique secular affaires vnto *Ciuill* wisedome. In like manner, to deuise any certaine forme for the outward administration of publique duties in the seruice of God, or things belonging thereunto, and to finde out the most conuenient for that vse, is a point of wisedome *Ecclesiasticall*. It is not for a man which doth know, or should know what order is, and what peaceable gouernment requireth, to aske, *why we should hang our iudgement vpon the Churches sleeue*, and *why in matters of order more then in matters of doctrine*. The Church hath authoritie to establish that for an order at one time, which at another time it may abolish, and in both doe well. But that which in doctrine the Church doth now deliuer rightly as a truth, no man will say that it may hereafter recall, and as rightly auouch the contrarie. Lawes touching matter of order are changeable, by the power of the Church; articles concerning doctrine not so. Wee reade often in the writings of Catholike and holy men touching matters of doctrine, *This wee beleeue, this wee holde, this the Prophets and Euangelists haue declared, this the Apostles haue deliuered, this Martyrs haue sealed with their bloud, and confessed in the midst of torments, to this wee cleaue, as to the anker of our soules, against this, though an Angell from heauen should preach vnto vs, wee would not beleeue.* But did wee euer in any of them reade touching matters of meere comelinesse, order, and decencie, neither commaunded nor prohibited by any Prophet, any Euangelist, any Apostle, *Although the Church wherein wee liue doe*

[b] φρόνησις περὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ ὅρους αὐτοῖς τιθεῖσα. Philo. pag. 35.

T. C. lib. 3. pag. 171.

doe ordaine them to be kept, although they be neuer ſo generally obſerued, though all the Churches in the world ſhould command them, though Angels from heauen ſhould require our ſubiection thereunto, I would hold him accurſed that *doth obey?* Be it in matter of the one kinde or of the other, what Scripture doth plainely deliuer, to that the firſt place both of credit and obedience is due; the next whereunto is whatſoeuer any man can neceſſarily conclude by force of reaſon; after theſe the voice of the Church ſucceedeth. That which the Church by her Eccleſiaſticall authoritie ſhall probably thinke and define to be true or good, muſt in congruitie of reaſon ouer-rule all other inferiour iudgements whatſoeuer. To them which aske why we thus hang our iudgement on the Churches ſleeue, I anſwere with *Salomon*, Becauſe [a] *two are better then one. Yea ſimply* (ſaith [b] *Baſil*) *and vniuerſally, whether it be in workes of Nature, or of voluntarie choyce and counſell, I ſee not any thing done as it ſhould bee, if it bee wrought by an agent ſingling it ſelfe from conſorts.* The Iewes haue a ſentence of good aduice, [c] *Take not vpon thee to be a Iudge alone, there is no ſole Iudge but one onely; ſay not to others, Receiue my ſentence, when their authoritie is aboue thine.* The bare conſent of the whole Church ſhould it ſelfe in theſe things ſtop their mouths, who liuing vnder it, dare preſume to barke againſt it. *There is* (ſaith [d] *Caſſianus*) *no place of audience left for them, by whom obedience is not yeelded to that which all haue agreed vpon.* Might wee not thinke it more then wonderfull, that Nature ſhould in all communities appoint a predominant indgement to ſway and ouer-rule in ſo many things; or that God himſelfe ſhould allow ſo much authoritie and power vnto euerie poore familie, for the ordering of all which are in it; and the Citie of the liuing God, which is his Church, bee able neither to command, nor yet to forbid any thing, which the meaneſt ſhall in that reſpect, and for her ſole authorities ſake, be bound to obey? We cannot hide or diſſemble that euill, the grieuous inconuenience whereof wee feele. Our diſlike of them, by whom too much heretofore hath beene attributed vnto the Church, is growne to an errour on the contrary hand, ſo that now from the Church of God too much is derogated. By which remouall of one extremitie with another, the world ſeeking to procure a remedie, hath purchaſed a meere exchange of the euill which before was felt. Suppoſe wee that the ſacred word of God can at their hands receiue due honor, by whoſe incitement the holy ordinances of the Church indure euery where open contempt? No, it is not poſſible they ſhould obſerue as they ought the one, who from the other withdraw vnneceſſarily their owne, or their brethrens obedience. Surely the Church of God in this buſineſſe is neither of capacitie, I truſt, ſo weake, nor ſo vnſtrengthned, I know, with authoritie from aboue, but that her lawes may exact obedience at the hands of her owne children, and inioyne gaine-ſayers ſilence, giuing them roundly to vnderſtand, that where our dutie is ſubmiſſion, weake oppoſitions betoken pride. Wee therefore craue thirdly to haue it granted, that where neyther the euidence of any law Diuine, nor the ſtrength of any inuincible argument otherwiſe found out by the light of reaſon, nor any notable publique inconuenience doth make againſt that which our owne lawes Eccleſiaſticall haue, although but newly inſtituted, for the ordering of theſe affaires,

a *Eccleſ.* 4. 9.
b *Baſil. epiſt.* 68. d. 8. *c. quæ contra. Turpis eſt omnis pars vniuerſo ſuo non congruens.*
c *R. Iſmael in Cap. Patr.*
d *Caſſian. de incarn. lib.* 1. *cap.* 6.

the very authoritie of the Church it ſelfe, at the leaſt in ſuch caſes, may giue ſo much credit to her owne lawes, as to make their ſentence as touching fitneſſe and conueniencie waightier then any bare and naked conceit to the contrarie; eſpecially in them who can owe no leſſe then childlike obedience to her that hath more then motherly power.

The fourth Propoſition.

9 There are ancient ordinances, lawes which on all ſides are allowed to be iuſt and good, yea Diuine and Apoſtolique Conſtitutions, which the Church, it may be, doth not alwayes keepe, nor alwayes iuſtly deſerue blame in that reſpect. For in euils that cannot bee remoued, without the manifeſt danger of greater to ſucceed in their roomes, wiſedome, of neceſſitie, muſt giue place to neceſſitie. All it can doe in thoſe caſes, is to deuiſe, how that, which muſt bee endured, may be mitigated, and the inconueniences thereof counteruailed as neere as may be; that when the beſt things are not poſſible, the beſt may bee made of thoſe that are. Nature then, which there is nothing more conſtant, nothing more vniforme in all her wayes, doth notwithſtanding ſtay her hand, yea and change her courſe, when that which God by creation did command, he doth at any time by neceſſitie countermand. It hath therefore pleaſed himſelfe ſometime to vnlooſe the very tongues euen of dumbe creatures, and to teach them to pleade this in their owne defence, leſt the crueltie of man ſhould perſiſt to afflict them for not keeping their wonted courſe, when ſome inuincible impediment hath hindered. If we leaue nature, and looke into arte, the workeman hath in his heart a purpoſe, he carrieth in minde the whole forme which his work ſhould haue, there wanteth not in him skill and deſire to bring his labour to the beſt effect, only the matter which he hath to worke on is vnframable. This neceſſitie excuſeth him, ſo that nothing is derogated from his credit, although much of his workes perfection be found wanting. Touching actions of common life, there is not any defence more fauourably heard then theirs, who alleage ſincerely for themſelues, that they did as neceſſitie conſtrained them. For when the minde is rightly ordered and affected as it ſhould be, in caſe ſome externall impediment croſſing well aduiſed deſires, ſhall potently draw men to leaue what they principally wiſh, and to take a courſe which they would not, if their choice were free; what neceſſitie forceth men vnto, the ſame in this caſe it [a] maintaineth, as long as nothing is committed ſimply in it ſelfe euill, nothing abſolutely ſinfull or wicked, nothing repugnant to that immutable law, whereby, whatſoeuer is condemned as euill, can neuer any way be made good. The caſting away of things profitable for the ſuſtenance of mans life, is an vnthankfull abuſe of the fruits of Gods good prouidence towards mankinde. Which conſideration for all that did not hinder [b] Saint *Paul* from throwing corne into the ſea, when care of ſauing mens liues made it neceſſary, to loſe that which elſe had beene better ſaued. Neither was this to doe euill, to the end that good might come of it. For of two ſuch euils, being not both euitable, the choice of the leſſe is not euill. And euils muſt be in our conſtruction iudged inuitable, if there be no apparent ordinarie way to auoyd them, becauſe where counſell and aduice beare rule, of Gods extraordinary power, without extraordinary warrant we cannot preſume. In ciuill affaires to declare what ſway neceſſitie hath euer beene accuſtomed to beare,

Numb. 22. 28.

a *Neceſſitas quicquid coegit defendit. Senec. Controu. lib.* 9.

b *Act.* 27. 38.

were

were labour infinite. The lawes of all States and Kingdomes in the world haue ſcarſly of any thing more common vſe. Should then only the Church ſhew it ſelfe inhumane and ſterne, abſolutely vrging a rigorous obſeruation of ſpirituall ordinances, without relaxation or exception what neceſſitie ſoeuer happen? We know the [a] contrarie practiſe to haue beene commended by him, vpon the warrant of whoſe iudgement, the Church moſt of all delighted with mercifull and moderate courſes, doth the oftner condeſcend vnto like equitie, permitting in caſes of neceſſitie that, which otherwiſe it diſalloweth and forbiddeth. Caſes of neceſſitie being ſometime but vrgent, ſometime extreme, the conſideration of [b] publique vtilitie is by very good aduice iudged at the leaſt equiualent with the eaſier kinde of neceſſitie. Now that which cauſeth numbers to ſtorme againſt ſome neceſſarie tolerations, which they ſhould rather let paſſe with ſilence, conſidering that in Politie as well Eccleſiaſticall as Ciuill, there are and will be alwayes euils, which no arte of man can cure, breaches and leakes moe then mans wit hath hands to ſtop; that which maketh odious vnto them many things, wherein notwithſtanding the truth is, that very iuſt regard hath beene had of the publike good; that which in a great part of the waightieſt cauſes belonging to this preſent controuerſie, hath inſnared the iudgements both of ſundry good, and of ſome wel learned men, is the manifeſt truth of certaine generall principles, whereupon the ordinances that ſerue for vſuall practiſe in the Church of God are grounded. Which principles men knowing to be moſt ſound, and that the ordinary practiſe accordingly framed is good, whatſoeuer is ouer and beſides that ordinarie, the ſame they iudge repugnant to thoſe true principles. The cauſe of which error is ignorance, what reſtraints and limitations all ſuch principles haue, in regard of ſo manifold varieties, as the [c] *matter* whereunto they are appliable, doth commonly afford. Theſe varieties are not known but by much experience, from whence to draw the true bounds of all principles, to diſcerne how farre-forth they take effect, to ſee where and why they faile, to apprehend by what degrees and meanes they leade to the practiſe of things in ſhow, though not indeed repugnant and contrary one to another, requireth more ſharpneſſe of wit, more intricate circuitions of diſcourſe, more induſtrie and depth of iudgement then common abilitie doth yeeld. So that generall rules, till their limits be fully knowne (eſpecially in matter of publike and Eccleſiaſticall affaires) are, by reaſon of the manifold ſecret exceptions which lye hidden in them, no other to the eye of mans vnderſtanding, then cloudie miſts caſt before the eye of common ſenſe. They that walke in darkneſſe know not whither they goe. And euen as little is their certaintie, whoſe opinions generalities only doe guide. With groſſe and popular capacities, nothing doth more preuaile, then vnlimited generalities, becauſe of their plaineneſſe at the firſt ſight; nothing leſſe with men of exact iudgement, becauſe ſuch rules are not ſafe to be truſted ouer-farre. Generall lawes are like generall rules of Phyſicke, according whereunto, as no wiſe man will deſire himſelfe to be cured, if there be ioyned with his diſeaſe ſome ſpeciall accident, in regard wherof, that whereby others in the ſame infirmitie, but without the like accident, recouer health, would be to him either hurtful, or at the leaſt vnprofitable: So we muſt not, vnder a colourable commendation of holy

a *Luc.6.4.*

b *Cauſa neceſſitatis & vtilitatis equiparantur in iure. Ab.Panor. ad c. vt ſuper. nu. 15. de reb. Eccleſ. non alien.*

c Ἐνίοις περὶ τὰς πράξεις λόγοις οἱ μὲν καθόλου κενώτεροι εἰσιν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ μέρους ἀληθενώτεροι. περὶ γὰρ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα αἱ πράξεις. *Ariſt. Eth. lib. 1. cap. 7.*

holy ordinances in the Church, and of reaſonable cauſes whereupon they haue beene grounded for the common good, imagine that all mens caſes ought to haue one meaſure. Not without ſingular wiſedome therefore it hath beene prouided, that as the ordinarie courſe of common affaires is diſpoſed of by generall lawes, ſo likewiſe mens rarer incident neceſſities and vtilities ſhould be with ſpeciall equitie conſidered. From hence it is, that ſo many priuiledges, immunities, exceptions, and diſpenſations haue beene alwayes with great equitie and reaſon granted, not to turne the edge of Iuſtice, or to make void at certaine times, and in certaine men through meere voluntarie grace or beneuolence, that which continually and vniuerſally ſhould be of force (as ſome vnderſtand it) but in very truth to practiſe generall lawes according to their right meaning. Wee ſee in contracts and other dealings which daily paſſe betweene man and man, that, to the vtter vndoing of ſome, many things by ſtrictneſſe of law may be done, which equitie and honeſt meaning forbiddeth. Not that the law is vniuſt, but vnperfect; nor equitie againſt, but aboue the law; binding mens conſciences in things which law cannot reach vnto. Will any man ſay, that the vertue of priuate equitie is oppoſite and repugnant to that law, the ſilence whereof it ſupplieth in all ſuch priuate dealing? No more is publique equitie againſt the law of publique affaires, albeit the one permit vnto ſome in ſpeciall conſiderations, that which the other agreeably with generall rules of Iuſtice doth in generall ſort forbid. For ſith all good lawes are the voyces of right reaſon, which is the inſtrument wherewith God will haue the world guided, and impoſſible it is that right ſhould withſtand right; it muſt follow that principles and rules of Iuſtice, be they neuer ſo generally vttered, doe no leſſe effectually intend, then if they did plainly expreſſe an exception of all particulars, wherein their literall practiſe might any way preiudice equitie: and becauſe it is naturall vnto all men to wiſh their owne extraordinary benefit, when they thinke they haue reaſonable inducements ſo to doe; and no man can be preſumed a competent iudge what equity doth require in his own caſe, the likelieſt meane whereby the wit of man can prouide, that hee which vſeth the benefit of any ſpeciall benignity aboue the cõmon courſe of others, may inioy it with good conſcience, and not againſt the true purpoſe of lawes, which in outward ſhew are contrarie, muſt needs be to arme with authoritie ſome fit both for qualitie and place to adminiſter that, which in euery ſuch particular ſhal appeare agreeable with equitie: wherein, as it cannot be denied, but that ſometimes the practiſe of ſuch iuriſdiction may ſwarue through error euen in the very beſt, and for other reſpects, where leſſe integritie is: So the watchfulleſt obſeruers of inconueniences that way growing, and the readieſt to vrge them in diſgrace of authoriſed proceedings, doe very well know, that the diſpoſition of theſe things reſteth not now in the hands of Popes, who liue in no worldly awe or ſubiection, but is committed to them whom law may at all times bridle, and ſuperiour power controll; yea to them alſo in ſuch ſort, that law it ſelfe hath ſet downe to what perſons, in what cauſes, with what circumſtances, almoſt euery facultie or fauour ſhall be granted, leauing in a manner nothing vnto them, more then onely to deliuer what is alreadie giuen by law. Which maketh it by many degrees leſſe reaſonable, that vnder pretenſe of

inconueniences ſo eaſily ſtopped, if any did grow, and ſo well preuented, that none may, men ſhould be altogether barred of the libertie that law with equity and reaſon granteth. Theſe things therefore conſidered, we laſtly require that it may not ſeeme hard, if in caſes of neceſſitie, or for common vtilities ſake, certaine profitable ordinances ſometimes be releaſed, rather then all men alwayes ſtrictly bound to the generall rigor thereof.

10 Now where the word of God leaueth the Church to make choyce of her owne ordinances, if againſt thoſe things which haue beene receiued with great reaſon, or againſt that which the ancient practiſe of the Church hath continued time out of minde, or againſt ſuch ordinances as the power and authoritie of that Church vnder which wee liue hath in it ſelfe deuiſed for the publique good, or againſt the diſcretion of the Church in mitigating ſometimes with fauourable equitie, that rigour which otherwiſe the literall generalitie of Eccleſiaſticall Lawes hath iudged to bee more conuenient and meete, if againſt all this it ſhould bee free for men to reproue, to diſgrace, to reiect at their owne libertie what they ſee done and practiſed according to order ſet downe, if in ſo great varietie of wayes, as the witte of man is eaſily able to finde out towards any purpoſe, and in ſo great liking as all men eſpecially haue vnto thoſe inuentions, whereby ſome one ſhall ſeeme to haue beene more inlightned from aboue then many thouſands, the Church did giue euerie man licenſe to follow what himſelfe imagineth that *Gods Spirit doth reueale* vnto him, or what hee ſuppoſeth that God is likely to haue reuealed to ſome ſpeciall perſon, whoſe vertues deſerue to bee highly eſteemed, what other effect could hereupon enſue, but the vtter confuſion of his Church vnder pretenſe of being taught, led, and guided by his Spirit? the gifts and graces whereof doe ſo naturally all tend vnto common peace, that where ſuch ſingularitie is, they whoſe hearts it poſſeſſeth, ought to ſuſpect it the more, in as much as if it did come of God, and ſhould for that cauſe preuaile with others, the ſame God which reuealeth it to them, would alſo giue them power of confirming it vnto others, eyther with miraculous operation, or with ſtrong and inuincible remonſtrance of ſound reaſon, ſuch as whereby it might appeare that God would indeed haue all mens iudgements giue place vnto it; whereas now the errour and vnſufficiencie of their arguments doth make it on the contrarie ſide againſt them a ſtrong preſumption, that God hath not moued their hearts to thinke ſuch things, as he hath not inabled them to proue. And ſo from rules of generall direction it reſteth, that now wee deſcend to a more diſtinct explication of particulars, wherein thoſe rules haue their ſpeciall efficacie.

The rule of mens priuate ſpirits not ſafe in theſe caſes to be followed.

11 Solemne ducties of publique ſeruice to bee done vnto God, muſt haue their places ſet and prepared in ſuch ſort, as beſeemeth actions of that regard. *Adam* euen during the ſpace of his ſmall continuance in Paradiſe, had [a] where to preſent himſelfe before the Lord. *Adams* ſonnes had out of Paradiſe in like ſort [b] whither to bring their ſacrifices. The Patriarkes vſed [c] altars, and [d] mountaines and [e] groues to the ſelfe ſame purpoſe. In the vaſt wilderneſſe when the people of God had themſelues no ſetled habitation, yet a moueable [f] tabernacle they were commanded of God to make. The like charge

Places for the publique ſeruice of God.

a *Gen* 3.8.
b *Gen.*4.3.
c *Gen.*13.4.
d 22.1.
e 21.33.
f *Exod.* 26.

charge was giuen them against the time they should come to settle themselues
a Deut.12.5. in the land which had beene promised vnto their fathers, a *Yee shall seeke that place which the Lord your God shall chuse.* When God had chosen Ierusalem, and
b 2.Chron.3.1. in Ierusalem mount b *Moria*, there to haue his standing habitation made, it
c 2.Chron. 6.7. Psal.132.5. was in the chiefest of c *Dauids* desires to haue performed so good a worke. His griefe was no lesse, that he could not haue the honor to build God a Temple, then their anger is at this day, who bite asunder their owne tongues with very wrath, that they haue not as yet the power to pull downe the Temples which they neuer built, and to leuell them with the ground. It was no meane thing which hee purposed. To performe a worke so maiesticall and stately was no
d 2.Chro.25.9. small charge. Therefore d hee incited all men vnto bountifull contribution, and procured towards it with all his power, gold, siluer, brasse, iron, wood,
e 1.Chro.29.3. precious stones in great abundance. Yea moreouer, e *because I haue* (saith *Dauid*) *a ioy in the house of my God, I haue of mine owne gold and siluer, besides all that I haue prepared for the house of the Sanctuarie, giuen to the house of my God three thousand talents of gold, euen the gold of Ophir, seuen thousand talents of fined siluer.* After the ouerthrow of this first house of God, a second was in stead
f Ezr.3.12. Agge.2.4. thereof erected, but with so great oddes, that f they wept which had seene the former, and beheld how much this later came behind it, the beautie whereof notwithstanding was such, that euen this was also the wonder of the whole world. Besides which Temple, there were both in other parts of the Land, and euen in Ierusalem, by processe of time, no small number of Synagogues for men to resort vnto. Our Sauiour himselfe, and after him the Apostles frequented both the one and the other. The Church of Christ which was in Ierusalem, and held that profession which had not the publique allowance and countenance of authoritie, could not so long vse the exercise of
g Act.1.19. & 2.1. & 2.46. Christian religion but in g priuate only. So that as Iewes they had accesse to the Temple and Synagogues, where God was serued after the custome of the Law; but for that which they did as Christians, they were of necessitie forced otherwhere to assemble themselues. And as God gaue increase to his Church, they sought out both there and abroad for that purpose not the fittest (for so the times would not suffer them to doe) but the safest places they could. In processe of time somewhiles by sufferance, somewhiles by speciall leaue and fauor, they beganne to erect to themselues Oratories, not in any sumptuous or stately manner, which neither was possible by reason of the poore estate of the Church, and had beene perilous in regard of the worlds enuie towards them. At the length, when it pleased God to raise vp Kings and Emperours fauouring sincerely the Christian truth, that which the Church before eyther could not, or durst not doe, was with all alacritie performed. Temples were in all places erected. No cost was spared, nothing iudged too deare which that way should bee spent. The whole world did seeme to exult, that it had occasion of powring out gifts to so blessed a purpose. That cheerefull deuotion which
h 1.Chron.29. 17.18. *Dauid* this way did exceedingly delight to behold, and h wish that the same in the Iewish people might bee perpetuall, was then in Christian people euery where to be seene. Their actions till this day alwayes accustomed to be spoken of with great honor, are now called openly into question. They and as many

as

as haue beene followers of their example in that thing; we eſpecially that worſhippe God, either in Temples which their hands made, or which other men ſithence haue framed by the like patterne, are in that reſpect charged no leſſe then with the very ſinne of Idolatrie. Our Churches in the ſpeame of that good Spirit, which directeth ſuch fierie tongues, they terme ſpitefully the Temples of *Baal*, are idoll Synagogues, abominable ſtyes.

12 Wherein the firſt thing which moueth them thus to caſt vp their poyſon, are certaine ſolemnities vſuall at the firſt erection of Churches. Now although the ſame ſhould be blame-worthie, yet this age (thankes be to God) hath reaſonably well forborne to incurre the danger of any ſuch blame. It cannot be laid to many mens charge at this day liuing, either that they haue beene ſo curious, as to trouble Biſhops with placing the firſt ſtone in the Churches they built, or ſo ſcrupulous, as after the erection of them, to make any great adoe for their dedication. In which kinde notwithſtanding as wee doe neither allow vnmeete, nor purpoſe the ſtiffe defence of any vnneceſſarie cuſtome [a] heretofore receiued: So wee know no reaſon wherefore Churches ſhould be the worſe, if at the firſt erecting of them, at the making of them publique, at the time when they are deliuered, as it were, into Gods owne poſſeſſion, and when the vſe whereunto they ſhall euer ſerue is eſtabliſhed, Ceremonies fit to betoken ſuch intents, and to accompanie ſuch actions be vſuall, as [b] in the pureſt times they haue beene. When [c] *Conſtantine* had finiſhed an houſe for the ſeruice of God at Ieruſalem, the dedication he iudged a matter not vnworthie, about the ſolemne performance whereof, the greateſt part of the Biſhops in Chriſtendome ſhould meete together. Which thing they did at the Emperours motion, each moſt willingly ſetting forth that action to their power; ſome with Orations, ſome with Sermons, ſome with the ſacrifice of Prayers vnto God for the peace of the world, for the Churches ſafetie, for the Emperours and his childrens good. [d] By *Athanaſius* the like is recorded concerning a Biſhop of Alexandria, in a worke of the like deuout magnificence. So that whether Emperours or Biſhops in thoſe dayes were Church-founders, the ſolemne dedication of Churches they thought not to bee a worke in it ſelfe either vaine, or ſuperſtitious. Can we iudge it a thing ſeemely for any man to goe about the building of an houſe to the God of heauen with no other apparance, than if his end were to reare vp a kitchen, or a parlor for his owne vſe? Or when a worke of ſuch nature is finiſhed, remaineth there nothing but preſently to vſe it, and ſo an end? It behoooueth that the place where God ſhall be ſerued by the whole Church, bee a publique place, for the auoiding of priuie conuenticles, which couered with pretenſe of religion, may ſerue vnto dangerous practiſes. Yea, although ſuch aſſemblies be had indeed for religions ſake, hurtfull neuertheleſſe they may eaſily proue, as well in regard of their fitneſſe to ſerue the turne of Heretiques, and ſuch as priuily will ſooneſt aduenture to inſtill their poyſon into mens mindes; as alſo for the occaſion, which thereby is giuen to malitious perſons, both of ſuſpecting, and of traducing with more colourable ſhew thoſe actions, which in themſelues being holy, ſhould be ſo ordered, that no man might probably otherwiſe thinke of them. Which conſiderations haue by ſo much the greater waight, for that of theſe incõueniences the Church heretofore

The ſolemnitie of erecting Churches, condemned by *Bar. pag.* 130. The hallowing and dedicating of them ſcorned. *pag.* 141.

a *Durand. rationall. lib.* 1. *cap.* 6. & *de conſecra. d.* 1. *c. tabernaculum. Greg. Mag. lib.* 10. *epiſt.* 12. & *lib.* 7. *epiſt.* 71. & *lib.* 8. *epiſt.* 63.

b Ἐγκαίνια τιμᾶσθαι πάλαιος νόμος, καὶ καλῶς ἔχων, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ νέα τιμᾶσθαι δι' ἐγκαινίων. Καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις ἐκάστης τὸ ἐνιαυτὸν περὶ τροπῆς γλυκὺ αὐτῷ ἡμέραν ἐπαγέσης ἵνα μὴ ἐξίτηλα τῷ χρόνῳ γένηται τὰ καλά. *Gregor. Nazian. orat.* εἰς τὸν κυριακὸν.

c *Vide Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. lib.* 4. *cap.* 41. 43. 44. 45.

d *Athanaſ. Apolog. ad Conſtantium.*

heretofore had ſo plaine experience, when Chriſtian men were driuen to vſe ſecret meetings, becauſe the libertie of publique places was not graunted them. There are which hold, that the preſence of a Chriſtian multitude, and the duties of religion performed amongſt them, doe make the place of their aſſembly publike, euen as the preſence of the King and his retinue maketh any mans houſe a Court. But this I take to be an errour, in as much as the only thing which maketh any place publike, is the publike aſſignement thereof vnto ſuch duties. As for the multitude there aſſembled, or the duties which they performe, it doth not appeare how either ſhould be of force to infuſe any ſuch prerogatiue. Nor doth the ſolemne dedication of Churches ſerue onely to make them publike, but further alſo to ſurrender vp that right which otherwiſe their founders might haue in them, and to make God himſelfe their owner. For which cauſe at the erection and conſecration as well of the
a *Exod.*40.34. 1.*Reg.*8.11. a Tabernacle, as of the Temple, it pleaſed the Almightie to giue a manifeſt
b *Exod.*40.9. ſigne that he tooke poſſeſſion of both. Finally, b it notifieth in ſolemne manner the holy and religious vſe whereunto it is intended ſuch houſes ſhall bee
c 1.*Reg.*8. put. c Theſe things the wiſedome of *Salomon* did not account ſuperfluous. Hee knew how eaſily that which was meant ſhould be holy and ſacred, might be drawne from the vſe whereunto it was firſt prouided; hee knew how bold men are to take euen from God himſelfe; how hardly that houſe would bee kept from impious profanation, he knew; and right wiſely therefore endeuoured by ſuch ſolemnities to leaue in the mindes of men that
d *Leuit.*16.2. The place named Holy. d impreſſion, which might ſomewhat reſtraine their boldneſſe, and nouriſh a reuerend affection towards the houſe of God. For which cauſe when the firſt houſe was deſtroyed, and a new in the ſtead thereof erected by the children of Iſrael after
e *Ezr.*6.16. their returne from captiuitie, they kept the e dedication euen of this houſe
f *Matth.*21.13. alſo with ioy. The f argument which our Sauiour vſeth againſt prophaners of the Temple, he taketh from the vſe whereunto it was with ſolemnitie conſecrated. And as the Prophet *Ieremie* forbiddeth the carrying of
g *Ier.*17.24. g burthens on the Sabbath, becauſe that was a ſanctified day: So becauſe the Temple
h *Mark.*11.16. was a place ſanctified, our Lord would not ſuffer, no h not the carriage of a veſſell thorow the Temple. Theſe two commandements therefore are in
i *Leuit.*26.2. the Law conioyned, i *Yee ſhall keepe my Sabbaths, and reuerence my Sanctuarie.*
k 1.*Cor.*11.22. Out of thoſe the Apoſtles words, k *Haue yee not houſes to eate and drinke?* albeit Temples, ſuch as now, were not then erected for the exerciſe of Chriſtian Re-
l *Pet.Cluniac.* ligion, l it hath beene neuertheleſſe not abſurdly conceiued, that he teacheth what difference ſhould bee made betweene houſe and houſe; that what is fit for the dwelling place of God, and what for mans habitation hee ſheweth; requireth that Chriſtian men at their owne home take common food, and in the houſe of the Lord none but that food which is heauenly; hee inſtructeth them, that as in the one place they vſe to refreſh their bodies, ſo they may in the other learne to ſeeke the nouriſhment of their ſoules; and as there they ſuſtaine temporall life, ſo heere they would learne to make prouiſion for eternall. Chriſt could not ſuffer that the Temple ſhould ſerue for a place of Mart, nor the Apoſtle of Chriſt, that the Church ſhould bee made an Inne. When therefore wee ſanctifie or hallow Churches, that

which

which we do, is only to teſtifie that we make the places of publike reſort, that we inueſt God himſelfe with them, that we ſeuer them from common vſes. In which action, other ſolemnities then ſuch as are decent and fit for that purpoſe, we approue none. Indeed we condemne not all as vnmeet, the like whereunto haue beene either deuiſed or vſed haply amongſt Idolaters. For why ſhould conformitie with them in matter of opinion be lawfull, when they thinke that which is true, if in action, when they doe that which is meete, it be not lawfull to be like vnto them? Are we to forſake any true opinion, becauſe Idolaters haue maintained it? Nor to ſhun any requiſite action, only becauſe we haue in the practiſe thereof bin preuented by Idolaters. It is no impoſſible thing, but that ſometimes they may iudge as rightly what is decent about externall affaires of God, as in greater things what is true. Not therefore whatſoeuer Idolaters haue either thought or done, but let whatſoeuer they haue either thought or done *idolatrouſly, be ſo farre forth* abhorred. For of that which is good, euen in euill things, God is Author.

13 Touching the names of Angels and Saints, whereby the moſt of our Churches are called; as the cuſtome of ſo naming them is very ancient, ſo neither was the cauſe thereof at the firſt, nor is the vſe and continuance with vs at this preſent hurtfull. That Churches were conſecrated vnto none but the Lord onely, the very generall name it ſelfe doth ſufficiently ſhew, in as much as by plaine grammaticall conſtruction, [a] *Church* doth ſignifie no other thing then *The Lords houſe*. And becauſe the multitude, as of perſons, ſo of things particular, cauſeth variety of proper names to be deuiſed for diſtinctions ſake, founders of *Churches* did herein that which beſt liked their owne conceit at the preſent time; yet each intending, that as oft as thoſe buildings came to be mentioned, the name ſhould put men in minde of ſome memorable thing or perſon. Thus therefore it commeth to paſſe, that all Churches haue had their names, [b] ſome as memorials of peace, ſome of wiſdome, ſome in memorie of the Trinitie it ſelfe; ſome of Chriſt vnder ſundrie titles; of the bleſſed Virgin not a few, many of one Apoſtle, Saint, or Martyr, many of all. In which reſpect their commendable purpoſe being not of euery one vnderſtood, they haue been in later ages conſtrued, as though they had ſuperſtitiouſly meant, either that thoſe places which were denominated of Angels and Saints, ſhould ſerue for the worſhip of ſo glorious creatures, or elſe thoſe glorified creatures for defence, protection, and patronage of ſuch places. A thing which the Ancients doe vtterly diſclaime. [c] To them, ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, we appoint no Churches, becauſe they are not to vs as Gods. Againe, *The Nations to their gods erected Temples, wee not Temples vnto our Martyrs, as vnto gods, but memorials as vnto dead men, whoſe ſpirits with God are ſtill liuing.* Diuers conſiderations there are, for which Christian Churches might firſt take their names of Saints; as either becauſe by the miniſterie of Saints it pleaſed God there to ſhew ſome rare effect of his power; or elſe in regard of death; which thoſe Saints hauing ſuffered for the teſtimonie of Ieſus Chriſt, did thereby make the places where they died venerable; or thirdly, for that it liked good and vertuous men to giue ſuch occaſion of mentioning them often, to the end that the naming of their perſons might cauſe inquirie to bee made, and meditation to bee had of their vertues.

Of the names whereby we diſtinguiſh our Churches.

a From Κυριακὴ, *Kyrie*, and by adding letters of aſpiration, *Church*.

b *Vide Socr. lib.1. cap.16. Euagr. lib 4. cap.30. Hiſt. Trip. lib. 4. cap 18.*

c *Vide Aug. lib.8 de Ciuit. Dei, cap.27. lib.22.cap.10. Epiſt.49. ad Deogra.*

The duetie which Chriſtian men performed in keeping feſtiuall dedications.

S. *Baſil* termeth λατρείαν τῷ Θεῷ, acknowledging the ſame to haue beene withall, τιμὰς εἰς τοὺς μάρτυρας. *Baſil in Pſal.114*

vertues. Wherefore seeing that we cannot iustly account it superstition, to giue vnto Churches those fore-rehearsed names, as memorials either of holy persons or things, if it be plaine that their founders did with such meaning name them, shall not wee in otherwise taking them, offer them iniurie? Or if it be obscure or vncertaine what they meant, yet this construction being more fauorable, charity (I hope) constraineth no man which standeth doubtfull of their mindes, to leane to the hardest and worst interpretation that their words can carrie. Yea, although it were cleare, that they all (for the error of some is manifest in this behalfe) had therein a superstitious intent, wherefore should their fault preiudice vs, who (as all men know) doe vse but by way of meere distinction the names which they of superstition gaue? In the vse of those names whereby wee distinguish both dayes and moneths, are we culpable of superstition, because they were, who first inuented them? The signe of [a] *Castor* and *Pollux* superstitiously giuen vnto that ship wherein the Apostle sailed, polluteth not the Euangelists pen, who thereby doth but distinguish that ship from others. If to *Daniel* there had beene giuen no other name, but onely [b] *Beltshazzar*, giuen him in honor of the Babylonian Idoll *Belti*, should their idolatrie, which were authors of that name, cleaue vnto euery man which had so tearmed him by way of personall difference onely? were it not to satisfie the mindes of the simpler sort of men, these nice curiosities are not worthie the labour which wee bestow to answere them.

a *Act.* 28. 11.

b *Dan.* 4. 5. *Vide Scal. de emendat. temp. lib.* 6. *pag.* 277.

Of the fashion of our Churches.

14 The like vnto this is a fancie, which they haue against the fashion of our Churches, as being framed according to the paterne of the Iewish Temple. A fault no lesse grieuous, if so be it were true, then if some King should build his mansion house by the modell of *Salomons* Palace. So farre-forth as our Churches and their Temple haue one end, what should let, but that they may lawfully haue one forme? The Temple was for sacrifice, and therefore had roomes to that purpose, such as ours haue none. Our Churches are places prouided, that the people might there assemble themselues in due and decent manner, according to their seuerall degrees and orders. Which thing being common vnto vs with Iewes, we haue in this respect our Churches diuided by certaine partitions, although not so many in number as theirs. They had their seuerall for Heathen Nations, their seuerall for the people of their owne Nation, their seuerall for men, their seuerall for women, their seuerall for the Priests, and for the high Priest alone their seuerall. There being in ours for locall distinction betweene the Clergie and the rest (which yet we do not with any great strictnesse or curiositie obserue neither) but one partition, the cause whereof at the first (as it seemeth) was, that as many as were capable of the holy mysteries, might there assemble themselues, and no other creepe in amongst them; this is now made a matter so hainous, as if our Religion thereby were become plaine Iudaisme, and as though wee retained a most holy place, whereinto there might not any but the High Priest alone enter, according to the custome of the Iewes.

The sumptuousnesse of Churches.

15 Some it highly displeaseth, that so great expēses this way are imploied: *The mother of such magnificence* (they thinke) *is but onely a proud ambitious desire to be spoken of farre and wide. Suppose we that God himselfe delighteth to dwell sumptuously,*

inouſly, or taketh pleaſure in chargeable pompe? No, then was he Lord moſt acceptably ſerued, when his Temples were roomes borrowed within the houſes of poore men. This was ſutable vnto the nakednes of Ieſus Chriſt and the ſimplicity of his Goſpell. What thoughts or cogitations they had which were authors of thoſe things, the vſe and benefit whereof hath deſcended vnto our ſelues, as we doe not know, ſo we need not ſearch. It commeth (we grant) many times to paſſe, that the workes of men being the ſame, their drifts and purpoſes therein are diuers. The charge of *Herod* about the Temple of God was ambitious, yet *Salomons* vertuous, *Conſtantines* holy. But howſoeuer their hearts are diſpoſed by whom any ſuch thing is done in the world, ſhall wee thinke that it baneth the worke which they leaue behinde them, or taketh away from others the vſe and benefit thereof? Touching God himſelfe, hath he any where reuealed, that it is his delight to dwell beggerly? and that he taketh no pleaſure to be worſhipped, ſauing onely in poore cottages? Euen then was the Lord as acceptably honoured of his people as euer, when the ſtatelieſt places and things in the whole world were ſought out to adorn his temple. This is moſt *ſuteable, decent and fit for the greatneſſe of Ieſus Chriſt, for the ſublimitie of his Goſpell, except we thinke of Chriſt and his Goſpell as [a] the officers of *Iulian* did. As therefore the ſonne of *Syrach* giueth verdict concerning thoſe things, which God hath wrought, [b] *A man need not ſay this is worſe then that, this more acceptable to God, that leſſe, for in their ſeaſon they are all worthie praiſe:* the like we may alſo conclude, as touching theſe two ſo contrarie wayes of prouiding in meaner or in coſtlier ſort for the honor of Almightie God, *A man need not ſay this is worſe then that, this more acceptable to God, that leſſe, for with him they are in their ſeaſon both allowable*; the one, when the ſtate of the Church is poore, the other, when God hath inriched it with plentie. When they, which had ſeene the beautie of the firſt Temple, built by *Salomon* in the dayes of his great proſperitie and peace, beheld how farre it excelled the ſecond, which had not builders of like ability, the teares of their grieued eyes the Prophets [c] endeuoured with comforts to wipe away. Whereas if the houſe of God were by ſo much the more perfect, by how much the glorie therof is leſſe, they ſhould haue done better to reioyce then weep, their Prophets better to reproue then comfort. It being obiected againſt the Church in the times of vniuerſall perſecution, that her ſeruice done to God was not ſolemnly performed in temples fit for the honor of diuine Maieſtie, their moſt conuenient anſwere was, that [d] *The beſt Temples which we can dedicate to God, are our ſanctified ſoules and bodies.* Whereby it plainely appeareth, how the Fathers, when they were vpbraided with that defect, comforted themſelues with the meditation of Gods moſt gracious and merciful nature, who did not therefore the leſſe accept of their hartie affection and zeale rather, then took any great delight, or imagined any high perfection in ſuch their want of externall Ornaments, which when they wanted, the cauſe was their only lacke of abilitie; abilitie ſeruing, they wanted them not. Before the [e] Emperour *Conſtantines* time, vnder *Seuerus*, *Gordian*, *Philip*, and *Galienus*, the ſtate of Chriſtian affaires being tolerable, the former buildings which were but of meane and ſmall eſtate contented them not, ſpatious and ample Churches they erected throughout euery Citie. No enuie was able to bee

a Ἔργον τὸ μὲγα καὶ καλὸν τίμιον. τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον ἡ θεωρία θαυμασὴ. Ariſt. Eth. l. 4. c. 2. τὰ αἰσθήσει καλὰ καὶ νοήσει καλῶν ἐναντίως. Philo Iud.

a Felix theſauri imperialis quæſtor conſpicatus ſacrorum vaſorum pretia, En inquit qualibus vaſis miniſtratur Mariæ filio. Theodoret. hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. cap. 12.

b Eccleſ. 39. 34.

c Agge 2. 5. 10.

d Minut. Fel. in Octau.

e Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 1.

their hinderance, no practiſe of Satan or fraude of men auaileable againſt their proceedings herein, while they continued as yet worthie to feele the ayde of the arme of God extended ouer them for their ſafetie. Theſe Churches *Dioclesian* [a] cauſed by ſolemne Edict to bee afterwards ouerthrowne. *Maximinus* with like authoritie giuing leaue to erect them, the hearts of all men were euen wrapt with diuine ioy, to ſee thoſe places, which tyrannous impietie had laid waſte, recouered, as it were, out of mortall calamitie, Churches [b] *reared vp to an height immeaſurable, and adorned with far more beautie in their reſtauration, then their founders before had giuen them.* Whereby we ſee how moſt Chriſtian mindes ſtood then affected, we ſee how ioyfull they were to behold the ſumptuous ſtatelines of houſes built vnto Gods glorie. If we ſhould, ouer and beſides this, alleage the care which was had, that all things about the Tabernacle of *Moſes* might be as beautifull, gorgeous and rich, as arte could make them, or what trauell and coſt was beſtowed, that the goodlines of the Temple might be a ſpectacle of admiration to all the world; this they wil ſay was figuratiue, and ſerued by Gods appointment but for a time, to ſhadow out the true euerlaſting glory of a more diuine Sanctuarie, whereinto Chriſt being long ſithence entred, it ſeemeth that all thoſe curious exornations ſhould rather ceaſe. Which thing wee alſo our ſelues would grant, if the vſe thereof had beene meerely and onely myſticall. But ſith the Prophet *Dauid* doth mention a naturall conueniencie which ſuch kinde of bounteous expences haue, as well for that we doe thereby giue vnto God a teſtimonie of our [c] cheerefull affection, which thinketh nothing too deere to be beſtowed about the furniture of his ſeruice; as alſo becauſe it ſerueth to the world for a witneſſe of his [d] Almightineſſe, whom we outwardly honor with the chiefeſt of outward things, as being of all things himſelfe incomparably the greateſt. Beſides, were it not alſo ſtrange, if God ſhould haue made ſuch ſtore of glorious creatures on earth, and leaue them all to bee conſumed in fecular vanitie, allowing none but the baſer ſort to be imployed in his owne ſeruice? To aſſet forth the [e] Maieſtie of Kings his Vicegerents in this world, the moſt gorgeous and rare treaſures which the world hath, are procured. We think, [f] belike, that he wil accept what the meaneſt of them would diſdaine. If there be great care to build and beautifie theſe corruptible Sanctuaries, little or none, that the liuing Temples of the holy Ghoſt, the deerely redeemed ſoules of the people of God may bee edified; huge expences vpon Timber and ſtone, but towards the reliefe of the poore ſmall deuotion; Coſt this way infinite, and in the meane while Charitie cold; wee haue in ſuch caſe iuſt occaſion to make complaint as [g] Saint *Ierome* did, *The walles of the Church there are enow contented to builde, and to vnderſet it with goodly pillers, the marbles are poliſhed, the roofes ſhine with gold, the altar hath precious ſtones to adorne it, and of Chriſts Miniſters no choyce at all.* The ſame *Ierome* both in that place and [h] elſewhere debaſeth with like intent the glory of ſuch magnificence (a thing whereunto mens affections in thoſe times needed no ſpurre) thereby to extoll the neceſſitie ſometimes of charitie and almes, ſometimes of other the moſt principall duties belonging vnto Chriſtian men, which duties were neither ſo highly eſteemed as they ought, and being compared with that in queſtion, the

[a] *Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 8.*

[b] *Euſeb. lib. 10. cap. 2.*

[c] *1. Chro. 18. 14.*

[d] *2. Chron. 2. 5.*

[e] *Matth. 6. 29.*

[f] *Malac. 1. 8.*

[g] *Ad Nepotian. de vita cleric.*

[h] *Ad Demetr. epiſt. 12. ad Gaudentium.*

directeſt

directeſt ſentence wee can giue of them both, as vnto me it ſeemeth, is this, *God, who requireth the one as neceſſary, accepteth the other alſo as being an honorable worke.*

16 Our opinion concerning the force and vertue which ſuch places haue, is, I truſt, without any blemiſh or ſtaine of hereſie. Churches receiue, as euery thing elſe, their chiefe perfection from the end whereunto they ſerue. Which end being the publike worſhip of God, they are in this conſideration houſes of greater dignitie, then any prouided for meaner purpoſes. For which cauſe they ſeeme after a ſort euen to mourne, as being iniuried and defrauded of their right, when places not ſanctified as they are, preuent them *vnneceſſarily* in that preeminence and honor. Whereby alſo it doth come to paſſe, that the ſeruice of God hath not then it ſelfe, *ſuch perfection of grace and comlines*, as when the dignity of place which it wiſheth for doth concurre. Again, albeit the true worſhip of God be to God in it ſelfe acceptable, who reſpecteth not ſo much in what place, as with what affection he is ſerued; and therefore *Moſes* in the midſt of the ſea, *Iob* on the dunghill, *Ezechias* in bed, *Ieremie* in mire, *Ionas* in the Whale, *Daniel* in the den, the Children in the furnace, the Thiefe on the Croſſe, *Peter* and *Paul* in priſon calling vnto God, were heard, as [a] S. *Baſil* noteth: manifeſt notwithſtanding it is, that the very maieſty and holines of the place, where God is worſhipped, hath *in regard of vs* great vertue, force and efficacie, for that it ſerueth as a ſenſible helpe to ſtirre vp deuotion, and *in that reſpect*, no doubt, *bettereth* euen our holieſt and beſt actions in this kinde. As therefore we euery where exhort all men to worſhip God, euen ſo, for performance of this ſeruice by the people of God aſſembled, we thinke not any place *ſo good* as the Church, neither any exhortation ſo fit as that of *Dauid*, [b] *O worſhip the Lord in the beautie of holineſſe.*

What holines and vertue we aſcribe to the Church, more then other places.

a *Exhort. ad bapt. & paniten.*

b *Pſal.96.9.*

17 For of our Churches thus it becommeth vs to eſteeme, howſoeuer others rapt with the pang of a furious zeale, doe powre out againſt them denout blaſphemies, crying, [c] *Downe with them, downe with them, euen to the very ground; For to Idolatrie they haue beene abuſed. And the places where Idols haue beene worſhipped, are by* [d] *the Law of God deuote to vtter deſtruction. For execution of which Law, the* [e] *Kings that were godly, as* Aſa, Ioſaphat, Ezechia, Ioſia, *deſtroyed all the high places, Altars and Groues, which had beene erected in Iuda and Iſrael. He that ſaid, Thou ſhalt haue no other Gods before my face, hath likewiſe ſaid, Thou ſhalt vtterly deface and deſtroy all theſe Synagogues and places where ſuch Idols haue beene worſhipped. This Law containeth the temporall puniſhment which God hath ſet downe, and will that men execute, for the breach of the other Law. They which ſpare them therefore, doe but reſerue, as the Hypocrite* Saul *did, execrable things, to worſhip God withall.* The truth is, that as no man ſerueth God, and loueth him not; ſo neither can any man ſincerely loue God, and not extremely abhor that ſin, which is the higheſt degree of treaſon againſt the ſupreme Guide and Monarch of the whole world, with whoſe diuine authoritie and power it inueſteth others. By meanes whereof the ſtate of Idolaters is two waies miſerable. Firſt, in that which they worſhip [f] they find no ſuccor; & ſecondly, at his hands whom they ought to ſerue, there is no other thing to be looked for, but the effects of moſt iuſt diſpleaſure, the [g] withdrawing of grace, [h] dereliction in this world, and in the world to come [i] confuſion.

Their pretenſe that would haue Churches vtterly razed.

c *Pſal.137.7.*

d *Deut.12.2.*

e *2.Chron.17.6. 2.Chron.29. 2.Chron.3.*

f *Iſa.8.21. 4.20. Hoſ 14.4. Iſa.41.24.*

g *Pſal.115.8. 81.13. Rom.1.24.*

h *Iudic.6.13.*

i *Apoc.21.8. Iſa.2.21.*

sion. [k] *Paul* and *Barnabas*, when Infidels admiring their vertues, went about to sacrifice vnto them, rent their garments in token of horror, and as frighted persons, ranne crying thorow the preasse of the people, *O men, wherefore doe yee these things?* They knew the force of that dreadfull [l] curse whereunto Idolatrie maketh subiects. Nor is there cause why the guiltie sustaining the same, should grudge or complaine of iniustice. For whatsoeuer euill befalleth in that respect, [m] themselues haue made themselues worthie to suffer it. As for those things either *whereon*, or else *wherewith* superstition worketh, polluted they are by such *abuse*, and depriued of that dignitie which their nature delighteth in. For there is nothing which doth not grieue, and as it were, euen loath it selfe, whensoeuer iniquitie causeth it to serue vnto vile purposes. Idolatrie therefore maketh, whatsoeuer it toucheth, the worse. Howbeit, sith creatures which haue no vnderstanding can shew no will; and where no will is, there is no sinne; and only that which sinneth is subiect to *punishment*; which way should any such creature be *punishable* by the law of God? There may be cause sometimes to *abolish*, or to *extinguish* them. But surely neuer by way of punishment *to the things themselues*. Yea farther, howsoeuer the Law of *Moses* did punish Idolaters, we finde not that God hath appointed for vs any definite or *certaine temporall iudgement*, which the Christian Magistrate *is of necessitie for euer* bound to execute vpon *offenders* in that kind, much lesse vpon *things* that way *abused* as meere *instruments*. For what God did command touching Canaan, the same concerneth not vs any otherwise then only as a fearefull patterne of his iust displeasure and wrath against sinfull Nations. It teacheth vs how *God thought good* to plague and afflict them. It doth not appoint in what forme and manner *we ought* to punish the sinne of Idolatrie *in all others*. Vnlesse they will say, that because the Israelites were commanded to make no couenant with the people of that Land, therfore leagues and truces made between superstitious persons, and such as serue God aright, are vnlawfull altogether; or because God commanded the Israelites to smite the inhabitants of Canaan, and to roote them out, that therefore reformed Churches are bound to put all others to the edge of the sword. Now whereas [a] *Commandement* was also giuen to destroy all *places* where the Cananites had serued their gods, and not to conuert any of them to the honor of the true God: *this precept had reference vnto a speciall intent* and purpose, which was, that there should be *but one only place* in the whole Land, whereunto the people might bring such offerings, gifts, and sacrifices, as their *Leuiticall* law did require. By which law, seuere charge was giuen them in that respect, not to conuert *those places* to the worship of the liuing God, where Nations before them had serued Idols, [b] *But to seeke the place which the Lord their God should chuse out of all their tribes*. Besides, it is reason wee should likewise consider how great a difference there is betweene their proceedings, who erect a new Common-wealth, which is to haue neither people nor law, neither regiment nor religion the same that was, and theirs, who onely reforme a decayed estate, by reducing it to that perfection from which it hath swarued. In this case we are to retaine as much, in the other as little of former things as wee may. Sith therefore examples haue not *generally* the force of lawes which all men ought to keepe, but of counsels onely and perswasions not amisse to be followed

k *Act.14.14.*

l *Deut.28.20.*

m *Ier.2.17.*

a *Deut.12.2.*

b *Deut.12.4.5.*

followed by them whoſe caſe is the like, ſurely where caſes are ſo vnlike as theirs and ours, I ſee not how that which they did, ſhould induce, much leſſe any way enforce vs to the ſame practiſe, eſpecially conſidering that *groues* and *hill-altars* were, while they did remaine, both dangerous in regard of the ſecret acceſſe, which people ſuperſtitiouſly giuen, might haue alwayes thereunto with eaſe, neither could they remaining ſerue with any fitneſſe vnto better purpoſe: whereas our Temples (their former abuſe being by order of law remoued) are not only free from ſuch perill, but withall ſo conueniently framed for the people of God to ſerue and honor him therein, that no man beholding them, can chuſe but thinke it exceeding great pitie they ſhould be euer any otherwiſe employed. Yea but the Cattell of *Amaleck* (you will ſay) were *fit* for ſacrifice, and this was the very conceit which ſometime deceiued *Saul*. It was ſo. Nor doe I any thing doubt, but that *Saul* vpon this conceit might euen lawfully haue offered to God thoſe reſerued ſpoiles, had not the Lord *in that particular caſe* giuen *ſpeciall charge* to the contrarie. As therefore notwithſtanding the commandement of *Iſrael* to deſtroy Cananites, Idolaters may be conuerted and liue: So the Temples which haue ſerued Idolatrie as inſtruments, may be ſanctified againe and continue, albeit, to *Iſrael* commandement haue beene giuen, that *they* ſhould deſtroy all Idolatrous places *in their land*; and to the good Kings of Iſrael commendation for fulfilling, to the euill for diſobeying the ſame commandement, ſometimes puniſhment, alwayes ſharpe and ſeuere reproofe hath euen from the Lord himſelfe befallen. Thus much it may ſuffice to haue written in defence of thoſe Chriſtian oratories, the ouerthrow and ruine whereof is deſired, not now by Infidels, Pagans, or Turkes, but by a ſpeciall refined ſect of Chriſtian beleeuers; pretending themſelues exceedingly grieued at our ſolemnities in erecting Churches, at the names which we ſuffer them to hold, at their forme and faſhion, at the ſtatelineſſe of them and coſtlineſſe, at the opinion which we haue of them, and at the manifold ſuperſtitious abuſes whereunto they haue beene put.

Of publike teaching, or preaching, and the firſt kinde thereof, Catechiſing.

18 Places of publike reſort being thus prouided for, our repaire thither is eſpecially for mutuall conference, and as it were commerce to bee had betweene God and vs. Becauſe therefore want[a] of the knowledge of God is the cauſe of all iniquity amongſt men, as contrariwiſe, the very ground of all our happineſſe, and the ſeed of whatſoeuer perfect vertue groweth from vs, is a right opinion touching things diuine, this kinde of knowledge we may iuſtly ſet downe for the firſt and chiefeſt thing which God imparteth vnto his people, and our dutie of receiuing this at his mercifull hands, for the firſt of thoſe religious offices wherewith we publikely honor him on earth. For the inſtruction therfore of all ſorts of men to eternall life, it is neceſſary, that the ſacred and ſauing truth of God be openly publiſhed vnto them. Which open publication of *heauenly myſteries*, is by an excellencie termed *preaching*. For otherwiſe there is not any thing *publikely notified*, but we may in that reſpect, rightly and properly ſay it is [b] *preached*. So that when the ſchoole of God doth vſe it as *a word of arte*, we are accordingly to vnderſtand it with reſtraint to ſuch

a *Contraria ſortia in quibus homines ſibi inuicem opponantur ſecundum exercitia & deſideria & opiniones omnia prouenium ex ignorantia: ſicut cæcum in priuatione ſui viſus negatur videre & læditur. Scientia veritatis tollit hominum iniuicitiam & odium. Hoc promiſit ſancta Theologia dicens, Habitabit agnus cum lupo. Et aſſignat rationem, Replata eſt terra ſapientia Domini,* Moſes *Aegypt. in Mor. Hannebuch. lib. 3. cap. 12.* b *Luc. 8. 39. 12. 3.*

such speciall matter as that schoole is accustomed to publish. We finde not in the world any people that hath liued altogether without religion. And yet this dutie of religion, which prouideth that publikely all sorts of men may be instructed in the feare of God, is to the Church of God, and hath bin alwayes so peculiar, that none of the Heathens, how [a] curious soeuer in searching out all kindes of outward Ceremonies like to ours, could euer once so much as endeuour to resemble *herein* the Churches care for the endlesse good of her children. Wayes of teaching there haue bin sundrie alwayes vsuall in Gods Church. For the first introduction of youth, to the knowledge of God, [b] the Iewes euen till this day haue their Catechismes. With Religion it fareth as with other Sciences, the first deliuerie of the elements thereof must, for [c] like consideration, be framed according to the weake and slender capacitie of young beginners: vnto which manner of teaching principles in Christianitie, the Apostle in the sixt to the Hebrewes is himselfe vnderstood to allude. For this cause therefore, as the Decalogue of *Moses* declareth summarily those things which we ought to doe; the Prayer of our Lord whatsoeuer we should request or desire: so either by the [d] Apostles, or at the least-wise out of their writings, we haue the substance of Christian beliefe compendiously drawne into few and short articles, to the end that the weaknesse of no mans wit might either hinder *altogether* the knowledge, or excuse the vtter ignorance of needfull things. Such as were trayned vp in these rudiments, and were so made fit to be afterward by Baptisme receiued into the Church, the Fathers vsually in their writings doe terme [e] *Hearers*, as hauing no farther communion or fellowship with the Church, then only this, that they were admitted to heare the principles of Christian faith made plaine vnto them. Catechising may be in schooles, it may be in priuate families. But when we make it a kinde of Preaching, we meane alwayes the publike performance thereof in the open hearing of men, because things are preached not in that they are taught, but in that they are published.

a *Vide Tertul. de præscr. aduers. hær.*

b The Iewes *Catech.* called *Lekach*, Tob.

c *Incipientibus breuium ac simplicium tradi precepta magis conuenit. Aut enim difficultate institutionis tam numerose atq; perplexæ deterreri solent; aut eo tempore quo præcipuæ alenda ingenia atque indulgentia quadam enutrienda sunt asperiorum rerum tractatu atteruntur.* Fab. procem. lib. 1. *Incipientibus nobis exponere iura populi Romani, ita videntur posse tradi commodissimè, si primo leui ac simplici via, post deinde diligentissima atque exactissima interpretatione singula tradantur. Alioqui si statim ab initio rudem adhuc & infirmum animum studiosi multitudine ac varietate rerum oneraucrimus duorum alterum, aut desertorem studiorum afficiemus, aut cum magno labore eius, sæpe etiam cum diffidentia (quæ plærumque iuuenes absterrit) serius ad id perducemus, ad quod leuiore via ductus, sine magno labore & sine vlla diffidentia maturius perduci potuisset.* Institut. Imper. lib. 1. tit. 1.

d *Vide Ruff. in Symb.*

e *Tertul. de pœniten. An alius est tinctis Christus? Alias Audientibus? Audientes optare intinctionem non præsumere oportet.* Cyprian. Epist. 17. lib. 3. *Audientibus vigilantia vestra non desit.* Rupert. de diuin. offic. lib. 4. cap. 18. *Audiens quisque regulam fidei Catechumenus dicitur. Catechumenus namque Auditor interpretatur.*

Of Preaching, by reading publikely the bookes of holy Scripture; and concerning supposed vntruths in those translations of scripture which we allow to be read; as also of the choice which we make in reading.

19 *Moses* and the Prophets, Christ and his Apostles, were in their times all preachers of Gods truth; some by word, some by writing, some by both. This they did partly as faithfull *witnesses*, making meere *relation* what God himselfe had *reuealed* vnto them; and partly as carefull *expounders*, teachers, perswaders thereof. The Church in like case *preacheth* still, first publishing by way of *testimony* or relation, the truth which from them she hath receiued, euen in such sort as it was receiued, *written in the sacred volumes of Scripture*; secondly, by way of *explication*, discouering the mysteries which lye hid therein. The Church as a witnes, preacheth his meere reuealed truth, by *reading* publikely the sacred Scripture. So that a secõd kind of preaching is the reading of holy writ. For thus we may the boldlier speak, being strengthned [f] with the example

f *Act. 15. 21.*

example of so reuerend a Prelate as saith, that *Moses* from the time of ancient generations and ages long since past, had amongst the Cities of the very Gentiles them that preached him, *in that* hee was read euery Sabboth day. For so of necessitie it must be meant, in as much as we know, that the Iewes haue alwayes had their weekely readings of the *law of Moses*; but that they alwayes had in like manner their weekely *Sermons vpon some part of the law of Moses*, we no where finde. Howbeit still we must heere remember, that the Church, by her publike reading of the Booke of God, preacheth onely *as a witnesse*. Now the principall thing required in a witnesse, is fidelitie. Wherefore as we cannot excuse that Church, which either through corrupt translations of Scripture, deliuereth in stead of diuine speeches, any thing repugnant vnto that which God speaketh; or, through falsified additions, propoſeth that to the people of God as Scripture, which is in truth no Scripture: So the blame, which in both these respects hath beene laid vpon the Church of England, is surely altogether without cause. Touching translations of Holy Scripture, albeit we may not disallow of their painfull trauailes herein, who strictly haue tied themselues to the very original letter, yet the iudgement of the Church, as we see by the practise of all Nations, *Greekes*, *Latines*, *Persians*, *Syrians*, *Æthiopians*, *Arabians*, hath beene euer, that the fittest for publike audience are such, as following a middle course betweene the rigor of literall translators, and the libertie of Paraphrasts, doe with greatest shortnesse and plainnesse deliuer the meaning of the holy Ghost. Which being a labour of so great difficultie, the exact performance thereof we may rather wish then looke for. So that, except betweene the *words of translation* and the *minde of Scripture* it selfe, there bee *Contradiction*, euery little difference should not seem an intolerable blemish necessarily to be spunged out. Whereas therefore the [a] Prophet *Dauid* in a certaine Psalme doth say concerning *Moses* and *Aaron*, that they *were* obedient to the word of God, and in the selfsame place our allowed translation saith, they *were not* obedient; wee are for this cause challenged as manifest gain-sayers of Scripture, euen in that which we reade for Scripture vnto the people. But for as much as words are resemblances of that which the minde of the speaker conceiueth, and conceits are images representing that which is spoken of, it followeth that they who will iudge of words, should haue recourse to the things themselues from whence they rise. In setting downe that miracle, at the sight whereof *Peter* fell downe astonished before the feet of Iesus, and cried; *Depart, Lord, I am a sinner*, the [b] Euangelist Saint *Luke* saith, the store of the fish which they tooke was such, that the net they tooke it in *brake*, and the ships which they loaded therewith suncke; [c] Saint *Iohn* recording the like miracle, saith, that albeit the fishes in number were so many, yet the net with so great a waight was *not broken*. Suppose they had written both of one miracle. Although there be in their words a manifest shew of iarre; yet none, if wee looke vpon the difference of matter, with regard whereunto they might both haue spoken euen of one miracle, the very same which they spake of diuers, the one intending thereby to signifie that the greatnesse of the burthen exceeded the naturall ability of the instruments which they had to beare it; the other, that the weaknes thereof was supported by a supernaturall and miraculous addi-

[a] *Psal.* 105. 28.

[b] *Luc.* 5. 8. 9.

[c] *Iohn* 21. 11.

tion

tion of ſtrength. The nets, as touching themſelues *brake*, but through the power of God they *held*. Are not the words of the [a] Prophet *Micheas* touching *Bethleem*, Thou *Bethleem* the leaſt? And doth not the very [b] Euangeliſt tranſlate theſe words, Thou *Bethleem not the leaſt?* the one regarding the quantitie of the place, the other the dignity. *Micheas* attributeth vnto it ſmalnes, in reſpect of circuit; *Matthew* greatnes, in regard of honor and eſtimation, by being the natiue ſoile of our Lord and Sauiour Chriſt. Sith therefore ſpeeches, which gaine-ſay one another, muſt of neceſſitie be applied both vnto one and the ſame ſubiect; ſith they muſt alſo the one affirme, the other deny the ſelfe-ſame thing: what neceſſitie of contradiction can there be betweene the letter of the Prophet *Dauid*, and our authorized tranſlation therof, if he vnderſtanding *Moſes* and *Aaron* doe ſay, *They* were not *diſobedient*; we applying our ſpeech to *Pharao* and the *Ægyptians*, doe ſay of them, *They* were not *obedient?* Or (which the matter it ſelfe will eaſily enough likewiſe ſuffer) if the *Ægyptians* being meant by both, it be ſaid that *they*, in regard of [c] their offer to let goe the people, when they ſaw the fearefull darknes, *diſobeyed not* the word of the Lord; and yet that they *did not obey* his word, in as much as the ſheepe and cattle at the ſelf-ſame time they withheld. Of both tranſlations the better I willingly acknowledge, that which commeth neerer to the very letter of the originall veritie: yet ſo, that the other may likewiſe ſafely enough be read, without any perill at all of gaine-ſaying, as much as the leaſt iot or ſyllable of Gods moſt ſacred and precious truth. Which truth as in this we doe not violate, ſo neither is the ſame gaine-ſayed or croſt, no not in thoſe very preambles placed before certaine readings, wherein the ſteps of the Latine Seruice-booke haue bin ſomewhat too neerly followed. As when we ſay, Chriſt ſpake [d] *to his Diſciples*, that which the Goſpell declareth he ſpake [e] *vnto the Phariſes*. For doth the Goſpel affirme he ſpake to the *Phariſes only?* doth it meane that they, and beſides them, no man els was at that time ſpoken vnto by our Sauiour Chriſt? If not, then is there in this diuerſity no contrariety. I ſuppoſe it ſomewhat probable, that S. *Iohn* and S. *Matthew*, which haue recorded thoſe Sermons, heard them, and being hearers, did think themſelues as wel reſpected as the *Phariſies*, in that which their Lord and Maſter taught, concerning the Paſtoral care he had ouer his own flock, and his offer of grace made to the whole world, which things are the matter whereof he treateth in thoſe Sermons. Wherfore as yet there is nothing found, wherein we reade for the word of God that which may be condemned as repugnant vnto his word. Furthermore ſomewhat they are diſpleaſed, in that we follow not the method of reading, which [f] in their iudgment is moſt commendable, the method vſed in ſome forren churches, where ſcriptures are read *before* the time of diuine ſeruice, & without either *choyce* or *ſtint appointed* by any *determinat* order. Neuertheleſſe, till ſuch time as they ſhall vouchſafe vs ſome iuſt and ſufficient reaſon to the contrarie, wee muſt by their patience, if not allowance, retaine the [g] ancient receiued cuſtome which wee now obſerue. For with vs the reading of Scripture in the Church is a part of our Church Liturgie, a ſpeciall portion of the ſeruice which we doe to God, and not an exerciſe to ſpend the time when one doth waite for anothers comming, till the aſſembly of them that ſhall afterward worſhip him be complete. Wherefore

a *Matth.*2.1.
b *Matth.*2.6.
c *Exod.*10.24.
d The Goſpell on the ſecond Sunday after Eaſter, and on the twentieth after Trinitie.
e *Iohn* 10.11. *Matth.*22.1.
f *T.C.l.*2.*p.*381. Although it be very conuenient which is vſed in ſome Churches, where before preaching time the Church aſſembled hath the Scriptures read; yet neither is this, nor any other order of bare publike reading in the Church neceſſarie. h. d.
g *Aug. de Ciuit. Dei lib.*22.*ca.*8. *Facto ſilentio ſcripturarum ſunt lecta diuina ſolennia.* That for ſeuerall times ſeuerall pieces of Scripture were read as parts of the Seruice of the Greek church, the Fathers therof in their ſundrie Homilies and other writings doe all teſtifie the like order in the Syrian Churches, is cleare by the very inſcriptions of Chapters throughout their tranſlation of the new Teſtament. See the edition at Vienna, Paris, and Antwerpe.

fore as the forme of our publike seruice is not voluntarie, so neither are the parts thereof vncertaine, but they are all set downe in such order, and with such choice, as hath in the wisdome of the Church seemed best to concurre as well with the speciall occasions, as with the generall purpose which wee haue to glorifie God.

Of preaching by the publike reading of other profitable instructions; and concerning bookes Apocryphall.

20. Other publike readings there are of bookes and writings not Canonicall, whereby the Church doth also preach, or openly make knowne the doctrine of vertuous conuersation; whereupon, besides those things, in regard whereof we are thought to reade the Scriptures of God amisse, it is thought amisse, that wee reade in our Churches any thing at all besides the Scriptures. To exclude the reading of any such profitable instruction, as the Church hath deuised for the better vnderstanding of Scripture, or for the easier drayning vp of the people in holines and righteousnesse of life, they [a] pleade, that God in the Law would haue *nothing* brought into the Temple, neither besoms, nor flesh-hookes, nor trumpets, but those onely which were sanctified; that for the expounding of darker places, we *ought* to follow the Iewes * Politie, who vnder *Antiochus*, where they had not the Commoditie of Sermons, appointed alwaies at their meetings somewhat out of the Prophets to be read together with the Law, and so by the one made the other plainer to be vnderstood; that before and after our Sauiours comming they neither read *Onkelos* nor *Ionathans* Paraphrase, though hauing both, but contented themselues [b] with the reading onely of Scriptures; that if in the Primitiue Church there had beene any thing read besides the monuments of the Prophets and Apostles, [c] *Iustin Martyr* and *Origen*, who mention these, would haue spoken of the other likewise; that [d] the most ancient & best Councels forbid any thing to be read in Churches sauing Canonicall Scripture only; that when [e] other things were afterwards permitted, [f] fault was found with it, it succeeded but ill, the Bible it selfe was thereby in time quite and cleane thrust out. Which arguments, if they be onely brought in token of the Authors good-will and meaning towards the cause which they would set forward, must accordingly bee accepted of by them, who alreadie are perswaded the same way. But if their drift and purpose be to perswade others, it would be demanded, by what rule the legall *hallowing* of besomes and flesh-hookes must needs exclude all other readings in the Church saue Scripture. Things sanctified were thereby in such sort appropriated vnto God, as that they might neuer afterwards againe be made common. For which cause, the Lord, to signe and marke them as his owne, [g] appointed oyle of holy oyntment, the like whereunto it was not lawfull to make for ordinary and daily vses. Thus the [h] anoynting of *Aaron* and his sonnes tyed them to the office of the Priest-hood for euer; the anointing not of those siluer trumpets (which [i] *Moses* as well for secular as sacred vses was commanded to make, not to sanctifie) but the vnction of the [k] Tabernacle, the table, the lauer, the Altar of God, with all the instruments appertaining thereunto, this made them for euer holy vnto him, in whose seruice they were imployed. But what of this? Doth it hereupon follow, that all things

[a] *T.C.l.1. pag.196.* Neither the Homilies nor the Apocrypha are at all to bee read in the Church. Wherein first it is good to consider the order which the Lord kept with his people in times past, when he commanded *Exod.* 30.29. that no vessell, nor no instrument, either besome or flesh-hook, or pan should once come into the Temple, but those only which were sanctified and set apart for that vse. And in the booke of Numbers, he will haue no other trumpets blowne to call the people together, but those only which were set apart for that purpose. *Numb.* 10. 2.

* *T.C.l.1.p.197.* Besides this, the Politie of the Church of God in times past is to bee followed, &c.

[b] *Act.*13.15. *Act.*15.21.

[c] *Iustin. Apol.*2. *Origen. Hom.*1. *super Exod. & in Iudic.*

[d] *Concil Laod. cap.*59.

[e] *Concil. Vas. sens.*2.

[f] *Concil. Colob. par.*2.

[g] *Exod.*30.25. 32.

[h] *Exod.*4.15.

[i] *Numb.*10.2.

[k] *Exod.*27.3. & 30.26.27.28

things now in the Church, from the greateſt *to the leaſt* are vnholy, which the Lord hath not himſelfe preciſely inſtituted? For ſo [1] thoſe rudiments, they ſay, doe import. Then is there nothing holy, which the Church by her authoritie hath appointed, and conſequently all poſitiue ordinances that euer were made by Eccleſiaſticall power, touching ſpirituall affaires, are prophane, they are vnholy. I would not wiſh them to vndertake a worke ſo deſperate as to proue, that for the peoples inſtruction no kinde of reading is good, but onely that which the Iewes deuiſed vnder *Antiochus*, although euen that bee alſo miſtaken. For according to [m] *Elias* the Iruite (out of whom it doth ſeeme borrowed) the thing which *Antiochus* forbad, was the publike reading of the Law, and not *Sermons* vpon the Law. Neither did the Iewes reade a portion of the Prophets, together with the Law, to ſerue for an interpretation thereof, becauſe Sermons were not permitted them; but in ſtead of the Law, which they might not reade openly, they read of the Prophets that, which in likeneſſe of matter came neereſt to each ſection of their Law. Whereupon, when afterwards the libertie of reading the [a] Law was reſtored, the ſelfe-ſame cuſtome [b] as touching the Prophets did continue ſtill. If neither the Iewes haue vſed publikely to reade their Paraphraſts, [c] nor the Primitiue Church for a long time any other writings then Scripture, except the cauſe of their not doing it, were ſome Law of God, or reaſon forbidding them to doe that which wee doe; why ſhould the latter ages of the Church bee depriued of the libertie the former had? Are wee bound while the world ſtandeth, to put nothing in practiſe, but onely that which was at the very firſt? Concerning the Councell of *Laodicea*, as it forbiddeth the reading of thoſe things which are not Canonicall; ſo it maketh [d] ſome things not Canonicall which are. Their iudgement in this we may not, and in that we need not follow. We haue by thus many yeares experience found, that exceeding great good, not incumbred with any notable inconuenience, hath growne by the cuſtome which we now obſerue. As for the harme whereof iudicious men haue complained in former times; it came not of this, that other things were read beſides the Scripture, but that ſo euill choice was made. With vs there is neuer any time beſtowed in diuine ſeruice, without the reading of a great part of the holy Scripture, which wee account a thing moſt neceſſarie. We dare not admit any ſuch forme of Liturgie, as either appointeth no Scripture at all, or very little to bee read in the Church. And therefore the thruſting of the Bible out of the Houſe of God, is rather there to be feared, where men eſteeme it a matter [e] ſo indifferent, whether the ſame bee by ſolemne appointment read publiquely, or not read, the bare text excepted, which the Preacher happily chuſeth out to expound. But let vs heere conſider what the practiſe of our Fathers before vs hath beene, and how farre foorth the ſame may bee followed. We finde, that in ancient times there was publikely read firſt the [f] Scripture, as namely, ſome thing out of the bookes of the [g] Prophets of God, which were of old, ſomething out of the

1 *T.C.l.1.p.197* The Lord would by theſe rudiments and pædagogie teach, that he would haue nothing brought into the Church, but that which he had appointed.

m *Elias Theſb. in verbo Patar.*

a *Act.15.21.*

b *Act.13.15.*

c *T.C.l.1.p.197* This practiſe continued ſtill in the Churches of God after the Apoſtles times, as may appeare by the ſecond Apologie of *Iuſtin Martyr. Idem pag.198.* It was decreed in the Councell of Laodicea, that nothing ſhould be read in the Church but the Canonicall bookes of the old and new Teſtament. Afterwards, as corruptions grew in the Church, the reading of Homilies and of Martyrs liues was permitted. But beſides the euill ſucceſſe thereof, that vſe and cuſtome was contrould, as may appeare by the Councell of Colen, albeit otherwiſe Popiſh. The bringing in of Homilies & Martyrs liues, hath

d The Apocalips.

e *T.C.l.2.p.381.* It is vntrue, that *ſimple reading* is neceſſarie in the Church. A number of Churches which haue no ſuch order of ſimple reading, cannot be in this point charged with breach of Gods Commandement, which they might be, if ſimple reading were *neceſſarie.* [By ſimple reading, he meaneth the cuſtome of bare reading more, then the Preacher at the ſame time expoundeth vnto the people]

f *Copioſus ad diuinarum literarum commemorationem.* Tertul. Apolog. p.692.

g *Iudaicarum hiſtoriarum libris traditis ſunt ab Apoſtolis legendi in Eccleſijs.* Orig. in Ioſ. Hom.15.

thruſt the Bible cleane out of the Church, or into a corner.

the

a the Apoſtles writings; and laſtly out of the holy b Euangeliſts, ſomethings which touched the perſon of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe. The cauſe of their reading firſt the old Teſtament, then the new, and alwaies ſomewhat out of both, is moſt likely to haue been that which *Iuſtin Martyr* and S. *Auguſtine* obſerue in compuring the two Teſtaments. c *The Apoſtles* (ſaith the one) *haue taught vs as themſelues did learne firſt the precepts of the law, and then the Goſpels. For what elſe is the Law, but the Goſpel foreſhewed? what other the Goſpel then the Law fulfilled?* In like ſort the other, d *What the old Teſtament hath, the very ſame the new containeth, but that which lieth there as vnder a ſhadow, is heere brought forth into the open Sunne. Things there preſigured, are heere performed.* Againe, *In the old Teſtament there is a cloſe comprehenſion of the new, in the new an open diſcouerie of the old.* To bee ſhort, the method of their publike readings eyther purpoſely did tend, or at the leaſtwiſe doth fitly ſerue, e *That from ſmaller things the minde of the hearers may goe forward to the knowledge of greater, and by degrees clime vp from the loweſt to the higheſt things.* Now beſides the Scripture, the bookes which they called *Eccleſiaſticall*, were thought not vnworthy ſometime to be brought into publike audience, and with that name they entituled the Bookes which we terme *Apocryphall*. Vnder the ſelfe-ſame name they alſo compriſed certaine no otherwiſe annexed vnto the new, then the former to the old Teſtament, as a booke of *Hermes*, Epiſtles of *Clement*, and the like. According therefore to the phraſe of Antiquitie, theſe wee may terme *the new*, and the other the *old Eccleſiaſticall* bookes or writings. For we being directed by a ſentence (I ſuppoſe) of Saint *Ierome*, who ſaith that f *All writings not Canonicall are Apocryphall*, vſe not now the title *Apocryphall*, as the reſt of the Fathers ordinarily haue done, whoſe cuſtome is ſo to name for the moſt part only, ſuch as might not publikely be read or diuulged. *Ruffinus* therefore hauing rehearſed the ſelfe-ſame bookes of Canonicall Scripture, which with vs are held to be alone Canonicall, addeth immediatly by way of caution, g *Wee muſt know that other bookes there are alſo, which our fore-fathers haue vſed to name not Canonicall, but Eccleſiaſticall bookes, as the booke of* Wiſedome, Eccleſiaſticus, Tobie, Iudith, *the* Maccabees *in the elde Teſtament; in the new, the booke of* Hermes, *and ſuch others. All which bookes and writings they willed to be read in Churches, but not to be alleaged, as if their authoritie did binde vs to builde vpon them our faith. Other writings they named Apocryphall, which they would not haue read in Churches. Theſe things deliuered vnto vs from the Fathers, we haue in this place thought good to ſet downe.* So farre *Ruffinus*. He which conſidereth notwithſtanding what ſtore of falſe and forged writings, dangerous vnto Chriſtian beliefe, and yet bearing h glorious inſcriptions, began ſoone vpon the Apoſtles times to be admitted into the Church, and to be honored as if they had beene indeed Apoſtolike, ſhall eaſily perceiue what cauſe the Prouinciall Synod of i *Laodicea* might haue *as then* to preuent, eſpecially the danger of bookes made newly Eccleſiaſticall, and for feare of the fraude of Heretikes, to prouide, that ſuch publike readings might bee altogether taken out of Canonicall Scripture. Which ordi-

a Πάντων καὶ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἕως τοῦ αὐτὸ σωίελευσις, γίνεται ἢ τὰ ἀπομνημο. νεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἢτα συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται. *Iuſtin. Apol. 2. pag. 162.* *Factum eſt vt iſta die Dominica Prophetica lectione iam lecta, ante altare adſtante, qui lectionem S. Pauli proferret, beatiſſimus Antiſtes Ambroſius, &c. Sulpit. Seuer. lib 3. de vita S. Mart.* b *Vide Concil. Vaſe. 2. habitum an. Dom. 444. 10. Concil. 2. pag. 19. Item Synod. Laod. cap. 16. Cypr. lib. 2. epiſt. 5. & lib. 4. epiſt. 5. Ambroſ. lib 1. Offic. cap. 8. & Epiſt. 75. & lib. de Helia atque ieiunio, cap. 20.* c *Iuſt. quæſt. 101.* d *Auguſt. quæſt 33. in Numer.*

e *Walfr. Strab. de rebus Eccleſiaſt. cap. 22.*

f *Hieron. in Prolog. Galeat.*

g *Ruffinus in Symbol. Apoſt. apud Cypri.*

h *Vide Gelaſ. in Decre. 10. Concil. 2. p. 462.*

i *circa. An. Dom. 366.*

nance respecting, but that abuse that grew through the intermingling of lessons humane with sacred, at such time as the one both affected the credit, and vsurped the name of the other (as by the Canon of [a] a latter Councell prouiding remedie for the selfe same euill, and yet allowing the old Ecclesiasticall Bookes to be read, it doth more plainly and cleerely appeare) neyther can be construed, nor should be vrged vtterly to prejudice our vse of those olde Ecclesiasticall writings; much lesse of Homilies, which were a third kind of readings vsuall in former times, a most commendable institution as well then [b] to supply the casuall, as now the necessarie defect of Sermons. In the heate of generall persecution whereunto Christian beleefe was subiect, vpon the first promulgation thereof throughout the World, it much confirmed the courage and constancie of weaker mindes, when publique relation was made vnto them, after what manner GOD had beene glorified through the sufferings of Martyrs, famous amongst them for holinesse during life, and at the time of their death admirable in all mens eyes, through miraculous euidence of grace diuine assisting them from aboue. For which cause the vertues of some beeing thought expedient to bee annually had in remembrance aboue the rest, this brought in [c] a fourth kind of publique reading, whereby the liues of such Saints and Martyrs had at the time of their yearely memorials solemne recognition in the Church of GOD. The fond imitation of which laudable custome beeing in latter ages resumed, when there was neyther the like cause to doe as the Fathers before had done; nor any care, conscience, or wit in such as vndertooke to performe that worke, some braineless men haue by great labour and trauaile brought to passe, that the Church is now ashamed of nothing more then of Saints. If therefore Pope [d] *Gelasius* did so long sithence see those defects of iudgement euen then, for which the reading of the acts of Martyrs should bee and was at that time forborne in the Church of *Rome*; wee are not to maruaile, that afterwards Legends being growne in a manner to bee nothing else but heapes of friuolous and scandalous vanities, they haue beene euen with disdaine throwne out, the [e] very nests which bred them abhorring them. We are not therfore to except only Scripture, and to make confusedly all the residue of one sute, as if they, who abolish Legends, could not without incongruitie reteine in the Church eyther Homilies, or those olde *Ecclesiasticall Bookes*: Which Bookes in case my selfe did thinke, as some others doe, safer and better to be left publikely vnread; neuertheless as in other things of like nature, euen so in this, [f] my priuate iudgement I should bee loth to oppose against the force of their reuerend authoritie, who rather considering the diuine excellency of some things in all, and of all things in certaine of those *Apocrypha* which we publikely read, haue thought it better to let them stand as a list or marginall border vnto the olde Testament, and, though with diuine, yet as humane compositions to grant at the least vnto certaine of them publike audience in the house of God. For in as much as the due estimation of heauenly truth dependeth wholly vpon the knowne and approued authoritie of those famous Oracles of God, it greatly behoueth the Church to haue alwaies most especiall care, lest through confused mixture at any time humane vsurpe the roome and title of diuine writings. Wherefore albeit for the peoples

a *Concil. Carthag. 3. cap. 47. Præter scripturas Canonicas nihil in Ecclesijs legatur sub nomine diuinarum scripturarum.*

b *Concil. Vasen. 2. habitum, an. Dom. 444. to. Concil. 2. p. 19. Si presbiter aliqua infirmitate probibente per seipsum non potuerit prædicare, sanctorum patrum homiliæ à Diaconibus recitentur.*

c *Concil. Carthag. 3. can. 13. & Greg. Turon. de gloria mart. ca. 86. & Hadria. epist. ad Carol. Magn.*

d *Gelas. circa an. Dom. 492. to. Concil. 2. p. 461.*

e *Concil. Colonien. celebrat. an. Dom 1536. part. 2. cap. 6. Melch. Can. locor. theol. lib. 11. Viu. de trad. disc. lib. 5.*

f *In errorum barathrum faciliter ruunt, qui conceptus proprios patrum definitionibus anteponunt. c. vn. de relig. do. in Extra.*

peoples [a] more plaine inſtruction (as the ancient vſe hath beene) wee reade in our Churches certaine Bookes beſides the Scripture, yet as the Scripture wee reade them not. All men know our profeſſed opinion touching the difference whereby we ſeuer them from the Scripture. And if any where it be ſuſpected that ſome one or other will haply miſtake a thing ſo manifeſt in euery mans eye, there is no let but that as often as thoſe bookes are read, and neede ſo requireth, the ſtile of their difference may expreſſely be mentioned, to barre euen all poſſibilitie of error. It being then knowne that we hold not the Apocrypha for ſacred (as we doe the holy Scripture) but for humane compoſitions, the ſubiect whereof are ſundrie diuine matters; let there be reaſon ſhewed why to reade any part of them publiquely it ſhould be vnlawfull or hurtfull vnto the Church of God. I heare it ſaid that [b] *many things* in them are very *friuolous*, and vnworthy of publique audience; yea many contrary, *plainely contrary to the holy Scripture*. Which hitherto is neither ſufficiently prooued by him who ſaith it, and if the prooſes thereof were ſtrong, yet the very allegation it ſelfe is weake. Let vs therefore ſuppoſe (for I will not demaund to what purpoſe it is that againſt our cuſtome of reading bookes not Canonicall they bring exceptions of matter in thoſe bookes which we neuer vſe to reade) ſuppoſe (I ſay) that what faults ſoeuer they haue obſerued throughout the paſſages of all thoſe bookes, the ſame in euery reſpect were ſuch as neither could be conſtrued, nor ought to be cenſured otherwiſe then euen as themſelues pretend: Yet as men through too much haſte oftentimes forget the errand whereabout they ſhould goe: So here it appeareth, that an eager deſire to rake together whatſoeuer might preiudice or any way hinder the credit of Apocryphall bookes, hath cauſed the Collectors pen ſo to runne as it were on wheeles, that the minde which ſhould guide it had no leaſure to thinke, whether that which might haply ſerue to withhold from giuing them the authoritie which belongeth vnto ſacred Scripture, and to cut them off from the Canon, would as effectually ſerue to ſhut them altogether out of the Church, and to withdraw from graunting vnto them that publique vſe wherein they are onely held as profitable for inſtruction. Is it not acknowledged that thoſe bookes are [c] *holie*, that they are *eccleſiaſticall* and *ſacred*, that to terme them *diuine*, as being for their excellencie next vnto them which are properly ſo termed, is no way to honor them aboue deſert; yea euen that the whole Church of Chriſt as well *at the firſt* as *ſithence*, hath moſt worthily approued their fitneſſe for the publique information of life and manners; is not thus much I ſay acknowledged, and that by them, who notwithſtanding receiue not the ſame for *any part of canonicall ſcripture*, by them who denie not but that they are *faultie*, by them who are readie enough to giue inſtances wherein they ſeeme to conteyne matter *ſcarce agreeable with holy ſcripture?* So little doth ſuch their ſuppoſed faultineſſe in moderate mens iudgement inforce the remouall of them out of the houſe of God, that ſtill they are iudged to reteine worthily thoſe very titles of commendation, then which there cannot greater be giuen to writings, the authors whereof are men. As in truth if the Scripture it ſelfe aſcribing to the perſons of men righteouſneſſe in regard of their manifold vertues, may not rightly be conſtrued as though it did thereby cleere them and make them quite free from all faults, no reaſon we ſhould

a *Hieron. præfa. ad libros Salom. Aug. de præd. Sanct. lib. 1. cap. 14. Præfat. gloſ. ord. & Lyr. ad prol. Hieron. in Tob.*

b T.C. *lib. 2. pag. 400. 401.*

c *Harm. Confeſ. Sect. 1. Belg. con. art. 6. Lubert. de princip. Chriſt. dogm. lib. 1. c. 5.*

iudge it abſurd to commend their writings as reuerend, holie, and ſound, wherein there are ſo many ſingular perfections, only for that the exquiſite wits of ſome few peraduenture are able diſperſedly here and there to find now a word and then a ſentence, which may be more probably ſuſpected then eaſily cleered of error by vs which haue but coniecturall knowledge of their meaning. Againſt immodeſt inuectiues therefore whereby they are charged as being fraught with [a] *outragious lies*, we doubt not but their more allowable cenſure will preuaile, who without ſo paſſionate termes of diſgrace, doe note a difference great enough betweene Apocryphall and other writings, a difference ſuch as [b] *Ioſephus* and *Epiphanius* obſerue: the one declaring that amongſt the Iewes, bookes written after the dayes of *Artaxerxes*, were not of equall credit with them which had gone before, in as much as the Iewes ſithence that time had not the like exact ſucceſſion of Prophets; the [c] other acknowledging that they are *profitable*, although denying them to be *diuine* in ſuch conſtruction and ſenſe as the Scripture it ſelfe is ſo termed. With what intent they were firſt publiſhed, thoſe words of the [d] nephew of Ieſus doe plainely enough ſignifie, *After that my Grandfather Ieſus had giuen himſelfe to the reading of the* Law *and the* Prophets, *and* other bookes of our Fathers, *and had* gotten therein *ſufficient iudgement*, *he* purpoſed *alſo to write ſomething* pertaining to learning and wiſedome, *to the intent* that they which were deſirous to learne, *and would giue themſelues to theſe things*, might profit *much more in liuing according to the Law*. Their end in writing and ours in reading them is the ſame. The bookes of *Iudith*, *Tobie*, *Baruk*, *Wiſdome*, and *Eccleſiaſticus*, we reade as ſeruing moſt vnto that end. The reſt we leaue vnto men in priuate. Neither can it be reaſonably thought, becauſe vpon certaine ſolemne occaſions ſome leſſons are choſen out of thoſe bookes, and of Scripture it ſelfe ſome Chapters not appointed to be read at all, that we thereby doe offer diſgrace to the Word of God, or lift vp the writings of men aboue it. For in ſuch choice we doe not thinke but that *fitneſſe* of ſpeech may be more reſpected then *worthineſſe*. If in that which we vſe to reade there happen by the way any clauſe, ſentence, or ſpeech, that ſoundeth towards errour, ſhould the mixture of a little droſſe conſtraine the Church to depriue her ſelfe of ſo much gold, rather then learne how by arte and iudgement to make ſeparation of the one from the other? To this effect very fitly from the counſell that S^t. *Ierome* giueth *Læta*, of taking heed *how* ſhe read the *Apocrypha*, as alſo by the help of other learned mens iudgements deliuered in like caſe, we may take direction. But ſurely the arguments that ſhould binde vs not to reade them, or any part of them publiquely at all, muſt be ſtronger then as yet we haue heard any.

Of preaching by Sermons, and whether Sermons be the only ordinary way of teaching, whereby men are brought to the ſauing knowledge of Gods truth.

21 We maruaile the leſſe that our reading of bookes not Canonicall is ſo much impugned, when ſo little is attributed vnto the reading of Canonicall Scripture it ſelfe, that now it hath growne to be a queſtion, whether the *Word of God* be any *ordinarie meane* to ſaue the ſoules of men, in that it is either priuately ſtudyed, or publiquely read and ſo made knowne, or elſe onely as the ſame is *preached*, that is to ſay, *explaned by liuely voice*, and *applied* to the peoples vſe, *as the ſpeaker in his wiſedome* thinketh meete. For this alone is it which they vſe to call *preaching*. The publique reading of the Apocrypha they condemne altogether

a The libell of *Metaphyſ. Schoolp. art.* 34.

b *Ioſeph. cont. App. lib.* 1.

c *Epiph. in Anchorat.* χρήσιμοι μέν εἰσι καὶ ὠφέλιμοι ἀλλ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν ῥητῶν οὐκ ἀναφέρονται.

d *Præf ad libr. Eccleſ.*

altogether as a thing effectuall vnto euill; the *bare* reading *in like ſort* of whatſoeuer, yea euen of Scriptures themſelues, they miſlike, as a thing *vneffectuall* to doe *that good*, which we are perſwaded may grow by it. Our deſire is in this preſent controuerſie, as in the reſt, not to be carried vp and downe with the waues of vncertaine arguments, but rather poſitiuely to leade on the mindes of the ſimpler ſort by plaine and eaſie degrees, till the very nature of the thing it ſelfe doe make manifeſt what is truth. Firſt therefore becauſe whatſoeuer is ſpoken concerning the efficacie or neceſſitie of *Gods word*, the ſame they tye and reſtraine onely vnto *Sermons*, howbeit not Sermons read neither (for ſuch they alſo abhorre in the Church) but Sermons without booke, Sermons which ſpend their life in their birth, and may haue publique audience but once: for this cauſe, to auoid ambiguities wherewith they often intangle themſelues, not marking what doth agree to the word of God in it ſelfe, and what in regard of outward accidents which may befall it, we are to know that the word of God is his heauenly truth touching matters of eternall life reuealed and vttered vnto men, vnto Prophets and Apoſtles by immediate diuine inſpiration, from them to vs by their bookes and writings. We therefore haue no *word of God* but the Scripture. Apoſtolique Sermons were vnto ſuch as heard them, his word, euen as properly as to vs their writings are. Howbeit not ſo our owne Sermons, the expoſitions which our diſcourſe of wit doth gather and miniſter out of the word of God. For which cauſe in this preſent queſtion we are, when we name the *word of God*, alwaies to meane the *Scripture only*. The end of the word of God is *to ſaue*, and therefore we terme it *the word of life*. The way for all men to be ſaued is by the knowledge of that truth which the Word hath taught. And ſith eternall life is a thing of it ſelfe communicable vnto all, it behoueth that the word of God the neceſſarie meane thereunto be ſo likewiſe. Wherefore the word of life hath beene alwaies a treaſure, though precious, yet eaſie, as well to attaine, as to finde, leſt any man deſirous of life ſhould periſh through the difficultie of the way. To this end the word of God no otherwiſe ſerueth then only in the nature of a doctrinall inſtrument. It ſaueth becauſe it maketh *wiſe to ſaluation*. Wherefore the ignorant it ſaueth not, they which liue by the word muſt know it. And being it ſelfe the inſtrument which God hath purpoſely framed, thereby to worke the knowledge of ſaluation in the hearts of men, what cauſe is there wherefore it ſhould not of it ſelfe be acknowledged a moſt apt and a likely meane to leaue an *apprehenſion* of things diuine in our vnderſtanding, and in the minde an *aſſent* thereunto? For touching the one, ſith God, who knoweth and diſcloſeth beſt the rich treaſures of his owne wiſedome, hath by deliuering his word made choice of the Scriptures, as the moſt effectuall meanes, whereby thoſe treaſures might be imparted vnto the world, it followeth that to mans vnderſtanding the Scripture muſt needes be euen of it ſelfe intended as a full and perfect diſcouerie, ſufficient to imprint in vs the liuely character of all things neceſſarily required for the attainement of eternall life. And concerning our aſſent to the myſteries of heauenly truth, ſeeing that the word of God for the Authors ſake hath credit with all that confeſſe it (as wee all doe) to be his Word, euery propoſition of holy Scripture, euery ſentence being to vs a principle, if the principles of all kindes of knowledge elſe haue

2. *Tim.* 3. 15.

that vertue in themſelues whereby they are able to procure our aſſent vnto ſuch concluſions, as the induſtrie of right diſcourſe doth gather from them, we haue no reaſon to thinke the principles of that truth which tendeth vnto mans euerlaſting happineſſe leſſe forcible then any other, when we know that of all other they are for their certaintie the moſt infallible. But as euery thing of price, ſo this doth require trauaile. We bring not the knowledge of God with vs into the world. And the leſſe our owne oportunitie or abilitie is that way, the more wee neede the helpe of other mens iudgements to be our direction herein. Nor doth any man euer beleeue, into whome the doctrine of beliefe is not inſtilled by inſtruction, ſome way receiued at the firſt from others. Wherein whatſoeuer fit meanes there are to notifie the myſteries of the word of God, whether publiquely (which we call *preaching*) or in priuat howſoeuer, the word by *euery ſuch meane* euen *ordinarily* doth ſaue, and not onely by being deliuered vnto men in Sermons. *Sermons* are not *the onely preaching* which doth ſaue ſoules. For concerning the vſe and ſenſe of this word *preaching* which they ſhut vp in ſo cloſe a priſon, although more then enough haue already beene ſpoken to redeeme the libertie thereof, yet becauſe they inſiſt ſo much and ſo proudly inſult thereon, we muſt a little inure their eares with hearing, how others whome they more regard are in this caſe accuſtomed to vſe the ſelfe-ſame language with vs whoſe manner of ſpeech they deride. [a] *Iuſtin Martyr* doubteth not to tell the Græcians, that euen in certaine of their *writings* the very iudgement to come is preached; nor the [b] Councell of Vaus to inſinuate, that Presbyters abſent through infirmitie from their Churches, might be ſayd to preach by thoſe deputies who in their ſtead did but reade *Homilies*; nor the [c] Councell of Toledo to call the vſuall publique reading of the *Goſpels* in the Church preaching; nor [d] others long before theſe our dayes to write, that by him who but readeth *a leſſon* in the ſolemne aſſemblie as part of diuine ſeruice, the very office of preaching is ſo far-forth executed. Such kinde of ſpeeches were then familiar, thoſe phraſes ſeemed not to them abſurd, they would haue maruelled to heare the [e] outcries which we doe, becauſe we think that the Apoſtles *in writing*, and others *in reading* to the Church thoſe bookes which the Apoſtles wrote, are neither vntruly nor vnfitly ſaid to *preach*. For although mens *toongs* and their *pennes* differ, yet to one and the ſelfe *ſame* generall, if not particular *effect*, they may both ſerue. It is no good argument, S[t]. *Paul* could not *write with his toong*, therefore neither could he *preach with his penne*. For preaching is a generall end whereunto writing and ſpeaking doe both ſerue. Men ſpeake not with the inſtruments of writing, neither write with the inſtruments of ſpeech, and yet things *recorded* with the one and *vttered* with the other, may be [f] *preached* well enough with both. By their patience therefore be it ſpoken, the Apoſtles preached as well when they wrote as when they ſpake the Goſpell of Chriſt, and our vſuall *publique reading* of the word of God for the peoples inſtruction *is preaching*. Nor about words would we euer contend, were not their purpoſe in ſo reſtraining the ſame, iniurious to Gods moſt ſacred word and ſpirit. It is on both ſides confeſt that the word of God outwardly adminiſtred (his [g] ſpirit inwardly concurring therewith) conuerteth, edifieth, and ſaueth ſoules. Now whereas the externall adminiſtration

of

a *Parænet. ad Gent. pag.* 17.
b *Concil. Vaſen.* 2. *ca.* 2.
c *Concil. Tol.* 4. *ca.* 11.
d *Rupert. de diuin. Offic. lib.* 1. *ca.* 12, 13. *Iſidor. de eccleſ. Offic. lib.* 1. *ca.* 10.
e The libell of *Schoolp. art.* 11. T.C. *lib.* 2. *pag.* 388. S. *Pauls* writing is no more preaching, then his pen or his hand is his toong: ſeeing they cannot be the ſame which cannot be made by the ſame inſtruments.
f *Euangelizo manu & ſcriptione. Rainol. de Rom. eccleſ. Idololat. præf. ad Co. Eſſex.*
g *Iohn* 6. 46. *Matth.* 16. 17. 2. *Cor.* 4. 6. 1. *Cor.* 12. 3. *Act.* 16. 14.

of his word is as well by reading barely the Scripture, as by explaning the ſame when Sermons thereon be made, in the one they deny that the finger of God hath *ordinarily* certaine *principall operations*, which we moſt ſtedfaſtly hold and beleeue that it hath in both.

What they attribute to Sermons only, and what we to reading alſo.

22 So worthie a part of diuine ſeruice we ſhould greatly wrong, if we did not eſteeme Preaching as the bleſſed ordinance of God, Sermons as keyes to the kingdome of heauen, as wings to the ſoule, as ſpurres to the good affections of man, vnto the ſound and healthie as foode, as phiſicke vnto diſeaſed mindes. Wherefore how highly ſoeuer it may pleaſe them with words of truth to extoll Sermons, they ſhall not herein offend vs. Wee ſeeke not to derogate from any thing which they can iuſtly eſteeme, but our deſire is to vphold the iuſt eſtimation of that from which it ſeemeth vnto vs they derogate more then becommeth them. That which offendeth vs is, firſt the great diſgrace which they offer vnto *our cuſtome* of bare reading the word of God, and to his gracious Spirit, the *principall* vertue whereof thereby manifeſting it ſelfe for the endleſſe good of mens ſoules, euen the vertue which it hath to *conuert*, to *edifie*, to *ſaue* ſoules, this they mightily ſtriue to obſcure; and ſecondly, the ſhifts wherewith they maintaine their opinion of Sermons, whereunto while they labour to appropriate the *ſauing* power of the holy Ghoſt, they ſeparate from all *apparent* hope of life and ſaluation thouſands whome the goodnes of Almightie God doth not exclude. Touching therefore the vſe of Scripture, euen in that it is openly read, and the ineſtimable good which the Church of God by that very meane hath reaped, there was, wee may very well thinke, ſome cauſe, which moued the Apoſtle S. *Paul* to [a] require, that thoſe things which any one Churches affaires gaue particular occaſion to write, might for the inſtruction of all be publiſhed and that by *reading*. 1. When the very hauing of the bookes of God was a matter of no ſmall charge and difficultie, in as much as they could not be had otherwiſe then only in written copies, it was the neceſſitie not of preaching things agreeable with the word, but of reading the word it ſelfe at large to the people, which cauſed Churches throughout the world to haue publique care that the ſacred oracles of God being procured by common charge, might with great ſedulitie be kept both intire and ſincere. If then wee admire the prouidence of God in the ſame continuance of Scripture, notwithſtanding the violent endeuors of Infidels to aboliſh, and the fraudulent of heretiques alwaies to depraue the ſame, ſhall wee ſet light by that cuſtome of reading, from whence ſo precious a benefit hath growne? 2. The voice and teſtimonie of the Church acknowledging Scripture to be the law of the liuing God, is for the truth and certaintie thereof no meane euidence. For if with reaſon we may preſume vpon things which a few mens depoſitions doe teſtifie, ſuppoſe we that the mindes of men are not both at their firſt acceſſe to the ſchoole of Chriſt exceedingly moued, yea and for euer afterwards alſo confirmed much, when they conſider the maine conſent of all the Churches in the whole world witneſſing the ſacred authoritie of Scriptures, euer ſithence the firſt publication thereof euen till this preſent day and houre? And that they all haue alwayes ſo teſtified, I ſee not how we ſhould poſſibly wiſh a proofe more palpable, then this manifeſt receiued and euery-where

[a] 1. *Theſſ.* 5. 27. *Coloſſ.* 4. 16.

continued

continued cuſtome of reading them publiquely as the Scriptures. The reading therefore of the word of God, as the vſe hath euer beene, in open audience, is the plaineſt euidence we haue of the Churches *aſſent* and *acknowledgement* that it is his word. 3. A further commoditie this cuſtome hath, which is, to furniſh the very *ſimpleſt* and *rudeſt* ſort with ſuch infallible *axiomes* and *precepts* of ſacred truth, deliuered euen in the *very letter* of the law of God, as may
a *Iohn* 5.39. *Iſa.*8.20. ſerue them for [a] *rules* whereby to iudge the better *all other doctrines* and inſtructions which they heare. For which end and purpoſe I ſee not how the Scripture could be poſſibly made familiar vnto all, vnleſſe farre more ſhould be read in the peoples hearing, then by a Sermon can be opened. For whereas in a maner the whole booke of God is by reading euery yeere publiſhed, a ſmall part thereof in compariſon of the whole may hold very well the readieſt interpreter of Scripture occupied many yeeres. 4. Beſides, wherfore ſhould any man thinke, but that reading it ſelfe is one of the *ordinarie* meanes, whereby it pleaſeth God of his gracious goodnes to inſtill that celeſtiall veritie, which being *but ſo* receiued, is neuertheleſſe effectuall to *ſaue* ſoules? Thus much therefore we aſcribe to the reading of the word of God as the maner is in our Churches. And becauſe it were odious if they on their part ſhould altogether deſpiſe the ſame, they yeeld that reading may *ſet forward*, but not begin the worke of ſaluation; that [b] faith may be *nouriſhed* therewith, but not bred; that [c] herein mens attention to the Scriptures, and their ſpeculation of the creatures of God haue like efficacie, both being of power to *augment*, but neither to effect beliefe without Sermons; that if [d] any *beleeue* by reading alone, wee are to accompt it a miracle, an *extraordinarie* worke of God. Wherein that which they graunt we gladly accept at their hands, and wiſh that patiently they would examine how little cauſe they haue to denie that which as yet they graunt not. The [e] Scripture witneſſeth, that when the booke of the Law of God had beene ſometime miſſing, and was after found, the King, which heard it but onely read, tare his clothes, and with teares confeſſed, *Great is the wrath of the Lord vpon vs, becauſe our Fathers haue not kept his Word to doe after all things which are written in this booke.* This doth argue, that by bare reading (for of Sermons at that time there is no mention) true repentance may be wrought in the hearts of ſuch as feare God, and yet incurre his diſpleaſure, the deſerued effect whereof is eternall death. So that their repentance (although it be not their firſt entrance) is notwithſtanding the firſt ſtep of their reentrance into life, and may be in them wrought by the word only read vnto them. Beſides, it ſeemeth that God would haue no man ſtand in doubt but that the reading of Scripture is effectuall, as well *to lay euen the firſt foundation*, as to adde degrees of farther perfection in the feare of God. And therefore the [f] law ſaith, Thou ſhalt *reade* this law before all Iſrael, that men, women and *children* may heare, yea euen that their children which as yet *haue not knowne* it may heare it, and by hearing it ſo read, may *learne to feare* the Lord. Our [g] Lord and Sauiour was himſelfe of opinion, that they which would not be drawne to amendment of life by the teſtimonie which *Moſes* and the Prophets haue giuen concerning the miſeries that follow ſinners after death, were not likely to be perſwaded by other meanes, although God from the very dead ſhould haue rayſed them vp Preachers. Many

b T.C. lib.2. pag.376.377. 395.
c Pag.378.
d Pag.383.
e 2.*Chro.*34. 18.
2.*Chro.*34.3.
f *Deut.*31.13.
g *Luke* 16.29.

heare

heare the bookes of God and beleeue them not. Howbeit their vnbeliefe in that caſe we may not impute vnto any weakenes or vnſufficiencie in the meane which is vſed towards them, but to the wilfull bent of their obſtinate hearts againſt it. With mindes obdurate nothing preuaileth. As well they that preach, as they that reade vnto ſuch, ſhall ſtill haue cauſe to complaine with the Prophets which were of old, *Who will giue credit vnto our teaching?* But with whome ordinarie meanes will preuaile, ſurely the power of the word of God, euen without the help of interpreters *in Gods Church* worketh mightily, not vnto their confirmation alone which are conuerted, but alſo to their conuerſion which are not. It ſhall not boote them who derogate from reading, to excuſe it, when they ſee no other remedie, as if their intent were onely to deny, that *aliens* and ſtrangers from the familie of God are wonne, or that beliefe doth vſe to be wrought at the firſt in *them* without Sermons. For they know it is our cuſtome of ſimple reading *not for conuerſion of infidels* eſtranged from the houſe of God, but for *inſtruction of men baptized*, bred and brought vp *in the* boſome of the Church, which they deſpiſe as a thing vneffectuall to ſaue *ſuch* ſoules. In *ſuch* they imagine that God hath no ordinarie meane to worke faith without Sermons. The reaſon, why no man can attaine beliefe by the bare contemplation of heauen and earth, is for that they neither are ſufficient to giue vs as much as the leaſt ſparke of light concerning the very principall myſteries of our faith; and whatſoeuer wee may learne by them, the ſame we can only attaine to know according to the maner of naturall ſciences, which meere diſcourſe of wit and reaſon findeth out, whereas the things which we properly beleeue, be onely ſuch, as are receiued vpon the credit of diuine teſtimonie. Seeing therefore that he which conſidereth the creatures of God, findeth therein both theſe defects, and neither the one nor the other in ſcriptures, becauſe he that readeth vnto vs the ſcriptures, deliuereth all the myſteries of faith, and not any thing amongſt them all more then the mouth of the Lord doth warrant: it followeth in thoſe two reſpects, that our conſideration of creatures and attention vnto Scriptures are not in themſelues, and without Sermons, things of like diſabilitie to *breede* or *beget* faith. Small cauſe alſo there is, why any man ſhould greatly wonder as at an extraordinarie worke, if without Sermons, reading be found to effect thus much. For I would know by ſome ſpeciall inſtance, what one article of Chriſtian faith, or what dutie required neceſſarily vnto all mens ſaluation there is, which the very reading of the word of God is not *apt* to notifie. Effects are miraculous and ſtrange when they grow by vnlikely meanes. But did we euer heare it accompted for a wonder, that he which doth reade, ſhould beleeue and liue according to the will of Almightie God? [a] Reading doth conuey to the minde that truth without addition or diminution, which Scripture hath deriued from the holy Ghoſt. And the end of all Scripture is the ſame which [b] S. *Iohn* propoſeth in the writing of that moſt diuine Goſpell, namely *faith*, and through faith *ſaluation*. Yea all Scripture is to this effect [c] *in it ſelfe* auaileable, as they which wrote it were perſwaded; vnleſſe wee ſuppoſe that the Euangeliſt, or others, in ſpeaking of their owne intent to inſtruct and to ſaue by writing, had a ſecret conceit which they neuer opened vnto any, a conceit that no man

a *Exod.* 24.7.
b *Iohn* 20.31.
c *Prou.* 1.2.3.4. *Rom.* 1.16. 2. *Tim.* 3.15.

in

in the world ſhould euer bee that way the better for any ſentence by them written, till ſuch time as the ſame might chance to be preached vpon, or alleaged at the leaſt in a Sermon. Otherwiſe if he which writeth doe that which is forceable in it ſelfe, how ſhould he which readeth be thought to doe that which in it ſelfe is of no force to worke beliefe and to ſaue beleeuers? Now although we haue very iuſt cauſe to ſtand in ſome iealouſie and feare, leſt by thus ouervaluing their Sermons, they make the price and eſtimation of Scripture otherwiſe notified to fall, neuertheleſſe ſo impatient they are, that being but requeſted to let vs know what cauſes they leaue for mens incouragement to attend to the reading of the Scripture, if Sermons only be the power of God to ſaue euery one which beleeueth; that which we moue for our better learning and inſtructions ſake, turneth vnto anger and choler in them, they grow altogether out of quietneſſe with it, they anſwere fumingly, that they are [a] *aſhamed to defile their pennes with making anſwere to ſuch idle queſtions*: yet in this their moode they caſt forth ſomewhat, wherewith vnder paine of greater diſpleaſure wee muſt reſt contented. They tell vs, the profit of reading is ſingular, in that it ſerueth for a preparatiue vnto Sermons; it helpeth pretily towards the nouriſhment of faith which Sermons haue once ingendred; it is ſome ſtay to his minde which readeth the Scripture, when hee findeth the ſame things there which are taught in Sermons, and thereby perceiueth how God doth concurre in opinion with the Preacher; beſides, it keepeth Sermons in memorie, and doth in that reſpect, although not feede the ſoule of man, yet help the retentiue force of that ſtomacke of the minde which receiueth ghoſtly foode at the Preachers hand. But the principall cauſe of *writing* the Goſpell was, *that it might be preached* vpon or interpreted by publique Miniſters apt and authoriſed thereunto. Is it credible that a ſuperſtitious conceit (for it is no better) concerning Sermons, ſhould in ſuch ſort both darken their eyes, and yet ſharpen their wits withall, that the only true and waightie cauſe why Scripture was written, the cauſe which in Scripture is ſo often mentioned, the cauſe which all men haue euer till this preſent day acknowledged, this they ſhould cleane exclude as being no cauſe at all, and loade vs with ſo great ſtore of ſtrange concealed cauſes which did neuer ſee light till now? In which number the reſt muſt needes be of moment, when the very chiefeſt cauſe of committing the ſacred Word of God vnto bookes, is ſurmized to haue beene, leſt the Preacher ſhould want a text whereupon to ſcholie. Men of learning hold it for a ſlip in iudgement, when offer is made to demonſtrate that as proper to one thing, which reaſon findeth common vnto moe. Whereas therefore they take from all kindes of teaching that which they attribute to Sermons, it had beene their part to yeeld directly ſome ſtrong reaſon why betweene *Sermons alone* and *faith*, there ſhould be *ordinarily* that coherence which cauſes haue with their vſuall effects, why a Chriſtian mans beliefe ſhould ſo naturally grow from Sermons, and not poſſibly from any other kinde of teaching. In beliefe there being but theſe two operations, *apprehenſion* and *aſſent*, doe only Sermons cauſe beliefe, in that no other way is able to explane the myſteries of God that the minde may rightly apprehend or conceiue them as behoueth? Wee all know that many things are beleeued, although they be intricate, obſcure, and darke, although they exceede

[a] T.C. *lib.* 2. *pag.* 376.

ceed the reach and capacitie of our wits, yea although in this world they be no way poſſible to bee vnderſtood. Many thinges beleeued are likewiſe ſo plaine, that euery common perſon may therein bee vnto himſelfe a ſufficient expounder. Finally, to explane euen thoſe things which need and admit explication, many other vſuall wayes there are beſides Sermons. Therefore Sermons are not the only ordinary means wherby we *firſt* come to *apprehend* the myſteries of God. Is it in regard then of Sermons only, that apprehending the Goſpell of Chriſt wee yeeld thereunto our vnfained aſſent as to a thing infallibly true? They which rightly conſider after what ſort the heart of man hereunto is framed, muſt of neceſſitie acknowledge, that who ſo aſſenteth to the wordes of eternall life, doth it in regard of his *authoritie* whoſe wordes they are. This is in mans conuerſion vnto God τὸ ἄθυρμα ἀρχὴ τῆς πίστεως, the firſt ſtep whereat his race towards Heauen beginneth. Vnleſſe therefore, cleane contrary to our owne experience, wee ſhall thinke it a miracle if any man acknowledge the diuine authoritie of the Scripture, till ſome Sermon haue perſwaded him thereunto, and that otherwiſe neyther conuerſation in the boſome of the Church, nor religious education, nor the reading of learned mens bookes, nor information receiued by conference, nor whatſoeuer paine and diligence in hearing, ſtudying, meditating day and night on the law, is ſo farre bleſt of God as to worke this effect in any man, how would they haue vs to grant, that faith doth not come but only by *hearing Sermons?* [a] Faine they would haue vs to beleeue the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* himſelfe to bee the Author of this their paradox, only becauſe he ſaid, that it pleaſeth God by the [b] *fooliſhnes of preaching*, to ſaue them which beleeue; and again, [c] *How ſhall they call on him in whom they haue not beleeued? How ſhal they beleeue in him of whom they haue not heard? How ſhall they heare without a Preacher? How ſhall men preach except they be ſent?* To anſwere therefore both allegations at once, the very ſubſtance of that they containe is in few but this. Life and ſaluation God will haue *offered vnto all*; his will is that *Gentiles* ſhould bee ſaued as well as *Iewes*. Saluation belongeth vnto none but ſuch *as call vpon the name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt*. Which *Nations as yet vnconuerted* neyther doe *nor poſſibly can doe till they beleeue*. What they are to beleeue, impoſſible it is they ſhould know till they *heare it*. Their hearing requireth *our preaching* vnto them. [d] *Tertullian*, to draw euen *Painimes* themſelues vnto Chriſtian beleefe, willeth *the Bookes* of the olde Teſtament to be *ſearched*, which were at that time in *Ptolomeis* Library. And if men did not liſt to trauell ſo farre, though it were for their endleſſe good, he addeth, that in *Rome* and other places the *Iewes* had Synagogues, whereunto euery one which would might reſort, that this kind of libertie they purchaſed by payment of a ſtanding tribute, that there they did openly [e] *read* the Scriptures; and whoſoeuer *will heare* (ſayth *Tertullian*) *he ſhall find God, whoſoeuer will ſtudie to know, ſhall bee alſo faine to beleeue*. But ſith there is no likelihood that euer voluntarily they will ſeeke inſtruction at our hands, it remaineth that vnleſſe we will ſuffer them to periſh, ſaluation it ſelfe muſt ſeeke them, it behoueth GOD to *ſend* them Preachers as hee did *his elect Apoſtles* throughout the World. There is *a knowledge* which GOD hath alwayes reuealed vnto them in the *workes of nature*. This they honor and eſteeme highly as profound *wiſedome*; howbeit this wiſedome ſaueth

a T.C. *lib.* 2. *pag.* 375.
b 1. *Cor.* 1. 21.
c *Rom.* 10. 14.
d *Apologet. cap.* 18. *in fine.*
e This they did in a tongue which to all learned men amongſt the Heathens, and to a great part of the ſimpleſt was familiarly knowne: as appeareth by a ſupplication offered vnto the Emperour *Iuſtinian*, wherin the Iewes make requeſt that it might be lawfull for them to reade the Greeke tranſlation of the 70. Interpreters in their Synagogues, as their cuſtome before had beene. *Authent.* 146. *coll.* 10. *incipit Aequum ſane.*

ueth them not. That which muſt ſaue beleeuers, is *the knowledge of the croſſe of Chriſt*, the *only ſubiect* of *all our preaching*. And in their eyes what doth this ſeeme as yet but *folly*? It pleaſeth God by the *fooliſhneſſe of preaching* to ſaue. Theſe words declare how admirable force thoſe myſteries haue, which the world doth deride as follies, they ſhew that the *fooliſhnes of the Croſſe of Chriſt* is the *wiſdome of true beleeuers*; they concerne the *obiect* of our faith, *the* [a] *matter preached of* and beleeued in by Chriſtian men. This we know that the Grecians or Gentiles did account fooliſhnes; but that they euer did thinke it *a fond* or vnlikely *way* to ſeek mens conuerſion by *Sermons*, we haue not heard. Manifeſt therefore it is, that the Apoſtle applying the name of *fooliſhneſſe* in ſuch ſort as they did, muſt needs, by the *fooliſhneſſe of preaching*, meane the doctrine of Chriſt, which we learne that we may be ſaued, but that Sermons are the only manner of teaching, whereby it pleaſeth our Lord to ſaue, hee could not meane. In like ſort, where the ſame Apoſtle proueth, that as wel the *ſending of the Apoſtles*, as their preaching *to the Gentiles*, was neceſſary, dare we affirme it was euer his meaning, that vnto their ſaluation, who euen from their tender infancie neuer knew any other faith or religion then only Chriſtian, *no kind of teaching* can be auaileable, *ſauing that* which was ſo needful for the firſt vniuerſall conuerſion of Gentiles hating Chriſtianity; neither the *ſending* of any ſort allowable in the one caſe, except onely of ſuch as had bin in the other alſo moſt fit and worthie inſtruments? *Beliefe in all ſorts* doth come by harkning and *attending to the word of life*. Which word ſomtime propoſeth and preacheth it ſelfe to the hearer; ſometime they deliuer it, whom priuatly zeale and piety moueth to be inſtructors of others by conference; ſometime of them it is taught, whom the Church hath called to the publike, either reading thereof, or interpreting. All theſe tend vnto one effect, neither doth that which Saint *Paul* or other Apoſtles teach, concerning the neceſſity of *ſuch teaching* as theirs was, or of *ſending ſuch* as they were, for *that purpoſe vnto the Gentiles*, preiudice the efficacie of *any other way* of publike inſtruction, or inforce the vtter diſabilitie of any other mens vocation thought requiſite in this Church for the ſauing of ſoules, where meanes more effectuall are wanting. Their only proper and direct proofe of the thing in queſtion had beene to ſhew, in what ſort, and how farre mans ſaluation doth neceſſarily depend vpon the knowledge of the word of God; what conditions, properties, and qualities there are, whereby Sermons are diſtinguiſhed from other kindes of adminiſtring the word vnto that purpoſe; and what ſpeciall propertie or qualitie that is, which being no where found but in Sermons, maketh them effectuall to ſaue ſoules, and leaueth all other doctrinall means beſides deſtitute of vitall efficacie. Theſe pertinent inſtructions, whereby they might ſatisfie vs, and obtaine the cauſe it ſelfe for which they contend, theſe things which onely would ſerue they leaue, and (which needeth not) ſometime they trouble themſelues with fretting at the ignorance of ſuch as withſtand them in their opinion; ſometime they [b] fall vpon their poore brethren which can but reade, and againſt *them* they are bitterly eloquent. If wee alleage what the Scriptures themſelues doe vſually ſpeake for the ſauing force of the word of God, not with reſtraint to any one certaine kinde of deliuerie, but howſoeuer the ſame ſhall chance to bee made knowne, yet

a The Apoſtle vſeth the word κήρυγμα, and not κήρυξις.

b T. C. lib. 2. pag. 373. This taile of Readers. The Biſhops more then beggerly preſents. Thoſe raſcall Miniſters.

yet by one tricke or other they alwayes [a] reſtrayne it vnto Sermons. Our Lord and Sauiour hath ſaid, [b] *Search the Scriptures, in them ye thinke to haue eternall life.* But they tell vs, hee ſpake to the Iewes, which Iewes before *had heard his Sermons*; and that peraduenture it was his minde they ſhould ſearch, not by reading, nor by hearing them read, but by attending, whenſoeuer the Scriptures ſhould happen to bee alledged in Sermons. Furthermore, hauing receiued Apoſtolique doctrine, [c] the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* hath taught vs to eſteeme the ſame as the ſupreme Rule, whereby all other doctrines muſt for euer bee examined. Yea, but in as much as the Apoſtle doth there ſpeake of *that hee had preached*, *hee flatly maketh* (as they ſtrangely affirme) *his preachings* or Sermons *the Rule*, whereby to examine all. And then, I beſeech you, what Rule haue we whereby to iudge or examine any? For, if Sermons muſt be our rule, becauſe the Apoſtles Sermons were ſo to their hearers; then, ſith we are not as they were, hearers of the Apoſtles Sermons, it reſteth that either the Sermons which we heare ſhould be our rule, or (that being abſurd) there will (which yet hath greater abſurditie) no rule at all be remayning for trial, what doctrines now are corrupt, what conſonant with heauenly truth. Againe, let [d] the ſame Apoſtle acknowledge all Scripture profitable to teach, to improue, to correct, to inſtruct in righteouſnes. Still notwithſtanding we erre, if hereby we preſume to gather, that Scripture read, will auaile vnto any one of all theſe vſes; they teach vs the meaning of the words to be, that ſo much the Scripture can doe, if the Miniſter that way apply it in his Sermons, otherwiſe not. Finally, they neuer heare ſentence which mentioneth the Word or Scripture, but forth-with their gloſes vpon it are, the Word preached, the Scripture explaned or deliuered vnto vs in Sermons. Sermons they euermore vnderſtand to be that Word of God, which alone hath vitall operation, the dangerous ſequele of which conſtruction I wiſh they did more attentiuely waigh. For ſith, ſpeech is the very image, whereby the minde and ſoule of the ſpeaker conueyeth it ſelfe into the boſome of him which heareth, we cannot chooſe but ſee great reaſon, wherefore the Word that proceedeth from God, who is himſelfe very truth and life, ſhould be (as the Apoſtle to the [e] *Hebrewes* noteth) liuely and mightie in operation, ſharper then any two-edged ſword. Now, if in this and the like places we did conceiue, that our owne Sermons are that ſtrong & forcible Word, ſhould we not hereby impart euen the moſt peculiar glorie of the Word of God, vnto that which is not his word? For, touching our ſermons, that which giueth them their very being, is the wit of man, and therefore they often-times accordingly taſte too much of that ouer-corrupt fountayne from which they come. In our ſpeech of moſt holy things, our moſt fraile affections many times are bewrayed. Wherfore, when we reade or recite the Scripture, we then deliuer to the people properly the Word of God. As for our Sermons, be they neuer ſo ſound & perfect, his Word they are not, as the Sermons of the Prophets were; no, they are but ambiguouſly termed his Word, becauſe his Word is cōmonly the ſubiect whereof they treat, and muſt be the rule whereby they are framed. Notwithſtanding, by theſe and the like ſhifts they deriue vnto Sermons alone, what ſoeuer is generally ſpoken concerning the Word. Againe, what ſeemeth to haue beene vttered concerning Sermons, and their efficacie or neceſſitie, *in regard of*

[a] *T.C.l.2.p.37.*
[b] *Ioh.5.39.*
[c] *Gal.1.9.*
[d] *1.Tim.3.16.*
[e] *Hebr.4.12.*

diuine matter, and muſt conſequently be verified in ſundrie other kinds of teaching, if *the matter* be the ſame in all, their vſe is to faſten euery ſuch ſpeech vnto that one only manner of teaching, which is by Sermons, that ſtil Sermons may be all in all. [a] Thus, becauſe *Salomon* declareth that the people decay or *periſh* for want of knowledge, where [b] no *prophecying* at all is, they gather that the hope of life and ſaluation is cut off, where Preachers are not which *prophecie by Sermons*, how many ſoeuer they bee in number that reade daily the Word of God, and deliuer, though in other ſort, the ſelfe ſame matter which Sermons doe. The people which haue no way to come to the knowledge of God, no *prophecying*, no teaching, periſh. But that they ſhould of neceſſitie periſh, where any one way of knowledge lacketh, is more then the words of *Salomon* import. [c] Another vſuall point of their arte in this preſent queſtion, is to make very large and plentifull diſcourſes, how Chriſt is by ſermons [d] lifted vp *higher*, and made more [e] apparent to the eye of Faith; how the [f] ſauour of the Word is more ſweet being brayed, and more able to nouriſh being diuided by preaching, then by only reading propoſed; how Sermons are the keyes of the Kingdome of heauen, and doe open the Scriptures, which being but read, remaine *in compariſon* ſtill claſped; how God [g] giueth richer increaſe of grace to the ground, that is planted and watered by preaching, then by bare and ſimple reading. Out of which premiſes declaring how attaynement vnto life is eaſier where Sermons are, they conclude an [h] *impoſſibility* thereof where Sermons are not. *Alcidmas* the Sophiſter hath many arguments, to proue that voluntary and extemporall farre excelleth premeditated ſpeech. The like whereunto and in part the ſame are brought by them, who commend Sermons, as being (which all men, I thinke, will acknowledge) ſundrie [i] peculiar and proper vertues, ſuch as no other way of teaching beſides hath. Aptneſſe to follow particular occaſions preſently growing, to put life into words by countenance, voice and geſture, to preuaile mightily in the ſuddaine affections of men, this Sermons may challenge. Wherein notwithſtanding ſo eminent properties whereof leſſons are happily deſtitute, yet leſſons being free from ſome inconueniences, whereunto Sermons are more ſubiect, they may in this reſpect no leſſe take, then in other they muſt giue the hand which betokeneth preeminence. For there is nothing which is not ſome way exceld, euen by that which is doth excell. Sermons therefore and leſſons may each excell other in ſome reſpects, without any preiudice vnto either, as touching that vitall force which they both haue in the worke of our ſaluation. To which effect when we haue endeuoured as much as in vs doth lye, to finde out the ſtrongeſt cauſes, wherefore they ſhould imagine that reading is it ſelfe ſo vnauaileable, the moſt wee can learne at their hands, is, that Sermons are [k] *the ordinance of God*; the Scriptures *darke*; and the labour of reading *eaſie*. Firſt, therefore as we know that God doth ayde with his grace, and by his ſpeciall prouidence euer-more bleſſe with happy ſucceſſe thoſe things which himſelfe appointeth, ſo his Church, wee perſwade our ſelues, he hath not in ſuch ſort giuen ouer to a reprobate ſenſe, that whatſoeuer it deuiſeth for the good of the ſoules of men, the ſame he doth ſtill accurſe and make fruſtrate. Or if he alwayes did defeat the ordinances or his Church, [l] is not reading the ordinance of God? Wherefore then ſhould wee thinke

a *T.C. lib. 2. pag. 381.*
b *Prou. 29. 18.*
c *T.C. lib. 2. pag. 379.*
d *2. Cor. 2. 16.*
e *2. Tim. 2. 15.*
f *Matth. 16. 19.*
g *1. Cor. 3. 6.*
h *T.C. lib. 2. pag. 380.* No ſaluation to be looked for where no preaching is.
i *T.C. lib. 2. pag. 395.*
k *T.C. lib. 2. pag. 396.*
l *Ier. 31. 13.*

thinke that the force of his ſecret grace is accuſtomed to bleſſe the labour of diuiding his Word, according vnto each mans priuate diſcretion in publique Sermons, and to with-draw it ſelfe from concurring with the publique deliuerie thereof by ſuch ſelected portions of Scripture, as the whole Church hath ſolemnely appointed to be read for the peoples good, either by ordinarie courſe, or otherwiſe, according to the exigence of ſpeciall occaſions? Reading (ſaith [a] *Iſidore*) is to the hearers no ſmall edifying. To them whoſe [b] delight and meditation is in the Law, ſeeing that happineſſe and bliſſe belongeth, it is not in vs to denie them the benefit of heauenly grace. And I hope wee may preſume, that a rare thing it is not in the Church of God, euen for that very Word which is read to be both preſently their [c] ioy, and afterwards their ſtudie that heare it. [d] *S. Auguſtine* ſpeaking of deuout men, noteth, how they daily frequented the Church, how attentiue eare they gaue vnto the Leſſons & Chapters read, how carefull they were to remember the ſame, and to muſe thereupon by themſelues. [e] *S. Cyprian* obſerueth, that reading was not without effect in the hearts of men. Their ioy and alacritie was to him an argument, that there is in this ordinance a bleſſing, ſuch as ordinarily doth accompanie the adminiſtration of the Word of life. It were much if there ſhould be ſuch a difference betweene the hearing of Sermons preached & of Leſſons read in the Church, that he which preſenteth himſelfe at the one, and maketh his prayer with the Prophet [f] DAVID, *Teach me, O Lord, the way of thy Statutes, direct me in the path of thy Commandements*, might haue the ground of vſuall experience, whereupon to build his hope of preuailing with God and obtayning the grace he ſeeketh; they contrariwiſe not ſo, who craue the like aſſiſtance of his Spirit, when they giue eare to the reading of the other. In this therefore, preaching and reading are equall, that both are approued as his Ordinances, both aſſiſted with his grace. And if his grace doe aſſiſt them both to the nouriſhment of Faith already bred, we cannot, without ſome very manifeſt cauſe yeelded, imagine that in breeding or begetting Faith, his grace doth cleaue to the one, and vtterly forſake the other. Touching [g] *hardneſſe*, which is the ſecond pretended impediment, as againſt Homilies, being plaine & popular inſtructions, it is no bar, ſo neither doth it infringe the efficacie, no not of Scriptures, although but read. The force of reading, how ſmall ſoeuer they would haue it, muſt of neceſſitie be granted ſufficient to notifie that which is plaine or eaſie to bee vnderſtood. And of things neceſſary to all mens ſaluation, wee haue beene hitherto accuſtomed to hold (eſpecially ſithence the publiſhing of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, whereby the ſimpleſt hauing now a key vnto knowledge, which the [h] *Eunuch* in the *Acts* did want, our children may of themſelues by reading vnderſtand that, which hee without an Interpreter could not) they are in Scripture plaine and eaſie to bee vnderſtood. As for thoſe things which at the firſt are obſcure and daily, when memorie hath laid them vp for a time, iudgement afterwards growing explaneth them. Scripture therefore is not *ſo hard*, but that the *only reading* thereof may giue life vnto willing hearers. The eaſie performance of which holy labour, is in like ſort a very cold obiection, to preiudice the vertue thereof. For what though an *Infidel*, yea, though *a child* may be able to reade; there is no doubt, but the meaneſt and worſt amongſt the people vnder the

[a] *D Eccleſ. offic. lib. 1. cap. 10*
[b] *Pſal. 1. 2.*
[c] *Pſal. 119 16.*
[d] *Aug. in Pſ. 66.*
[e] *Cyprian. lib. 2. Epiſt. 5. Lector perſonat verba ſublimia, Euangelium Chriſti legis, à fratribus conſpicitur, cum gaudio fraternitatis auditur.*
[f] *Pſ. 119. 33-35.*
[g] *T. C. l. 2. p. 383. 384. 392.*
[h] *Act. 8. 31.*

Law, had beene as able a the Priests themselues were to offer sacrifice. Did this make sacrifice of no effect vnto that purpose for which it was instituted? In Religion some duties are not cõmended so much by the hardnesse of their execution, as by the worthinesse and dignitie of that acceptation wherein they are held with God. We admire the goodnesse of God in nature, when we consider how he hath prouided, that things most needfull to preserue this life, should be most prompt and easie for all liuing creatures to come by. Is it not as euident a signe of his wonderfull prouidence ouer vs, when that foode of eternall life, vpon the *vtter want* whereof our endlesse death and destruction necessarily ensueth, is prepared and alwayes set in such a readinesse, that those very meanes then which nothing is more easie may suffice to procure the same? Surely, if we perish, it is not the lacke of Scribes and learned Expounders that can bee our iust excuse. The Word which saueth our soules is neere vs, we need for knowa *Apoc.1.3.* ledge but [a] to reade and liue. The man which readeth the Word of God, the Word it selfe doth pronounce blessed, if hee also obserue the same. Now all these things being well considered, it shall bee no intricate matter for any man to iudge with indifferencie on which part the good of the Church is most conueniently sought; whether on ours, whose opinion is such as hath beene b *T.C.l.2.p.363* shewed, or else on [b] theirs, who leauing no ordinary way of saluation for them *Pag.373.* vnto whom the Word of God is but only read, doe seldome name them but with great disdayne and contempt who execute that seruice in the Church of Christ. By meanes whereof it hath come to passe, that Churches, which cannot enioy the benefit of vsuall Preaching, are iudged, as it were euen forsaken of God, forlorne, and without either hope or comfort: Contrariwise, those places which euery day for the most part are at Sermons as the flowing Sea, doe both by their emptinesse at times of reading, and by other apparent tokens shew to the voyce of the liuing God, this way sounding in the eares of men a great deale lesse reuerence then were meete. But if no other euill were knowne to grow thereby, who can choose but thinke them cruell which doth heare them c *Pag.364.375* so boldly teach, that [c] if God (as to him there is nothing impossible) doe hap*380.383.384.* pily saue any such as continue where they haue all other meanes of instruction, but are not taught by continuall preaching; yet this is miraculous, and more then the fitnesse of so poore instruments can giue any man cause to hope for; d *Pag.392.* that [d] Sacraments are not effectuall to saluation, except men bee instructed by e *Pag.364.* *preaching before* they be made partakers of them; yea, that both [e] Sacraments and prayers also, where Sermons are not, *Doe not only not feed, but are ordinarily to further condemnation?* What mans heart doth not rise at the mention of these things? It is true that the weaknesse of our wits and the dulnesse of our affections doe make vs for the most part, euen as our Lords owne disciples were for a certayne time, hard and slow to beleeue what is written. For helpe whereof expositions and exhortations are needful, and that in the most effectuall manner. The principall Churches throughout the Land, and no small part of the rest being in this respect by the goodnesse of God so abundantly prouided for, they which want the like furtherance vnto knowledge, wherewith it were greatly to be desired that they also did abound, are yet, we hope, not left in so extreme destitution, that iustly any man should thinke the ordinarie meanes

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of eternall life taken from them, becauſe their teaching is in publique for the moſt part but by reading. For which cauſe amongſt whom there are not thoſe helps that others haue to ſet them forward in the way of life, ſuch to diſ-hearten with fearefull ſentences, as though their ſaluation could hardly be hoped for, is not in our vnderſtanding ſo conſonant with Chriſtian Charitie. Wee hold it ſafer a great deale and better to giue them [a] incouragement; to put them in minde that it is not the deepneſſe of their knowledge, but the [b] ſingleneſſe of their beliefe which God accepteth; that they which [c] hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſſe, ſhall be ſatisfied; that no [d] imbecillitie of meanes can preiudice the truth of the promiſe of God herein; that the weaker their helps are, the more their neede is to ſharpen the edge of their owne [e] induſtrie; and that [f] paynefulneſſe by feeble meanes ſhall bee able to gayne that, which in the plentie of more forcible inſtruments is through ſloth and negligence loſt. As for the men, with whome wee haue thus farre taken paynes to conferre, about the force of the Word of God, either read by it ſelfe, or opened in Sermons; their ſpeeches concerning both the one and the other are in truth ſuch, as might giue vs very iuſt cauſe to thinke, that the reckoning is not great which they make of either. For howſoeuer they haue beene driuen to deuiſe ſome odde kindes of blinde vſes, whereunto they may anſwere that reading doth ſerue, yet the reading of the word of God in publique more then their Preachers bare text, who will not iudge that they deeme needleſſe, when if wee chance at any time to terme it neceſſary, as being a thing which God himſelfe did inſtitute amongſt the Iewes for purpoſes that touch as well vs as them; a thing which the Apoſtles commend vnder the old, and ordaine vnder the new Teſtament; a thing whereof the Church of God hath euer ſithence the firſt beginning reaped ſingular commoditie; a thing which without exceeding great detriment no Church can omit? they onely are the men that euer wee heard of, by whom this hath beene croſt and gainſaid, they onely the men which haue giuen their peremptory ſentence to the contrary, [g] *It is vntrue that ſimple reading is neceſſary in the Church.* And why vntrue? Becauſe *although it bee very conuenient which is vſed in ſome Churches, where before preaching time the Church aſſembled hath the Scriptures read in ſuch order, that the whole Canon thereof is oftentimes in one yeere runne thorough: yet a number of Churches which haue no ſuch order of ſimple reading, cannot be in this point charged with breach of Gods commandement, which they might be if ſimple reading were neceſſary.* A poore, a cold, and an hungry cauill. Shall wee therefore to pleaſe them change the word *Neceſſary*, and ſay that it hath beene a commendable order, a cuſtome very expedient, or an ordinance moſt profitable (whereby they know right well that wee meane exceedingly behoofull) to reade the Word of God at large in the Church, whether it bee as our manner is, or as theirs is whom they preferre before vs? It is not this that will content or ſatisfie their mindes. They haue againſt it a maruellous deepe & profound axiome, [h] that *Two things to one and the ſame end cannot but very improperly bee ſayd moſt profitable.* And therefore if preaching be moſt *profitable* to mans ſaluation, then is not reading; if reading bee, then preaching is not. Are they reſolued then at the leaſtwiſe, if preaching bee the onely ordinary meane whereby it pleaſeth

a *Eccleſ.*51. 26.27. *Matth.*12.20.
b 1.*Tim.*1.5. *Rom.*14.1. 1.*Theſ.*3.10.
c *Matth.*5.6.
d *Phil.*1.6. 1.*Pet.*5.10. *Matth.*3.9. c 1.*Theſ.*4.18. *Hebr.*10.24. *Iud.verſ.*20. 1.*Pet.*4.10.
f *Luke* 11.31.
g *T.C.lib.*2. *pag.*381.
h *T.C.lib.*2. *pag.*372.

God to ſaue our ſoules, what kind of preaching it is which doth ſaue? Vnderſtand they how or in what reſpect there is that force and vertue in preaching? We haue reaſon wherefore to make theſe demaunds, for that although their pennes runne all vpon *preaching* and *Sermons*, yet when themſelues doe practiſe that whereof they write, they change their Dialect, and thoſe words they ſhunne, as if there were in them ſome ſecret ſting. It is not their phraſe to ſay they *preach*, or to giue to their owne inſtructions and exhortations the name of Sermons; the paine they take themſelues in this kinde is either *opening* or lecturing, or reading, or exerciſing, but in no caſe *preaching*. [a] And in this preſent queſtion they alſo warily proteſt that what they aſcribe to the vertue of preaching, they ſtill meane it of good preaching: Now one of them ſaith that a good Sermon [b] muſt expound and apply a large portion of the text of Scripture at one time. Another giueth vs to vnderſtand, that ſound preaching [c] *is not to doe as one did at London, who ſpent moſt of his time in inuectiues againſt good men, and told his audience how the Magiſtrate ſhould haue an eye to ſuch as troubled the peace of the Church.* The [d] beſt of them hold it for no good preaching, *when a man endeuoureth to make a glorious ſhew of eloquence and learning, rather then to applie himſelfe to the capacitie of the ſimple.* But let them ſhape vs out a good Preacher by what patterne ſoeuer pleaſeth them beſt, let them exclude and incloſe whom they will with their definitions, wee are not deſirous to enter into any contention with them about this, or to abate the conceit they haue of their owne wayes, ſo that when once wee are agreed what Sermons ſhall currantly paſſe for good, wee may at the length vnderſtand from them what that is in a good Sermon which doth make it the word of life vnto ſuch as heare. If ſubſtance of matter, euidence of things, ſtrength and validitie of arguments and proofes, or if any other vertue elſe which words and ſentences may containe, of all this what is there in the beſt Sermons being vttered, which they loſe by being read? But they vtterly deny that the reading either of Scriptures, or Homilies and Sermons can euer by the ordinarie grace of God ſaue any ſoule. So that although wee had all the Sermons word for word which *Iames*, *Paul*, *Peter*, and the reſt of the Apoſtles made, ſome one of which Sermons was of power to conuert thouſands of the hearers vnto Chriſtian faith; yea although wee had all the inſtructions, exhortations, conſolations which came from the gracious lips of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe, and ſhould reade them ten thouſand times ouer, to faith and ſaluation, no man could hereby hope to attaine. Whereupon it muſt of neceſſitie follow, that the vigor and vitall efficacie of Sermons doth grow from certaine accidents which are not in them but in their maker; his vertue, his geſture, his countenance, his zeale, the motion of his bodie, and the inflection of his voyce who firſt vttereth them as his owne, is that which giueth them the forme, the nature, the very eſſence of inſtruments auaileable to eternall life. If they like neither that nor this, what remaineth but that their finall concluſion bee, *Sermons wee know are the onely ordinary meanes to ſaluation, but why or how wee cannot tell?* Wherefore to end this tedious controuerſie, wherein the too great importunitie of our ouer-eager aduerſaries hath conſtrayned vs much longer to dwell, then the barrenneſſe of ſo poore a cauſe could haue ſeemed

a *T.C.lib.2.pag.* 385.

b Complaint of the comminaltie.

c *Deſt.Somes.* Painter.pa.21.

d *T.C.lib.2.* *pag.385.*

ſeemed at the firſt likely either to require or to admit, if they which without partialities and paſſions are accuſtomed to weigh all things, and accordingly to giue their ſentence, ſhall heere ſit downe to receiue our audit, and to caſt vp the whole reckning on both ſides, the ſumme which truth amounteth vnto will appeare to bee but this, that as medicines prouided of nature, and applied by arte for the benefit of bodily health, take effect ſometime vnder and ſometime aboue the naturall proportion of their vertue, according as the minde and fancie of the patient doth more or leſſe concurre with them: So whether wee barely reade vnto men the Scriptures of God, or by Homilies concerning matter of beleefe and conuerſation ſeeke to lay before them the duties which they owe vnto God and man; whether wee deliuer them Bookes to reade and conſider of in priuate at their owne beſt leaſure, or call them to the hearing of Sermons publiquely in the houſe of God; albeit euery of theſe and the like vnto theſe meanes doe truely and dayly effect that in the hearts of men for which they are each and all meant, yet the operation which they haue in common being moſt ſenſible and moſt generally noted in one kinde aboue the reſt, that one hath in ſome mens opinions drowned altogether the reſt, and iniuriouſly brought to paſſe that they haue beene thought not leſſe effectuall then the other, but without the other vneffectuall to ſaue ſoules. Whereas the cauſe why Sermons only are obſerued to preuaile ſomuch while all meanes elſe ſeeme to ſleepe and doe nothing, is in truth but that ſingular affection and attention which the people ſheweth euery where nothing towards the one, and their cold diſpoſition to the other, the reaſon heereof being partly the arte which our aduerſaries vſe for the credit of their Sermons to bring men out of conceit with all other teaching beſides; partly a cuſtome which men haue to let thoſe things careleſly paſſe by their eares which they haue oftentimes heard before, or know they may heare againe whenſoeuer it pleaſeth themſelues; partly, the ſpeciall aduantages which Sermons naturally haue to procure attention, both in that they come alwayes new, and becauſe by the hearer it is ſtill preſumed that if they bee let ſlip for the preſent, what good ſoeuer they conteine is loſt, and that without all hope of recouery. This is the true cauſe of oddes betweene Sermons and other kinds of wholeſome inſtruction. As for the difference which hath beene hitherto ſo much defended on the contrary ſide, making Sermons the only ordinary meanes vnto faith and eternall life, ſith this hath neither euidence of truth, nor proofe ſufficient to giue it warrant, a cauſe of ſuch qualitie may with farre better grace and conueniencie aske that pardon which common humanitie doth eaſily grant, then claime in challenging manner that aſſent which is as vnwilling whē reaſon guideth it to be yeelded where it is not, as withheld where it is apparently due. All which notwithſtanding, as wee could greatly wiſh that the rigor of this their opinion were alayed and mitigated, ſo becauſe wee hold it the part of religious ingenuitie to honour vertue in whomſoeuer; therefore it is our moſt hearty deſire, and ſhall bee alwayes our prayer vnto Almighty God, that in the ſelfe ſame feruent zeale wherewith they ſeeme to affect the good of the ſoules of men, and to thirſt after nothing more then that all men might by all meanes bee directed in the way

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of life, both they and wee may conſtantly perſiſt to the worlds end. For in this wee are not their aduerſaries, though they in the other hitherto haue beene ours.

Of Prayer.

23 Betweene the Throne of God in heauen, and his Church vpon earth heere militant, if it be ſo that Angels haue their continuall intercourſe, where ſhould we finde the ſame more verified then in thoſe two ghoſtly exerciſes, the one *Doctrine*, the other *Prayer*? For what is the aſſembling of the Church to learne, but the receiuing of Angels deſcended from aboue? What to pray, but the ſending of Angels vpward? His heauenly inſpirations and our holy deſires are as ſo many Angels of entercourſe and commerce betweene God and vs. As teaching bringeth vs to know that God is our ſupreme truth; ſo prayer teſtifieth that we acknowledge him our ſoueraigne good. Beſides, ſith on God as the moſt high all inferiour cauſes in the world are dependent, and the higher any cauſe is, the more it coueteth to impart vertue vnto things beneath it, how ſhould any kinde of ſeruice wee doe or can doe, finde greater acceptance then Prayer, which ſheweth our concurrence with him, in deſiring that wherewith his very nature doth moſt delight? Is not the name of Prayer vſuall to ſignifie euen all the ſeruice that euer wee doe vnto God? And that for no other cauſe, as I ſuppoſe, but to ſhew that there is in religion no acceptable dutie which deuout inuocation of the name of God doth not either preſuppoſe or inferre. Prayers are thoſe [a] calues of mens lips; thoſe moſt gracious and ſweete [b] odours; thoſe rich preſents and gifts, which being [c] carried vp into heauen, doe beſt teſtifie our dutifull affection, and are, for the purchaſing of all fauour at the hands of God, the moſt vndoubted meanes we can vſe. On others what more eaſily, and yet what more fruitfully beſtowed then our Prayers? If we giue counſell, they are the ſimpler onely that neede it; if almes, the poorer onely are relieued; but by Prayer we doe good to all. And whereas euery other duty beſides is but to ſhew it ſelfe as time and opportunitie require, for this [d] all times are conuenient: when we are not able to doe any other thing for mens behoofe, when through malicioufneſſe or vnkindneſſe they vouchſafe not to accept any other good at our hands, Prayer is that which we alwayes haue in our power to beſtow, and they neuer in theirs to refuſe. Wherefore God forbid, ſayth [e] *Samuel*, ſpeaking vnto a moſt vnthankfull people, a people weary of the benefite of his moſt vertuous gouernment ouer them, God forbid that I ſhould ſinne againſt the Lord, and ceaſe to pray for you. It is the firſt thing wherewith a righteous life beginneth, and the laſt wherewith it doth end. The knowledge is ſmall which we haue on earth concerning things that are done in heauen. Notwithſtanding thus much we know euen of Saints in heauen that they pray. And therefore Prayer being a worke common to the Church as well triumphant as militant, a worke common vnto men with Angels, what ſhould wee thinke, but that ſo much of our liues is celeſtiall and diuine as we ſpend in the exerciſe of Prayer? For which cauſe wee ſee that the moſt comfortable [f] viſitations, which God hath ſent men from aboue, haue taken eſpecially the times of Prayer as their moſt naturall opportunities.

a *Oſe.* 14.3.
b *Reu.* 5.8.
c *Act.* 10.4.
d *Rom.* 1.9. 1. *Theſ.* 5.17. *Luke* 18.1.
e 1. *Sam.* 12.23.
f *Dan.* 9.20. *Act.* 10.13.

Of publique Prayer.

24 This holy and religious duty of ſeruice towards God concerneth vs one

one way in that we are men, and another way in that wee are ioyned as parts to that viſible myſticall body which is his Church. As men, we are at our owne [a] choice, both for time, and place, and forme, according to the exigence of our owne occaſions in priuate: But the ſeruice, which we doe as members of a publique body, is publique, and for that cauſe muſt needes bee accompted by ſo much worthier then the other, as a whole ſocietie of ſuch condition exceedeth the worth of any one. In which conſideration vnto Chriſtian aſſemblies, there are [b] moſt ſpeciall promiſes made. [c] *S. Paul*, though likely to preuaile with God as much as one, did notwithſtanding thinke it much more, both for Gods glorie and his owne good, if prayers might bee made and thankes yeelded in his behalfe by a number of men. The [d] Prince and People of Niniueh aſſembling themſelues as a mayne armie of Supplicants, it was not in the power of God to withſtand them. I ſpeake no otherwiſe concerning the force of publique Prayer in the Church of God, then before mee [e] *Tertullian* hath done, *We come by troups to the place of Aſſembly, that being banded as it were together, we may be ſupplicants enough to beſiege God with our prayers. Theſe forces are vnto him acceptable.* When we publikely make our prayers it cannot be but that we doe it with much more comfort then in priuate, for that the things we aske publikely are approued as needfull and good in the iudgement of all, wee heare them ſought for and deſired with common conſent. Againe, thus much helpe and furtherance is more yeelded, in that if ſo bee our zeale and deuotion to Godward be ſlacke, [f] the alacritie and feruor of others ſerueth as a preſent ſpurre. [g] *For euen prayer it ſelfe* (ſaith S. Baſil) *when it hath not the conſort of many voyces to ſtrengthen it, is not it ſelfe.* Finally, the good which wee doe by publique prayer is more then in priuate can be done, for that beſides the benefit which is here, is no leſſe procured to our ſelues, the whole Church is much bettered by our good example, and conſequently whereas ſecret neglect of our duetie in this kinde is but onely our owne hurt, one mans contempt of the common Prayer of the Church of God may bee and oftentimes is moſt hurtfull vnto many. In which conſiderations the [h] Prophet *Dauid* ſo often voweth vnto God the ſacrifice of praiſe and thankeſgiuing in the Congregation; ſo earneſtly exhorteth others to ſing praiſes vnto the Lord in his Courts, in his Sanctuarie, before the memoriall of his Holineſſe; and ſo much complayneth of his owne vncomfortable exile, wherein although hee ſuſtayned many moſt grieuous indignities, and indured the want of ſundrie both pleaſures and honours before inioyed, yet as if [i] this one were his only griefe and the reſt not felt, his ſpeeches are all of the heauenly benefit of publique aſſemblies, and the happineſſe of ſuch as had free acceſſe thereunto.

[a] *Pſal.* 55. 18. *Dan.* 9. 3. *Act.* 10. 9.

[b] *Matth* 18. 20

[c] 2. *Cor.* 1. 11.

[d] *Ion.* 4. 11.

[e] *Apolog.* 1. 39. Ambroſ. lib de Pœn. *Multi mimi dum congregantur vnanimes ſunt magni, & multorum preces impoſſibile eſt contemni.*

[f] *Pſal.* 122. 1.

[g] Καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ προσευχὴ μὴ ἔχουσα τοὺς συμφωνοῦντας ἀναπηρεστέρα πολλῷ ἑαυτῆς.

[h] *Pſal.* 26. 12. 34. 18. *Pſal.* 30. 4. 96. 9.

[i] *Pſal.* 27. 4. 42. 4. 84. 1.

25 A great part of the cauſe, wherefore religious mindes are ſo inflamed with the loue of publique deuotion, is that vertue, force and efficacie, which by experience they finde that the very forme and reuerend ſolemnitie of Common Prayer duly ordered hath, to helpe that imbecillitie and weakeneſſe in vs, by meanes whereof wee are otherwiſe of our ſelues the leſſe apt to performe vnto God ſo heauenly a ſeruice, with ſuch affection of heart, and diſpoſition in the powers of our ſoules as is requiſite. To this end therefore all things hereVnto appertayning, haue beene euer thought conuenient to bee done with the moſt

Of the forme of Common Prayer.

moſt ſolemnitie and maieſtie that the wiſeſt could deuiſe. It is not with publique as with priuate Prayer. In this [a] rather ſecretie is commanded then outward ſhew, whereas that being the publique act of a whole ſocietie, requireth accordingly more care to be had of externall appearance. The very aſſembling of men therefore vnto this ſeruice hath beene euer ſolemne. And concerning the place of aſſembly, although it ſerue for other vſes as well as this, yet ſeeing that our Lord himſelfe hath to this as to the chiefeſt of all other plainely ſanctified his own Temple, by entituling it [b] *the houſe of Prayer*, what preeminence of dignitie ſoeuer hath beene either by the ordinance, or through the ſpeciall fauour and prouidence of God annexed vnto his Sanctuarie, the principall cauſe thereof muſt needs be in regard of *Common Prayer*. For the honour and furtherance whereof, if it bee as the graueſt of the [c] ancient Fathers ſeriouſly were perſwaded, and doe oftentimes plainely teach, affirming that the houſe of Prayer is a Court, beautified with the preſence of celeſtial powers, that there we ſtand, we pray, we ſound forth Hymnes vnto God, hauing his Angels intermingled as our Aſſociates; and that with reference hereunto [d] the Apoſtle doth require ſo great care to be had of decencie for the Angells ſake; how can wee come to the houſe of Prayer, and not be mooued with the [e] very glorie of the place it ſelfe, ſo to frame our affections praying, as doth beſt beſeeme them, whoſe ſutes the Almightie doth there ſit to heare, and his Angells attend to further? When this was ingrafted in the mindes of men, there needed no penall Statutes to draw them vnto publique Prayer. The warning ſound was no ſooner heard, but the [f] Churches were preſently filled, the pauements couered with bodies proſtrate, and waſht with their teares of deuout ioy. And as the place of publique Prayer is a circumſtance in the outward forme thereof, which hath moment to helpe deuotion; ſo the perſon much more with whom the people of God doe ioyne themſelues in this action, as with him that ſtandeth and ſpeaketh in the preſence of God for them. The authoritie of his place, the feruour of his zeale, the pietie and grauitie of his whole behauiour, muſt needs exceedingly both grace and ſet forward the ſeruice he doth. The authoritie of his calling is a furtherance, becauſe if God haue ſo farre receiued him into fauour, as to impoſe vpon him by the hands of men that office of bleſſing the people in his name, and making interceſsion to him in theirs, which office he hath ſanctified with his owne moſt gracious [g] promiſe, and ratified that promiſe by manifeſt actuall performance thereof, when [h] others before in like place haue done the ſame, is not his very ordination a ſeale, as it were to vs, that the ſelfe-ſame diuine loue which hath choſen the inſtrument to worke with, will by that inſtrument effect the thing whereto he ordayned it, in bleſsing his people, and accepting the Prayers which his ſeruant offereth vp vnto God for them? It was in this reſpect a comfortable title which the ancients vſed to giue vnto Gods Miniſters, terming them vſually [i] *Gods moſt beloued*, which were ordayned to procure by their Prayers his loue and fauour towards all. Againe, if there be not zeale and feruencie in him which propoſeth for the reſt thoſe ſutes and ſupplications, which they by their ioyfull acclamations muſt ratifie; if hee praiſe not God with all his might; if hee powre not out his ſoule in prayer; if hee take not their cauſes to heart, or ſpeake not as

Moſes

a *Mat.6.5.6.*

b *Mat.21.13.*

c *Chryſ. Hom. 15. ad Hebra. & 24. in Act.*

d *1.Cor.11.10.*

e *Pſal 96.6.* Power and beautie are in his Sanctuary.

f *Ad domos ſtatim Dominicas currimus, corpora humi ſternimus, mixtis cum fletu gaudys ſupplicamus.* Salu. de Prou. l.7

g *Num.6.23.*

h *2.Chr.30.27.*

i *Cod.lib.1.tit. 3. de Epiſc. & cler. 43. & 44. ſæpe.*

Moſes, *Daniel*, and *Ezra*, did for their people; how ſhould there bee but in them frozen coldneſſe, when his affections ſeeme benummed from whom theirs ſhould take fire? Vertue and godlineſſe of life are required at the hands of the Miniſter of God, not only in that he is to teach and inſtruct the people, who for the moſt part are rather led away by the ill example, then directed aright by the wholeſome inſtruction of them, whoſe life ſwarueth from the rule of their owne doctrine; but alſo much more in regard of this other part of his function; whether wee reſpect the weakeneſſe of the people, apt to lothe and abhor the *Sanctuarie*, when they which performe the ſeruice thereof are ſuch as the ſonnes of *Heli* were; or elſe conſider the [a] inclination of God himſelfe, who requireth the lifting vp of pure hands in prayer, and hath giuen the world plainely to vnderſtand, that the wicked, although they crie, ſhall not be heard. They are no fit Supplicants to ſeeke his mercy in the behalfe of others, whoſe owne vn-repented ſinnes prouoke his iuſt indignation. [b] Let thy Prieſts therefore, O Lord, be euermore clothed with righteouſneſſe, that thy Saints may thereby with more deuotion reioyce and ſing. But of all helps for due performance of this ſeruice, the greateſt is that very ſet and ſtanding order it ſelfe, which framed, with common aduiſe, hath both for matter and forme preſcribed whatſoeuer is herein publikely done. No doubt, from God it hath proceeded, and by vs it muſt be acknowledged a worke of his ſingular care and prouidence, that the Church hath euer-more held a preſcript forme of Common Prayer, although not in all things euery-where the ſame, yet for the moſt part retayning ſtill the ſame analogie. So that if the Lyturgies of all ancient Churches throughout the world bee compared amongſt themſelues, it may be eaſily perceiued they had all one originall mold, and that the publike Prayers of the people of God in Churches throughly ſettled, did neuer vſe to be voluntarie Dictates, proceeding from any mans extemporall wit. To him which conſidereth the grieuous & ſcandalous inconueniences, whereunto they make themſelues daily ſubiect, with whom any blinde and ſecret corner is iudged a fit houſe of Cõmon Prayer; the manifold confuſions which they fall into, where euery mans priuate ſpirit and gift (as they terme it) is the only Biſhop that ordayneth him to this miniſterie; the irkeſome deformities whereby through endleſſe and ſenſeleſſe effuſions of indigeſted prayers, they oftentimes diſgrace in moſt vnſufferable manner, the worthieſt part of Chriſtian dutie towards God, who herein are ſubiect to no certayne order, but pray both what and how they liſt; to him, I ſay, which wayeth duly all theſe things; the reaſons cannot be obſcure, why God doth in publique Prayer ſo much reſpect the [c] ſolemnitie of places where, [d] the authoritie and calling of perſons by whom, and the [e] preciſe appointment euen with what wordes or ſentences his name ſhould be called on amongſt his people.

[a] 1. *Tim.* 2. 8. *Iohn* 9. 31. *Ierem.* 11. 11. *Ezech.* 8. 18.

[b] *Pſal.* 132. 9.

[c] 2. *Chro.* 8. 10. [d] *Ioel.* 2. 17. [e] 2. *Chro.* 29. 30.

26 No man hath hitherto beene ſo impious, as plainely and directly to condemne Prayer. The beſt ſtratageme that Sathan hath, who knoweth his Kingdome to be no one way more ſhaken, then by the publique deuout Prayers of Gods Church, is by traducing the forme and manner of them, to bring them into contempt, and ſo to ſhake the force of all mens deuotion towards them. From this, and from no other forge, hath proceeded a ſtrange conceit, that

Of them which like not to haue any ſet forme of Common prayer.

that to ſerue God with any ſet forme of common Prayer, is ſuperſtitious. As
a *Num.6.23.* though a God himſelfe did not frame to his Prieſts the very ſpeech, wherewith they were charged to bleſſe the people; or as if our Lord, euen of purpoſe to preuent this fancie of extemporall and voluntarie prayers, had not left vs of his owne framing one, which might both remayne as a part of the Church Lyturgie, and ſerue as a patterne whereby to frame all other prayers with efficacie, yet without ſuperfluitie of wordes. If prayers were no otherwiſe accepted of God, then being conceiued alwayes new, according to the exigence of preſent occaſions; if it be right to iudge him by our owne bellies, and to imagine that he doth lothe to haue the ſelfe-ſame ſupplications often iterated, euen as we doe to be euery day fed without alteration or change of dyet; if prayers be actions which ought to waſte away themſelues in the making; it being made to remaine that they may be reſumed and vſed againe as prayers, they be but inſtruments of ſuperſtition; ſurely, wee cannot excuſe *Moſes*, who gaue ſuch occaſion of ſcandall to the world, by not being contented to praiſe the name of Almightie God, according to the vſuall naked ſimplicitie of Gods Spirit, for that admirable victorie giuen them againſt *Pharao*, vnleſſe ſo dangerous a precedent were left for the caſting of prayers into certayne poeticall molds, and for the framing of prayers which might bee repeated often, although they neuer had againe the ſame occaſions which brought them forth at the firſt. For that very Hymne of *Moſes* grew afterwards to be a part of the ordinarie Iewiſh Lyturgie; nor only that, but ſundrie other ſithence inuented. Their bookes of cõmon Prayer contayned partly Hymnes taken out of the holy Scripture, partly Benedictions, Thankeſgiuings, Supplications, penned by ſuch as haue beene, from time to time, the Gouernors of that Synagogue. Theſe they ſorted into their ſeuerall times and places, ſome to begin the ſeruice of God with, and ſome to end, ſome to goe before, and ſome to follow, and ſome to be interlaced betweene the diuine readings of the Law and Prophets. Vnto their cuſtome of finiſhing the Paſſeouer with certaine Pſalmes, there is not any thing more probable, then that the holy Euangeliſt doth euidently allude, ſaying, That after the cup deliuered by our Sauiour vnto his Apoſtles, b *they ſung*, and went forth to the Mount of Oliues. As the Iewes had their ſongs of *Moſes*, and *Dauid*, and the reſt, ſo the Church of Chriſt from the very beginning hath both vſed the ſame, and beſides them other alſo of like nature, the ſong of the Virgin *Mary*, the ſong of *Zachary*, the ſong of *Simeon*, ſuch Hymnes as the Apoſtle doth often ſpeake of, ſaying, c *I will pray and ſing with the Spirit.* Againe, d *In Pſalmes, Hymnes, and Songs, making melodie vnto the Lord, and that heartily.* Hymnes and Pſalmes are ſuch kindes of prayer as are not wont to bee conceiued vpon a ſuddaine; but are framed by Meditation before hand, or elſe by propheticall illumination are inſpired, as at that time it appeareth they were, when God by extraordinarie gifts of the Spirit, inabled men to all parts of ſeruice neceſſarie for the edifying of his Church.

b *Matt.26.30.* ὑμνήσαντες, hauing ſung the Pſalmes which were vſuall at that feaſt, thoſe Pſalmes which the Iewes call the great *Halleluia*, beginning at the 113. and continuing to the end of the 118 See *Paul. Burgenſ. in Pſ.* 112. *addit.* 1. and *Scalig. de emendat. tempo.*

c *1.Cor.14.15.*

d *Epheſ.5.19.*

Of them who allowing a ſet forme of prayer, yet allow not ours.

27 Now, albeit the admonitioners did ſeeme at the firſt to allow no preſcript forme of prayer at all, but thought it the beſt that their Miniſter ſhould alwayes be left at libertie to pray, as his owne diſcretion did ſerue, yet becauſe this opinion vpon better aduice they afterwards retracted, their defendor and

his

his Aſſociates haue ſithence, propoſed to the World a forme, ſuch as themſelues like, and to ſhew their diſlike of ours, haue taken againſt it thoſe exceptions, which, whoſoeuer doth meaſure by number, muſt needes bee greatly out of loue with a thing that hath ſo many faults; whoſoeuer by waight, cannot chooſe but eſteeme verie highly of that, wherein the wit of ſo ſcrupulous Aduerſaries hath not hitherto obſerued any defect which themſelues can ſeriouſly thinke to be of moment. Groſſe errours and manifeſt impietie they grant we haue taken away. Yet * many things in it they ſay are amiſſe, many inſtances they giue of things in our Common Prayer, not agreeable as they pretend with the Word of God. It hath in their eye too great affinitie with the forme of the Church of Rome; it differeth too much from that which Churches elſewhere reformed allow and obſerue; our attyre diſgraceth it; it is not orderly read nor geſtured as beſeemeth; it requireth nothing to bee done which a childe may not lawfully doe; it hath a number of ſhort cuts or ſhreddings, which may be better called wiſhes then Praiers; it intermingleth Prayings and Readings in ſuch manner, as if Supplicants ſhould vſe in propoſing their ſutes vnto mortall Princes, all the World would iudge them madde; it is too long, and by that meane abridgeth preaching; it appointeth the people to ſay after the Miniſter; it ſpendeth time in ſinging and in reading the *Pſalmes* by courſe, from ſide to ſide; it vſeth the Lords Prayer too oft, the Songs of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis* it might very well ſpare; it hath the *Letanie*, the Creed of *Athanaſius*, and *Gloria Patri*, which are ſuperfluous; it craueth earthly things too much; for deliuerance from thoſe euils againſt which wee pray, it giueth no thankes; ſome things it asketh vnſeaſonably when they need not to be prayed for, as deliuerance from Thunder and Tempeſt when no danger is nigh; ſome in too abiect and diffident manner, as that God would giue vs that which wee for our vnworthineſſe dare not aske; ſome which ought not to bee deſired, as the deliuerance from ſuddaine death, riddance from all aduerſitie, and the extent of ſauing mercie towards all men. Theſe and ſuch like are the imperfections, whereby our forme of Common Prayer is thought to ſwerue from the Word of God. A great fauourer of that part, but yet (his errour that way excepted) a learned, a painfull, a right vertuous and a good man did not feare ſometime to vndertake, againſt Popiſh Detractors, the generall maintenance and defence of our whole Church-ſeruice, as hauing in it nothing repugnant to the Word of God. And euen they which would file away moſt from the largeneſſe of that offer, doe notwithſtanding in more ſparing termes acknowledge little leſſe. For when thoſe oppoſite iudgements which neuer are wont to conſter things doubtfull to the better, thoſe very tongues which are alwaies prone to aggrauate whatſoeuer hath but the leaſt ſhew whereby it may bee ſuſpected to ſauour of, or to ſound towards any euill, doe by their owne voluntary ſentence cleerely free vs from *groſſe errours*, and from *manifeſt impietie* herein, who would not iudge vs to be diſcharged of all blame, which are confeſt to haue no great fault, euen by their very word and teſtimonie, in whoſe eyes no fault of ours hath euer hitherto beene accuſtomed to ſeeme ſmall. Neuertheleſſe, what they ſeeme to offer vs with the one hand, the ſame with the

* *T.C.li.p.*131. Afterwards *pa.* 135. Whereas M. Doctor affirmeth that there can bee nothing ſhewed in the whole booke which is not agreeable vnto the Word of God: I am very loth, &c. Notwithſtanding, my dutie of defending the truth, and loue which I haue firſt towards God, & then towards my Country, conſtraineth me being thus prouoked, to ſpeake a few words more particularly of the forme of Prayer, that when the blemiſhes thereof doe appeare, it may pleaſe the Queenes Maieſtie, and her Honourable Councell, with thoſe of the Parliament, &c.

other they pull backe againe. They grant we erre not in palpable manner, wee are not openly and notoriously impious, yet errours we haue, which the sharp insight of their wisest men doe espie, there is hidden impietie, which the profounder sort are able enough to disclose. Their skilfull eares perceiue certaine harsh and vnpleasant discords in the sound of our Common Prayer, such as the Rules of Diuine Harmonie, such as the Lawes of God cannot beare.

The forme of our Liturgie too neere the Papists, too farre different from that of other Reformed Churches, as they pretend.

28 Touching our conformitie with the Church of Rome, as also of the difference betweene some Reformed Churches and ours, that which generally hath beene alreadie answered, may serue for answere to that exception, which in these two respects they take particularly against the forme of our Common Prayer. To say, that in nothing they may be followed, which are of the Church of Rome, were violent and extreme. Some things they doe, in that they are men, in that they are wise men, and Christian men somethings, somethings in that they are misse-led and blinded with error. As farre as they follow reason and truth, we feare not to tread the selfe-same steps wherein they haue gone, and to be their followers. Where Rome keepeth that which is ancienter and better; others whom we much more affect leauing it for newer, and changing it for worse, we had rather follow the perfections of them whom wee like not, then in defects resemble them whom wee loue. For although they professe they agree with vs touching [a] *a prescript forme of Prayer to be vsed in the Church*, yet in that very forme which they say, is [b] *agreeable to Gods Word, and the vse of Reformed Churches*, they haue by speciall protestation declared, that their meaning is not it shall bee prescribed as a thing whereunto they will tye their Minister. *It shall not* (they say) *bee necessarie for the Minister daily to repeat all these things before mentioned, but beginning with* some like *confession, to proceed to the Sermon, which ended, hee* either *vseth the Prayer for all States before mentioned*, or prayeth as the Spirit of God shall moue his heart. Herein therefore wee hold it much better with the Church of Rome to appoint a prescript forme which euery man shall bee bound to obserue, then with them to set downe a kind of direction, a forme for men to vse if they list, or otherwise to change as pleaseth themselues. Furthermore, the Church of Rome hath rightly also considered, that publike Prayer is a dutie intire in it selfe, a dutie requisite to be performed, much oftner then Sermons can possibly bee made. For which cause, as they, so wee haue likewise a publike forme how to serue God both Morning and Euening, whether Sermons may bee had or no. On the contrary side, their forme of reformed Prayer sheweth only what shall bee done [c] *vpon the dayes appointed for the preaching of the Word*; with what words the Minister shall beginne, [d] *when the houre appointed for Sermon is come*; what shall bee said or sung before Sermon, and what after. So that according to this forme of theirs, it must stand for a Rule, *No Sermon, no Seruice.* Which ouersight, occasioned the French spitefully to terme Religion in that sort exercised, a meere Preach. Sundry other more particular defects there are, which I willingly forbeare to rehearse, in consideration whereof, we cannot be induced to preferre their Reformed forme of Prayer before our owne, what Church soeuer we resemble therein.

a *T.C.l.1.p.135*

b A Booke of the forme of Common Prayer tendered to the Parliament. *pag.46*

c *Page 22.*

d *24.*

29 The

29 The attyre which the Miniſter of God is by order to vſe at times of Diuine Seruice, being but a matter of meere formalitie, yet ſuch as for comelineſſe ſake hath hitherto been iudged by the wiſer ſort of men not vnneceſſary to concurre with other ſenſible notes, betokening the different kind or qualitie of perſons and actions whereto it is tyed, as we thinke not our ſelues the holier becauſe wee vſe it, ſo neither ſhould they with whom no ſuch thing is in vſe, thinke vs therefore vnholy, becauſe wee ſubmit our ſelues vnto that, which in a matter ſo indifferent the wiſedome of authoritie and Law haue thought comely. To ſolemne actions of Royaltie and Iuſtice, their ſutable Ornaments are a beautie. Are they only in Religon a ſtaine? [a] *Diuine Religion*, ſaith Saint *Ierome* (he ſpeaketh of the Prieſtly attyre of the Law) *hath one kind of habit wherein to miniſter before the Lord, another for ordinary vſes belonging vnto common life.* PELAGIVS hauing carped at the curious neatneſſe of mens apparell in thoſe dayes, and through the ſowreneſſe of his diſpoſition ſpoken ſomewhat too hardly thereof, affirming that [b] *the glory of Clothes and Ornaments was a thing contrary to God and godlineſſe*; S. *Ierome*, whoſe cuſtome is not to pardon ouer-eaſily his Aduerſaries, if any where they chance to trip, preſſeth him as thereby making all ſorts of men in the World *Gods enemies. Is it enmity with God* (ſaith he) *if I weare my Coat ſomewhat handſome?* If a Biſhop, a Prieſt, Deacon, and the reſt of the Eccleſiaſticall Order *come to adminiſter the vſuall Sacrifice in a* [c] *white Garment*, are they hereby Gods Aduerſaries? *Clarkes, Monkes, Widowes, Virgins, take heed, it is dangerous for you to bee otherwiſe ſeene then in foule & ragged Clothes. Not to ſpeake any thing of Secular men, which are proclaimed to haue warre with God, as oft as euer they put on precious and ſhining Clothes.* By which words of *Ierome* wee may take it at the leaſt for a probable collection, that his meaning was to draw *Pelagius* into hatred, as condemning by ſo generall a ſpeech euen the neatneſſe of that very Garment it ſelfe, wherein the Clergie did then vſe to adminiſter publikely the Holy Sacrament of Chriſts moſt bleſſed Bodie and Bloud. For that they did then vſe ſome ſuch Ornament, the words of [d] *Chryſoſtome* giue plaine teſtimonie, who ſpeaking to the Clergie of *Antioch*, telleth them that if they did ſuffer notorious Malefactors to come to the Table of our Lord, and not put them by, it would be as heauily reuenged vpon them, as if themſelues had ſhed his bloud, that for this purpoſe God hath called them to the roomes which they held in the Church of Chriſt, that this they ſhould reckon was *their dignitie, this their ſafetie, this their whole crowne and glory*; and therefore this they ſhould carefully intend, and not when the Sacrament is adminiſtred, imagine themſelues called only *to walke vp and downe in a white and ſhining Garment.* Now, whereas theſe ſpeeches of IEROME *and* CHRYSOSTOME doe ſeeme plainely to allude vnto ſuch Miniſteriall Garments as were then in vſe, to this they anſwere, that by *Ierome* nothing can bee gathered, but only that the Miniſters came to Church in handſome holiday apparell, and that himſelfe did not thinke them bound by the Law of God to goe like Slouens; but the Weed which wee meane hee defendeth not; that [e] *Chryſoſtome* meaneth indeed the ſame which wee defend, but ſeemeth rather to reprehend then to allow it as wee doe. Which anſwere wringeth out of *Ierome* and *Chryſoſtome* that which their words will not gladly yeeld. They both ſpeake of the ſame perſons, namely, the Clergie; and of their Weed at the ſame time when they adminiſter the

Attire belonging to the ſeruice of God. *T.C.l.1.p.71.*

We thinke the Surplice eſpecially vnmeete for a Miniſter of the Goſpell to weare, *pa.75*

It is eaſily ſeene by *Salomon, Eccleſ.8.9.* that to weare a white garment was greatly eſteemed in the Eaſt parts, and was ordinary to thoſe that were in any eſtimation, as blacke with vs, and therefore was no ſeuerall apparel for the Miniſters to execute their Miniſtery in.

a *Hieron in 44. Ezech.*

b *Hieron.aduerſ. Pelag.lib.1.ca.9.*

c *T.C.li.1.p.77.*

By a white Garment, is meant a comely apparel, and not ſlouenly.

d *Chryſoſt. ad popul.Antioch. To.5.Serm.60.*

e *T.C.li.1.p.75.*

It is true, *Chryſoſtome* maketh mention of a white garmẽt, but not in cõmendation of it, but rather to the contrarie: for he ſheweth that the dignitie of their Miniſterie was in taking heed that none vnmeet were admitted to the Lords Supper, not in going about the Church with a white Garment.

bleſſed Sacrament; and of the ſelfe-ſame kind of Weed, a white Garment, ſo farre as wee haue wit to conceiue; and for any thing wee are able to ſee, their manner of ſpeech is not ſuch as doth argue either the thing it ſelfe to bee different whereof they ſpeake, or their iudgements concerning it different; although the one doe only maintaine it againſt *Pelagius*, as a thing not therefore vnlawfull, becauſe it was faire or handſome, and the other make it a matter of ſmall commendation in it ſelfe, if they which weare it, doe nothing elſe but ayre the Robes which their place requireth. The honeſtie, dignitie, and eſtimation of white apparell in the Eaſterne part of the World, is a token of greater fitneſſe for this Sacred vſe, wherein it were not conuenient that any thing baſely thought of ſhould bee ſuffered. Notwithſtanding, I am not bent to ſtand ſtiffely vpon theſe probabilities, that in *Ieromes* and *Chryſoſtomes* time any ſuch attyre was made ſeuerall to this purpoſe. Yet ſurely the words of *Salomon* are very impertinent to prooue it an Ornament, therefore not ſeuerall for the Miniſters to execute their Miniſterie in, becauſe men of credit and eſtimation wore their ordinarie apparell white. For wee know that when *Salomon* wrote thoſe words, the ſeuerall apparell for the Miniſters of the Law,

a *Eccleſ.45.7.* to execute their Miniſterie in was ſuch. The a Wiſeman which feared God from his heart, and honoured the Seruice that was done vnto him, could not mention ſo much as the Garments of holineſſe, but with effectuall ſignification of moſt ſingular reuerence and loue. Were it not better that the loue which men beare to God, ſhould make the leaſt things that are imployed in his Seruice amiable, then that their ouer-ſcrupulous diſlike of ſo meane a thing as a Veſtment, ſhould from the verie Seruice of God withdraw their hearts and affections? I terme it the rather a meane thing, a thing not much to bee reſpected, becauſe euen they ſo account now of it, whoſe firſt Diſputations againſt it were ſuch, as if Religion had ſcarcely any thing of greater waight.

b *T.C.l.1.p.79.* Their b allegations were then, that *if a man were aſſured to gaine a thouſand by doing that which may offend any one Brother, or bee vnto him a cauſe of falling, hee*

71. *ought not to doe it; that this Popiſh apparell, the Surplice eſpecially hath beene by Papiſts*

75. *abominably abuſed*; that it hath beene *a marke and a very Sacrament of abomina-*

72. *tion; that remaining, it ſerueth as a Monument of Idolatry*, and not only edifieth not, but as a dangerous & ſcandalous Ceremony, doth exceeding much harme *to them of whoſe good wee are commanded to haue regard; that it cauſeth men to periſh*

T.C.l.2.p.403. *and make ſhipwracke of conſcience*, for ſo themſelues profeſſe they meane, when

lib.1.p.73. they ſay the weake are offended herewith, that it *hardneth Papiſts, hindreth the weake from profiting in the knowledge of the Goſpell, grieueth godly minds, and*

Page 73. *giueth them occaſion to thinke hardly of their Miniſters*; that if the *Magiſtrate*

Page 76. *may command, or the Church appoint* Rites *and* Ceremonies, *yet ſeeing our abſti-*

Lib.2.p.403. *nence from things in their owne nature indifferent, if the weake Brother ſhould bee offended, is a flat Commandement of the Holy Ghoſt, which no authoritie either of Church or Common-wealth can make void*, therefore neither may the one nor the

Lib.1.p.76. other lawfully *ordaine this* Ceremony, *which hath great incommoditie and no pro-*

Page 81. *fit, great offence and no edifying*; that by the Law it ſhould haue beene burnt and conſumed with fire as a thing infected with leproſie; that the Example of *Ezechias*, beating to powder the Brazen Serpent, and of *Paul* abrogating thoſe abuſed Feaſts of Charity, *inforceth vpon vs the duty of aboliſhing altogether* a thing

which

which hath beene and is ſo offenſiue; Finally, that God by his Prophet hath giuen *an expreſſe Commandement*, which in this caſe toucheth vs no leſſe then of old it did the Iewes, [a] *Ye ſhall pollute the couering of the Images of Siluer, and the rich Ornament of your Images of Gold, and caſt them away as a ſtained ragge, thou ſhalt ſay vnto it, Get thee hence.* Theſe and ſuch like were their firſt Diſcourſes, touching that Church attire which with vs for the moſt part is vſuall in publike Prayer; our Eccleſiaſticall Lawes ſo appointing, as well becauſe it hath beene of reaſonable continuance, and by ſpeciall choice was taken out of the number of thoſe holy Garments, which (ouer and beſides their myſticall reference) ſerued for [b] comelineſſe [c] vnder the Law, and is in the number of thoſe Ceremonies, which may with choice and diſcretion be vſed to that purpoſe in the Church of Chriſt; as alſo for that it ſuteth ſo fitly with that lightſome affection of [d] ioy, wherein God delighteth when his Saints praiſe him; and ſo liuely reſembleth the glorie of the Saints in Heauen, together with the beautie wherein Angels haue appeared vnto men, that they which are to appeare for men in the preſence of God as Angels, if they were left to their own choice, and would chooſe, could any not eaſily deuiſe a Garment of more decencie for ſuch a Seruice. As for thoſe forerehearſed vehement allegations againſt it, ſhall wee giue them credit, when the very Authors from whom they come, confeſſe they beleeue not their owne ſayings? For when once they began to perceiue how many both of them in the two Vniuerſities, and of others, who abroad hauing Eccleſiaſticall charge doe fauour mightily their cauſe, and by all meanes ſet it forward, might by perſiſting in the extremitie of that opinion hazard greatly their owne eſtates, and ſo weaken that part which their places doe now giue them much oportunitie to ſtrengthen, they asked counſell as it ſeemeth from ſome abroad, who wiſely conſidered that the bodie is of farre more woth then the rayment. Whereupon for feare of dangerous inconueniences, it hath beene thought good to adde, [e] that ſometimes authoritie *muſt and may with good conſcience bee obeyed, euen where Commandement is not giuen vpon good ground*; that *the dutie of preaching is one of the abſolute Commandements of God, and therefore ought not to bee forſaken for the bare inconuenience of a thing which in the owne nature is indifferent*; that *one of the foulest ſpots in the Surplice is the offence which it giueth in occaſioning the weake to fall, and the wicked to be* confirmed in their wickedneſſe, yet hereby there is no vnlawfulneſſe prooued but *only an inconueniencie*, that ſuch things ſhould be eſtabliſhed, howbeit no ſuch inconueniencie neither, as may not bee borne with; that when God doth flatly command vs to abſtaine from things in their owne Nature indifferent if they offend our weake brethren, his meaning is not wee ſhould obey his Commandement herein, vnleſſe we may doe it, *and not leaue vndone that which the Lord hath abſolutely commanded.* Alwayes prouided that whoſoeuer will inioy the benefit of this Diſpenſation, to weare a ſcandalous Badge of Idolatry, rather then forſake his Paſtorall charge, doe (*as occaſion ſerueth*) *teach* neuertheleſſe ſtill *the incommoditie of the thing it ſelfe, admoniſh the weake Brethren that they be not, and pray vnto God ſo to ſtrengthen them that they may not be offended thereat.* So that whereas before they which had authoritie to inſtitute Rites and Ceremonies, were denied to haue power to inſtitute this, it is

a *Eſay* 30.22.

b *Exod.* 28.2.
c *Exod.* 39.27.

d *Pſal.* 149.2. *Apoc* 15.6. *Marke* 16.5.

e *T.C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 74. &c. *Lib.* 2. *p.* 250. *Index. l.* 2. *c.* 8. *li.* 3. *pa.* 262. *p.* 263.

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Lib. 3. *p.* 263.

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now confeſt that this they may alſo *lawfully*, but not ſo conueniently appoint; they did well before, and as they ought, who had it in vtter deteſtation and hatred as a thing abominable, they now doe well which thinke it may bee both borne and vſed with a very good conſcience; before, hee which by wearing it were ſure to winne thouſands vnto Chriſt, ought not to doe it if there were but one which might be offended; now, though it bee with the offence of thouſands, yet it may bee done rather then that ſhould be giuen ouer, whereby notwithſtanding wee are not certaine wee ſhall gaine one; the Examples of *Ezechias* and of *Paul*, the charge which was giuen to the Iewes by *Eſay*, the ſtrict Apoſtolicall prohibition of things indifferent whenſoeuer they may bee ſcandalous, were before ſo forcible Lawes againſt our Eccleſiaſticall attyre, as neither Church nor Common-wealth could poſſibly make void, which now one of farre leſſe authoritie then either hath found how to fruſtrate by diſpenſing with the breach of inferiour Commandements, to the end that the greater may be kept. But it booteth them not thus to ſoder vp a broken Cauſe, whereof their firſt and laſt Diſcourſes will fall aſunder doe what they can. Let them ingenuouſly confeſſe that their Inuectiues were too bitter, their Arguments too weake, the matter not ſo dangerous as they did imagine. If thoſe alleaged teſtimonies of Scripture did indeed concerne the matter to ſuch effect as was pretended, that which they ſhould inferre were vnlawfulneſſe, becauſe they were cited as Prohibitions of that thing which indeed they concerne. If they prooue not our attire vnlawfull, becauſe in truth they concerne it not, it followeth that they prooue not any thing againſt it, and conſequently, not ſo much as vncomelineſſe or inconueniencie. Vnleſſe therefore they bee able throughly to reſolue themſelues, that there is no one Sentence in all the Scriptures of God which doth controule the wearing of it in ſuch manner, and to ſuch purpoſe as the Church of England alloweth; vnleſſe they can fully reſt and ſettle their minds in this moſt ſound perſwaſion, that they are not to make themſelue the only competent Iudges of decencie in theſe caſes, and to deſpiſe the ſolemne iudgement of the whole Church, preferring before it their owne conceit, grounded only vpon vncertaine ſuſpitions and feares, whereof if there were at the firſt ſome probable cauſe, when things were but raw and tender, yet now very tract of time hath it ſelfe worne that out alſo; vnleſſe I ſay thus reſolued in minde they hold their Paſtorall charge with the comfort of a good Conſcience, no way grudging at that which they doe, or doing that which they thinke themſelues bound of dutie to reproue, how ſhould it poſſibly helpe or further them in their courſe to take ſuch occaſions as they ſay are requiſite to bee taken, and in penſiue manner to tell their audience, *Brethren, our hearts deſire is that wee might inioy the full libertie of the Goſpell as in other Reformed Churches they doe elſewhere, vpon whom the heauie hand of Authoritie hath impoſed no grieuous burthen. But ſuch is the miſerie of theſe our daies, that ſo great happineſſe we cannot looke to attaine vnto. Were it ſo, that the equitie of the Law of* MOSES *could preuaile; or the zeale of* EZECHIAS *bee found in the hearts of thoſe Guides and Gouernours vnder whom wee liue; or the voice of Gods owne Prophets bee duly heard; or the Example of the Apoſtles of* CHRIST *bee followed, yea or their Precepts bee anſwered with full and perfect obedience, theſe*

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abominable ragges, polluted garments, markes and Sacraments of Idolatrie, which Power as you ſee conſtrayneth vs to weare, and conſcience to abhorre, had long ere this day beene remooued both out of ſight and out of memorie. But as now things ſtand, behold, to what narrow ſtraights wee are driuen; On the one ſide wee feare the words of our Sauiour Chriſt, Woe be to them by whom ſcandall and offence cõmeth; *on the other ſide at the Apoſtles ſpeech we cannot but quake and tremble,* If I preach not the Goſpell, woe be vnto me. *Being thus hardly beſet, wee ſee not any other remedie but to hazzard your ſoules the one way, that wee may the other way indeuour to ſaue them. Touching the offence of the weake therefore, we muſt aduenture it. If they periſh, they periſh. Our Paſtorall charge is Gods abſolute commandement. Rather then that ſhall bee taken from vs, wee are reſolued to take this filth and to put it on, although wee iudge it to be ſo vnfit and inconuenient, that as oft as euer wee pray or preach ſo arrayed before you, wee doe as much as in vs lyeth to caſt away your ſoules that are weake-minded, and to bring you vnto endleſſe perdition. But we beſeech you brethren haue care of your owne ſafetie, take heede to your ſteps, that yee bee not taken in thoſe ſnares which we lay before you. And our prayer in your behalfe to Almightie God is, that the poyſon which we offer you, may neuer haue the power to doe you harme.* Aduice and counſell is beſt ſought for at their hands, which either haue no part at al in the cauſe wherof they inſtruct, or elſe are ſo farre ingaged, that themſelues are to beare the greateſt aduenture in the ſucceſſe of their owne counſels. The one of which two conſiderations maketh men the leſſe reſpectiue, and the other the more circumſpect. Thoſe good and learned men which gaue the firſt direction to this courſe, had reaſon to wiſh that their owne proceedings at home, might be fauoured abroad alſo, and that the good affection of ſuch as inclined towards them might be kept aliue. But if themſelues had gone vnder thoſe ſailes which they require to be hoiſed vp, if they had been themſelues to execute their owne Theorie in this Church, I doubt not but eaſily they would haue ſeene being neerer at hand, that the way was not good which they tooke of aduiſing men, firſt, to weare the apparell, that thereby they might be free to continue their preaching, and then, of requiring them ſo to preach as they might be ſure they could not continue, except they imagine that Lawes which permit them not to doe as they would, will indure them to ſpeake as they liſt, euen againſt that which themſelues doe by conſtraint of Lawes; they would haue eaſily ſeene that our people being accuſtomed to thinke euermore that thing euil which is publikely vnder any pretence reproued, and the men themſelues worſe which reproue it and vſe it too, it ſhould bee to little purpoſe for them to ſalue the wound, by making proteſtations in diſgrace of their owne actions, with plaine acknowledgement that they are ſcandalous, or by vſing faire intreatie with the weake Brethren; they would eaſily haue ſeene how with vs it cannot bee indured, to heare a man openly profeſſe that hee putteth fire to his Neighbours houſe, but yet ſo halloweth the ſame with prayer that he hopeth it ſhall not burne. It had beene therefore perhaps ſafer and better for ours to haue obſerued [a] Saint *Baſils* aduice, both in this and in all things of like nature. *Let him which approueth not his Gouernours ordinances either plainely (but priuately alwayes) ſhew his diſlike if he haue* λόγον ἰσχυρὸν, *ſtrong and inuincible reaſon againſt them, according to the true will and meaning of Scripture, or elſe let him quietly*

[a] *Baſil. Aſcet. reſponſ. ad interr.* 47.

quietly with ſilence doe that which is inioyned. Obedience with profeſt vnwillingneſſe to obey, is no better then manifeſt diſobedience.

Of geſture in praying, and of different places choſen to that purpoſe. *T.C.l.*1.*p.*134.

30 Hauing thus diſputed, whether the Surplice be a fit garment to be vſed in the ſeruice of God, the next queſtion whereinto we are drawne, is, whether it be a thing allowable or no, that the Miniſter ſhould ſay ſeruice in the Chancell, or turne his face at any time from the people, or before ſeruice ended remoue from the place where it was begunne. By them which trouble vs with theſe doubts, we would more willingly be reſolued of a greater doubt, whether it be not a kinde of taking Gods name in vaine, to debaſe Religion with ſuch friuolous diſputes, a ſinne to beſtow time and labour about them. Things of ſo meane regard and qualitie, although neceſſarie to bee ordered, are notwithſtanding very vnſauorie when they come to bee diſputed of; becauſe diſputation preſuppoſeth ſome difficultie in the matter which is argued, whereas in things of this nature they muſt be either very ſimple or very forward, who neede to be taught by diſputation what is meet. When we make profeſſion of our Faith, wee ſtand; when wee acknowledge our ſinnes or ſeeke vnto God for fauour, wee fall downe, becauſe the geſture of conſtancy becommeth vs beſt in the one, in the other the behauiour of humilitie. Some parts of our Lyturgie conſiſt in the reading of the Word of God, and the proclayming of his Law, that the people may thereby learne what their dueties are towards him; ſome conſiſt in wordes of praiſe and thankſgiuing, whereby we acknowledge vnto God what his bleſſings are towards vs; ſome are ſuch, as albeit they ſerue to ſingular good purpoſe, euen when there is no Communion adminiſtred; neuertheleſſe, being deuiſed at the firſt for that purpoſe, are at the Table of the Lord for that cauſe alſo commonly read; ſome are vttered as from the people, ſome as with them vnto God, ſome as from God vnto them, all as before his ſight whom wee feare, and whoſe preſence to offend with any the leaſt vnſeemelineſſe, wee would be ſurely as loth as they, who moſt reprehend or deride that wee doe. [a] Now, becauſe the Goſpels which are weekely read, doe all hiſtorically declare ſomething which our Lord Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe either ſpake, did, or ſuffered in his owne perſon, it hath beene the cuſtome of Chriſtian men then eſpecially in token of the greater reuerence to ſtand, to vtter certayne words of acclamation, and at the name of Ieſus to bow. Which harmeleſſe Ceremonies as there is *no man conſtrayned to vſe*, ſo we know no reaſon wherefore any man ſhould yet imagine it an vnſufferable euill. It ſheweth a reuerend [b] regard to the Sonne of God aboue other Meſſengers, although ſpeaking as from God alſo. And againſt Infidels, Iewes, Arrians, who derogate from the honor of Ieſus Chriſt, ſuch Ceremonies are moſt profitable. [c] As for any erroneous *eſtimation*, aduancing the Sonne *aboue the Father and the holy Ghoſt*, ſeeing that the truth of his equalitie with them, is a myſterie ſo hard for the wits of mortall men to riſe vnto, of all Hereſies, that which may giue him ſuperioritie aboue them is leaſt to be feared. But to let go this as a matter ſcarce worth the ſpeaking of, wheras if fault be in theſe things any where iuſtly found, Law hath referred the whole diſpoſition and redreſſe thereof to the Ordinarie of the place; [d] they which elſewhere complaine, that diſgrace and *iniurie* is offered euen to the meaneſt Pariſh-Miniſter, when the Magiſtrate appoin-

a *T.C.l.*1.*p.*203.

b *Mark.* 12. 6.

c *T.C.l.*3.*p.*215.

d *T.C.l.*1.*p.*74.

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pointeth him what to weare, and leaueth not ſo ſmall a matter as that to his owne diſcretion, being preſumed a man diſcreet and truſted with the care of the peoples ſoules, doe [a] thinke the graueſt Prelates in the Land no competent Iudges, to diſcerne and appoint where it is fit for the Miniſter to ſtand, or which way conuenient to looke praying. From their Ordinarie therefore they appeale to themſelues, finding great fault that wee neither reforme the thing againſt the which they haue ſo long ſithence giuen ſentence, nor yet make anſwere vnto that they bring, which is, that [b] Saint *Luke* declaring, how PETER *ſtood vp in the midſt of his Diſciples*, did thereby deliuer an [c] *vnchangeable* rule, that *whatſoeuer* is done in the Church, *ought to bee done* in the midſt of the Church, and therefore not Baptiſme to be adminiſtred in one place, Marriage ſolemnized in another, the Supper of the Lord receiued in a third, in a fourth Sermons, in a fift Prayers to be made; that the cuſtome which we vſe is Leuiticall, abſurd, and ſuch as hindreth the vnderſtanding of the people; that if it be meete for the Miniſter at ſome time to looke towards the people, if the body of the Church be a fit place for ſome part of diuine ſeruice, it muſt needs follow that whenſoeuer his face is turned any other way, or any thing done any other-where, it hath abſurditie. *All theſe reaſons*, they ſay, haue beene brought, and were hitherto neuer anſwered; beſide a number of merriments and ieſts vnanſwered likewiſe, wherewith they haue pleaſantly moued much laughter at our manner of ſeruing God. Such is their euill hap to play vpon dull-ſpirited men. Wee are ſtill perſwaded that a bare denyall is anſwere ſufficient to things which meere fancy obiecteth; and that the beſt Apologie to words of ſcorne and petulancy, is *Iſaacks* Apologie to his brother *Iſmael*, the Apologie which patience and ſilence maketh. Our anſwere therefore to their reaſons, is no; to their ſcoffes, nothing.

a *T.C.l.*1.*p.*134. *Lib.*3.*pag.*187.

b *Act.*1.15.

c *T.C.l.*1.*p.*134. *Lib.*3.*pag.*187.

31 When they obiect that our Booke requireth [d] nothing to bee done, which a child may not doe as *lawfully and as well as that man wherewith the Booke contenteth it ſelfe*, is it their meaning that the ſeruice of God ought to be a matter of great difficultie, a labour which requireth great learning and deepe skill, or elſe that the Booke containing it ſhould teach what men are fit to attend vpon it, and forbid either men vnlearned or children to be admitted thereunto? In ſetting downe the forme of Common Prayer, there was no neede that the Booke ſhould mention either the learning of a fit, or the vnfitneſſe of an ignorant Miniſter, more then that hee which deſcribeth the manner how to pitch a field, ſhould ſpeake of moderation and ſobrietie in dyet. And concerning the dutie it ſelfe, although the hardneſſe thereof be not ſuch as needeth much arte, yet ſurely they ſeeme to bee very farre carryed beſides themſelues, to whom the dignitie of publique prayer doth not diſcouer ſomewhat more fitneſſe in men of grauitie and ripe diſcretion, then in children of *ten yeeres of age*, for the decent diſcharge and performance of that office. It cannot bee that they who ſpeake thus, ſhould thus iudge. At the boord and in priuate it very well becommeth childrens innocency to pray, and their elders to ſay, *Amen*. Which being a part of their vertuous education, ſerueth greatly both to nouriſh in them the feare of God, and to put vs in continual remembrance of that powerfull grace, which openeth the mouthes of Infants to ſound his praiſe. But publique

Eaſineſſe of praying after our forme.

d *T.C.l.*1.*p.*133. *& lib.* 3. *p.*184.

Another fault in the whole Seruice or Liturgie of England, is, for that it maintaineth an vnpreaching Miniſterie, in requiring nothing to bee done by the Miniſter which a child of ten yeeres old can not do as well, and as lawfully as that man, wherewith the booke contenteth it ſelfe.

publike Prayer, the ſeruice of God in the ſolemne aſſembly of Saints, is a worke though eaſie, yet withall ſo waightie and of ſuch reſpect, that the great facilitie thereof is but a ſlender argument to prooue it may bee as well and as lawfully committed to children as to men of yeeres, howſoeuer their ability of learning be but only to doe that in decent order wherewith the Booke contenteth it ſelfe. The Booke requireth but orderly reading. As in truth, what ſhould any preſcript forme of Prayer framed to the Miniſters hand, require, but onely ſo to bee read as behoueth? Wee know that there are in the world certayne voluntarie ouer-ſeers of all Bookes, whoſe cenſure in this reſpect would fall as ſharpe on vs as it hath done on many others, if deliuering but a forme of Prayer, wee ſhould either expreſſe or include any thing, more then doth properly concerne Prayer. The Miniſters greatneſſe or meaneneſſe of knowledge to doe other things, his aptneſſe or inſufficiency otherwiſe then by reading to inſtruct the Flocke, ſtandeth in this place as a ſtranger, with whom our forme of Common Prayer hath nothing to doe. Wherein their exception againſt eaſineſſe, as if that did nouriſh ignorance, proceedeth altogether of a needleſſe iealouſie. I haue often heard it enquired of by many, how it might bee brought to paſſe, that the Church ſhould euery-where haue able Preachers to inſtruct the people; what impediments there are to hinder it, and which were the ſpeedieſt way to remooue them. In which conſultations the multitude of Pariſhes, the paucitie of Schooles, the manifold diſcouragements which are offered vnto mens inclinations that way, the penurie of the Eccleſiaſticall eſtate, the irrecouerable loſſe of ſo many Liuings of principall value, cleane taken away from the Church long ſithence by being appropriated, the daily bruzes that ſpirituall promotions vſe to take by often falling, the want of ſomwhat in certayne ſtatutes which concerne the ſtate of the Church, the too great facilitie of many Biſhops, the ſtonie hardneſſe of too many Patrones hearts not touched with any feeling in this caſe: ſuch things oftentimes are debated, and much thought vpon by them that enter into any diſcourſe concerning any defect of knowledge in the Clergie. But whoſoeuer be found guiltie, the Communion Booke hath ſurely deſerued leaſt to be called in queſtion for this fault. If all the Clergie were as learned as themſelues are that moſt complaine of ignorance in others, yet our Booke of prayer might remaine the ſame; and remayning the ſame it is, I ſee not how it can be a let vnto any mans skill in preaching. Which thing we acknowledge to be Gods good gift, howbeit no ſuch neceſſarie element, that euery act of Religion ſhould bee thought imperfect and lame, wherein there is not ſomewhat exacted that none can diſcharge but an able Preacher.

The length of our Seruice. *T.C. l.1. p.133. & l.3. p.184.*

32 Two faults there are, which our Lord and Sauiour himſelfe eſpecially reproued in prayer; the one, when oſtentation did cauſe it to be open; the other, when ſuperſtition made it long. As therefore prayers the one way are faultie, not whenſoeuer they bee openly made, but when hypocriſie is the cauſe of open praying: ſo the length of prayer is likewiſe a fault, howbeit not ſimply, but where error and ſuperſtition cauſeth more then conuenient repetition or continuation of ſpeech to be vſed. It is not as ſome doe imagine (ſaith a Saint *Auguſtine*) that long praying is that fault of much ſpeaking in prayer which

a *Aug. Ep. 121.*

which our Sauiour did reproue; for then would not hee himſelfe in prayer haue continued [a] whole nights. Vſe in prayer no vaine ſuperfluitie of wordes as the Heathens doe, for they imagine that their much ſpeaking wil cauſe them to bee heard: whereas in truth the thing which God doth regard is, how vertuous their mindes are, and not how copious their tongues in prayer; how well they thinke, and not how long they talke who come to preſent their ſupplications before him. Notwithſtanding for as much as in publike prayer wee are not only to conſider what is needfull in reſpect of God, but there is alſo in men that which wee muſt regard; wee ſomewhat the rather incline to length, leſt ouer-quicke diſpatch of a dutie ſo important, ſhould giue the world occaſion to deeme, that the thing it ſelfe is but little accounted of, wherein but little time is beſtowed. Length therefore is a thing which the grauitie and waight of ſuch actions doth require. Beſides, this benefit alſo it hath, that they whom earneſt lets and impediments doe often hinder from being partakers of the whole, haue yet through the length of diuine ſeruice, oportunitie left them, at the leaſt for acceſſe vnto ſome reaſonable part thereof. Againe, it ſhould bee conſidered, how it doth come to paſſe that wee are ſo long. For if that very ſeruice of God in the Iewiſh Synagogues, which our Lord did approue and ſanctifie with the preſence of his owne perſon, had ſo large portion of the Law and the Prophets, together with ſo many Prayers and Pſalmes read day by day, as equall in a manner the length of ours, and yet in that reſpect was neuer thought to deſerue blame, is it now an offence that the like meaſure of time is beſtowed in the like manner? Peraduenture the Church hath not now the leiſure which it had then, or elſe thoſe things whereupon ſo much time was then well ſpent, haue ſithence that loſt their dignitie and worth. If the reading of the Law, the Prophets and Pſalmes bee a part of the Seruice of God, as needfull vnder Chriſt as before, and the adding of the new Teſtament, as profitable as the ordayning of the Old to be read; if therewith in ſtead of Iewiſh prayers it bee alſo for the good of the Church to annexe that varietie which [b] the Apoſtle doth commend; ſeeing that the time which wee ſpend is no more then the orderly performance of theſe things neceſſarily required, why are wee thought to exceede in length? Wordes, bee they neuer ſo few, are too many when they benefit not the Hearer. But hee which ſpeaketh no more then edifieth, is vndeſeruedly reprehended for much ſpeaking. That as [c] *the Deuill vnder colour of long prayer draue preaching out of the Church* heretofore, *ſo* wee *in appointing ſo long prayers and reading, whereby the leſſe can bee ſpent in preaching, maintayne an vnpreaching Miniſtrie*, is neither aduiſedly nor truely ſpoken. They reproue long prayer, and yet acknowledge it to be in it ſelfe a thing commendable. For ſo it muſt needes bee, if the Deuill haue vſed it as a colour to hide his malicious practices. When malice would worke that which is euill, and in working auoid the ſuſpicion of any euill intent, the colour wherewith it ouercaſteth it ſelfe, is alwaies a faire and plauſible pretence of ſeeking to further that which is good. So that if wee both retayne that good which Satan hath pretended to ſeeke, and auoid the euill which his purpoſe was to effect, haue wee not better preuented his malice, then if as hee hath vnder colour of long prayer, driuen preaching out of the Church, ſo we ſhould take the quarrel of

[a] *Luke* 6. 12.

[b] 1. *Tim.* 2. 1.

[c] *T.C.l.*3.*p.*184.

of Sermons in hand, and reuenge their cauſe by requitall, thruſting Prayer in a manner out of dores vnder colour of long preaching? In caſe our Prayers being made at their full length, did neceſſarily inforce Sermons to be the ſhorter, yet neither were this to vphold and maintayne an *vnpreaching* Miniſterie, vnleſſe we will ſay that thoſe ancient Fathers, *Chryſoſtome*, *Auguſtine*, *Leo*, and the reſt, whoſe Homilies in that conſideration were ſhorter for the moſt part then our Sermons are, did then not preach when their ſpeeches were not long. The neceſſitie of ſhortneſſe cauſeth men to cut off impertinent diſcourſes, and to comprize much matter in few wordes. But neither did it maintayne inabilitie, nor at all preuent opportunitie of preaching, as long as a competent time is granted for that purpoſe. *An houre and a halfe* is, they ſay, in reformed Churches *ordinarily* thought reaſonable, for *their whole Liturgie or Seruice*. Doe wee then continue as [a] *Ezra* did in reading the Law from morning till midday? [b] or as the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* did in prayer and preaching, till men through wearineſſe be taken vp dead at our feet? The huge length whereof they make ſuch complaint, is but this, that if our whole forme of Prayer be read, and beſides an houre allowed for a Sermon, wee ſpend ordinarily in both more time then they doe by halfe an houre. Which halfe houre being ſuch a matter, as the *age of ſome, and infirmitie of other ſome are not able to beare*; if we haue any ſenſe of the *common imbecillitie*, if any care to preſerue mens wits from being broken with the very *bent of ſo long attention*, if any loue or deſire to prouide that things moſt holy be not with hazzard of mens ſoules abhord and lothed, this halfe houres tediouſneſſe muſt be remedied, and that only by cutting off the greateſt part of our Common Prayer. For no other remedie will ſerue to helpe ſo dangerous an inconuenience.

a *Nehem.*8.3.

b *Act.*20.9.

In ſtead of ſuch Prayers as the Primitiue Churches haue vſed, and thoſe that be reformed now vſe, we haue (they ſay) diuers ſhort cuts or ſhreddings, rather wiſhes then prayers. *T. C. l.*1. *p.*138. *& l.*3. *p.*210, 211.

33 The Brethren in Egypt (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, *Epiſt.* 121.) are reported to haue many prayers, but euery of them very ſhort, as if they were Darts throwne out with a kinde of ſuddaine quickneſſe, leſt that vigilant and erect attention of minde, which in prayer is very neceſſary, ſhould be waſted or dulled through continuance, if their prayers were few and long. But that which Saint *Auguſtine* doth allow, they condemne. Thoſe prayers whereunto deuout mindes haue added a piercing kinde of breuitie, as well in that reſpect which we haue alreadie mentioned, as alſo thereby the better to expreſſe that quicke and ſpeedie expedition, wherewith ardent affections, the very wings of prayer, are delighted to preſent our ſutes in heauen, euen ſooner then our tongues can deuiſe to vtter them; they in their moode, of contradiction ſpare not openly to deride, and that with ſo baſe termes as doe very ill beſeeme men of their grauitie. Such ſpeeches are ſcandalous, they ſauour not of God in him that vſeth them, and vnto vertuouſly-diſpoſed mindes they are grieuous corroſiues. Our caſe were miſerable, if that wherewith we moſt endeuour to pleaſe God, were in his ſight ſo vile and deſpicable, as mens diſdainefull ſpeech would make it.

Leſſons intermingled with our Prayers.

34 Againe, for as much as effectuall prayer is ioyned with a vehement intention of the inferiour powers of the ſoule, which cannot therein long continue without paine, it hath beene therefore thought good ſo by turnes to interpoſe ſtill ſomewhat for the higher part of the minde, the vnderſtanding to worke

worke vpon, that both being kept in continuall exerciſe with varietie, neither might feele any great wearineſſe, and yet each be a ſpurre to other. For Praier kindleth our deſire to behold God by ſpeculation; and the minde delighted with that contemplatiue ſight of God, taketh euery where new inflammations to pray, the riches of the Myſteries of heauenly wiſedome continually ſtirring vp in vs correſpondent deſires towards them. So that he which prayeth in due ſort, is thereby made the more attentiue to heare, and hee which heareth, the more earneſt to pray, for the time which wee beſtow as well in the one as the other. But for what cauſe ſo euer we doe it, this intermingling of leſſons with Praiers is * in their taſte a thing as vnſauourie, and as vnſeemely in their ſight, as if the like ſhould be done in Sutes and Supplications before ſome mightie Prince of the World. Our ſpeech to worldly Superiors we frame in ſuch ſort as ſerueth beſt to informe and perſwade the minds of them, who otherwiſe neither could nor would greatly regard our neceſſities: Whereas, becauſe wee know that God is indeed a King, but *a great* King; who vnderſtandeth all things before-hand which no other King beſides doth, a King which needeth not to bee informed what wee lacke, a King readier to grant then wee to make our requeſts; therefore in Praier we doe not ſo much reſpect what Precepts Art deliuereth touching the method of perſwaſiue vtterance in the preſence of great men, as what doth moſt auaile to our own edification in pietie and godly zeale. If they on the contrary ſide doe thinke that the ſame rules of decencie which ſerue for things done vnto terrene Powers, ſhould vniuerſally decide what is fit in the ſeruice of God, if it be their meaning to hold it for a maxime, that the Church muſt deliuer her publike Supplications vnto God in no other forme of ſpeech then ſuch as were decent, if ſute ſhould bee made to the great Turke, or ſome other Monarch, let them apply their owne rule vnto their own forme of Common Praier. Suppoſe that the people of a whole Towne with ſome choſen man before them did continually twice or thrice in a weeke reſort to their King, and euery time they come, firſt acknowledge themſelues guiltie of rebellions and treaſons, then ſing a Song, after that explaine ſome Statute of the Land to the ſtanders by, and therein ſpend at the leaſt an houre, this done, turne themſelues againe to the King, and for euery ſort of his Subiects craue ſomewhat of him, at the length ſing him another Song, and ſo take their leaue: Might not the King well thinke that either they knew not what they would haue, or elſe that they were diſtracted in mind, or ſome other ſuch like cauſe of the diſorder of their ſupplication? This forme of ſuing vnto Kings were abſurd. This forme of praying vnto God they allow. When God was ſerued with Legall Sacrifices, ſuch was the miſerable and wretched diſpoſition of ſome mens minds, that the beſt of euery thing they had being culled out for themſelues, if there were in their Flockes any poore ſtarued or diſeaſed thing not worth the keeping, they thought it good enough for the Altar of God, pretending (as wiſe Hypocrites doe when they rob God to inrich themſelues) that the fatneſſe of

* We haue no ſuch formes in the Scripture as that wee ſhould pray in two or three lines, and then after hauing read awhile ſome other thing, come and pray as much more, and ſo the 20. or 30. time with pauſes betweene. If a man ſhould come to a Prince and hauing verie many things to demand, after hee had demanded one thing, would ſtay a long time, and then demand another, and ſo the third, the Prince might well thinke that either hee came to aske before he knew what he had need of, or that hee had forgotten ſome piece of his Sute, or that he were diſtracted in his vnderſtanding, or ſome other ſuch like cauſe of the diſorder of his Supplication. *T.C.l.1.p.138.* This kind of reaſon the Prophet in the matter of Sacrifices doth vſe. *T.C.l.3.p.210.*

Calues doth benefit him nothing, to vs the beſt things are moſt profitable, to him all as one if the minde of the Offerer be good, which is the only thing hee reſpecteth. In reproofe of which their deuout fraud, the Prophet *Malachie* alleageth, that gifts are offered vnto God not as [a] ſupplies of his want in deed, but yet as teſtimonies of that affection wherewith we acknowledge and honour his greatneſſe. For which cauſe, ſith the greater they are whom wee honour, the more regard wee haue to the qualitie and choice of thoſe preſents which we bring them for honours ſake, it muſt needs follow, that if we dare not diſgrace our worldly ſuperiors with offering vnto them ſuch refuſe as we bring vnto God himſelfe, we ſhew plainely that our acknowledgement of his Greatneſſe is but fained, in heart wee feare him not ſo much as we dread them. [b] *If yee offer the Blind for Sacrifice, it is not euill. Offer it now vnto thy Prince. Will he be content or accept thy perſon, ſaith the Lord of Hoſtes? Curſed be the Deceiuer which hath in his Flocke a male, and hauing made a vow, ſacrificeth vnto the Lord a corrupt thing: For I am a great King, ſaith the Lord of Hoſtes.* Should wee hereupon frame a rule, that what forme of ſpeech or behauiour ſoeuer is fit for ſuters in a Princes Court, the ſame and no other beſeemeth vs in our Prayers to Almightie God?

a Μέρη τιμῆς τὰ δῶρα, τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις τίμια. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ δῶρον ἐστὶ κλήματος δόσις ϗ τιμῆς σημεῖον. Διὸ ϗ οἱ φιλοχρήματοι ϗ οἱ φιλότιμοι ἐφίενται αὐτῶν. Ἀμφοτέροις γὰρ ἔχειν δόκουσι. Καὶ γὰρ κλῆμα ἐστιν οὗ ἐφίενται οἱ φιλοχρήματοι, ϗ τιμῆς ἔχει οὗ οἱ φιλότιμοι. Ariſt. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 5.

b *Mala.* 1. 8. 14.

The number of our Prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearſing of the Lords Prayer.

35 But in vaine we labour to perſwade them that any thing can take away the tediouſneſſe of Prayer, except it be brought to the very ſame both meaſure and forme which themſelues aſſigne. What ſoeuer therefore our Liturgie hath more then theirs, vnder one deuiſed pretence or other they cut it off. We haue of Prayers for earthly things in their opinion too great a number; ſo oft to rehearſe the Lords Prayer in ſo ſmall a time, is as they thinke a loſſe of time; the peoples praying after the Miniſter, they ſay, both waſteth time, and alſo maketh an vnpleaſant ſound; the *Pſalmes* they would not haue to be made (as they are) a part of our Common Prayer, not to be ſung or ſaid by turnes, nor ſuch Muſick to be vſed with them; thoſe Euangelicall *Hymnes* they allow not to ſtand in our Liturgy; the *Letanie*, the *Creed* of *Athanaſius*, the Sentence of Glorie, wherewith wee vſe to conclude *Pſalmes*, theſe things they cancell, as hauing beene inſtituted in regard of occaſions peculiar to the times of olde, and as being therefore now ſuperfluous. Touching Prayers for things earthly, wee ought not to thinke that the Church hath ſet downe ſo many of them without cauſe. They peraduenture, which find this fault, are of the ſame affection with *Salomon*, ſo that if God ſhould offer to grant them whatſoeuer they aske, they would neither craue riches, nor length of daies, nor yet victorie ouer their enemies, but only an vnderſtanding heart, for which cauſe themſelues hauing Eagles wings, are offended to ſee others flye ſo neere the ground. But the tender kindneſſe of the Church of God it very well beſeemeth, to help the weaker fort.

I can make no Geometricall and exact meaſure, but verily I beleeue there ſhall bee found more then a third part of the Prayers, which are not *Pſalmes* and Texts of Scripture, ſpent in praying for, and praying againſt the commodities and incommodities of this life, which is contrary to all the Arguments or contents of the Prayers of the Church ſet downe in the Scripture, and eſpecially of our Sauiour Chriſts Prayer, by the which ours ought to be directed. *T.C.l.* 1. *p.* 136. What a reaſon is this, we muſt repeat the Lords Prayer oftentimes, therefore oftentimes in halfe an houre, and one in the neck of another? Our Sauiour Chriſt doth not there giue a preſcript forme of Praier whereunto hee bindeth vs: but giueth vs a rule and ſquire to frame all our Praiers by. I know it is neceſſary to pray, and pray often. I know alſo that in a few words it is impoſſible for any man to frame ſo pithie a Praier, and I confeſſe that the Church doth well in concluding their Prayers with the Lords Praier: but I ſtand vpon this, that there is no neceſſitie laid vpon vs to vſe theſe very words and no more. *T.C.l.* 1. *pag.* 219.

ſort which are by ſo great oddes moe in number, although ſome few of the perfecter and ſtronger may bee therewith for a time diſpleaſed. Ignorant wee are not, that of ſuch as reſorted to our Sauiour Chriſt being preſent on earth, there came not any vnto him with better ſucceſſe for the benefit of their ſoules euerlaſting happineſſe, then they whoſe bodily neceſſities gaue them the firſt occaſion to ſeeke reliefe, where they ſaw willingnes and abilitie of doing euery way good vnto all. The graces of the Spirit are much more precious then worldly benefits; our ghoſtly euils of greater importance then any harme which the bodie feeleth. Therefore our deſires to heauenward ſhould both in meaſure and number no leſſe exceed, then their glorious obiect doth euery way excell in value. Theſe things are true and plaine in the eye of a perfect iudgement. But yet it muſt bee withall conſidered, that the greateſt part of the World are they which bee fartheſt from perfection. Such being better able by ſenſe to diſcerne the wants of this preſent life, then by ſpirituall capacitie to apprehend things aboue ſenſe, which tend to their happines in the World to come, are in that reſpect the more apt to apply their minds euen with heartie affection and zeale at the leaſt vnto thoſe branches of publike Prayer, wherein their owne particular is moued. And by this meane there ſtealeth vpon them a double benefit; firſt, becauſe that good affection, which things of ſmaller account haue once ſet on worke, is by ſo much the more eaſily raiſed higher; and ſecondly, in that the very cuſtome of ſeeking ſo particular aide and reliefe at the hands of God, doth by a ſecret contradiction withdraw them from indeauouring to help themſelues by thoſe wicked ſhifts, which they know can neuer haue his allowance, whoſe aſſiſtance their Prayer ſeeketh. Theſe multiplied Petitions of worldly things in Prayer haue therefore, beſides their direct vſe, a ſeruice whereby the Church vnder-hand, through a kind of heauenly fraud, taketh therewith the ſoules of men as with certaine baits. If then their calculation bee true (for ſo they reckon) that a full third of our Praiers be allotted vnto earthly benefits, for which our Sauiour in his platforme hath appointed but one Petition amongſt ſeuen, the difference is without any great diſagreement; we reſpecting what men are, and doing that which is meet in regard of the common imperfection; our Lord contrariwiſe propoſing the moſt abſolute proportion that can be in mens deſires, the very higheſt marke whereat we are able to aime. For which cauſe alſo our cuſtome is both to place it * in the front of our Prayers as a Guide, and to adde it in the end of ſome principall limmes or parts, as a complement which fully perfecteth whatſoeuer may be defectiue in the reſt. Twice we rehearſe it ordinarily, and oftner as occaſion requireth more ſolemnitie or length in the forme of Diuine Seruice, not miſtruſting, till theſe new curioſities ſprang vp, that euer any man would thinke our labour herein miſſe-ſpent, the time waſtfully conſumed, & the office it ſelfe made worſe, by ſo repeating that which otherwiſe would more hardly bee made familiar to the ſimpler ſort, for the good of whoſe ſoules there is not in Chriſtian religion any thing of like continuall vſe and force throughout euery houre and moment of their whole liues. I meane not only becauſe Praier, but becauſe this very Praier is of ſuch efficacie and neceſſitie: For that our Sauiour did but ſet men a bare Example how to contriue or deuiſe Prayers of their owne, and no way bind

* *Præmiſſa legitima & ordinaria oratione quaſi fundamento, accidentium ius eſt deſideriorum, ius eſt ſuperſtruendi extrinſecus petitiones.* Tertul. de Orat.

a *Luke* 11.1. them to vſe this, is no doubt an error. a *Iohn* the *Baptiſts* Diſciples, which had beene alwayes brought vp in the boſome of Gods Church from the time of their firſt Infancie, till they came to the Schoole of *Iohn*, were not ſo brutiſh, that they could be ignorant how to call vpon the Name of God, but of their Maſter they had receiued a forme of Prayer amongſt themſelues, which forme none did vſe ſauing his Diſciples, ſo that by it as by a marke of ſpeciall difference they were knowne from others. And of this the Apoſtles hauing taken notice, they requeſt that as *Iohn* had taught his, ſo Chriſt would likewiſe teach them to pray. *Tertullian* and Saint *Auguſtine* doe for that cauſe terme it, *Orationem legitimam*, the Praier which Chriſts owne Law hath tied his Church to vſe in the ſame preſcript forme of words wherewith he himſelfe did deliuer it, and therefore what part of the World ſoeuer we fall into, if Chriſtian Religion haue beene there receiued, the ordinarie vſe of this very Praier hath with equall continuance accompanied the ſame, as one of the principall and moſt materiall duties of honor done to Ieſus Chriſt. *Seeing* b *that we haue* (ſaith Saint CYPRIAN) *an Aduocate with the Father for our ſinnes, when we that haue ſinned come to ſeeke for pardon, let vs alleage vnto God the words which our Aduocate hath taught. For ſith his promiſe is our plaine warrant, that in his Name what wee aske we ſhall receiue, muſt we not needs much the rather obtaine that for which wee ſue, if not only his Name doe countenance, but alſo his ſpeech preſent our requeſts?* Though men ſhould ſpeake with the tongues of Angels, yet words ſo pleaſing to the eares of God, as thoſe which the Sonne of God himſelfe hath compoſed, were not poſſible for men to frame. Hee therefore which made vs to liue, hath alſo taught vs to pray, to the end that ſpeaking vnto the Father in the Sonnes owne preſcript forme without ſcholy or gloſſe of ours, wee may bee ſure that we vtter nothing which God will either diſallow or denie. Other Prayers wee vſe many beſides this, and this oftner then any other; although not tyed ſo to doe by any Commandement of Scripture, yet mooued with ſuch conſiderations as haue beene before ſet downe: the cauſeleſſe diſlike whereof which others haue conceiued, is no ſufficient reaſon for vs, as much as once to forbeare in any place: a thing which vttered with true deuotion and zeale of heart, affordeth to God himſelfe that glorie, that aide to the weakeſt ſort of men, to the moſt perfect, that ſolid comfort which is vnſpeakeable.

b *Cypr. in Orat. Dom.*

The peoples ſaying after the Miniſter. Another fault is that all the people are appointed in diuers places to ſay after the Miniſter, whereby not only the time is vnprofitably waſted, and a confuſed noyſe of the people one ſpeaking after another cauſed, but an opinion bred in their heads that thoſe only bee their Prayers which they pronounce with their owne mouthes after the Miniſter, otherwiſe then the order which is left to the Church doth beare, 1. *Cor.* 14.16. and otherwiſe then *Iuſtin Martyr* ſheweth the cuſtome of the Churches to haue beene in his time. *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 139. and *lib.* 3. *page* 211. 212. 213.

36 With our Lords Prayer they would find no fault, ſo that they might perſwade vs to vſe it before or after Sermons onely (becauſe ſo their manner is) and not (as all Chriſtian people haue beene of old accuſtomed) inſert it ſo often into the Liturgie. But the peoples cuſtome to repeate any thing after the Miniſter, they vtterly miſlike. Twice wee appoint that the words which the Miniſter firſt pronounceth, the whole Congregation ſhall repeat after him. As firſt in the publike Confeſſion of ſinnes, and againe in rehearſall of our Lords Prayer, preſently after the bleſſed Sacrament of his Bodie and Bloud receiued. A thing no way offenſiue, no way vnfit or vnſeemely to be done, although

though it had beene ſo appointed oftner then with vs it is. But ſurely with ſo good reaſon it ſtandeth in thoſe two places, that otherwiſe to order it were not in all reſpects ſo well. Could there be any thing deuiſed better, then that wee all at our firſt acceſſe vnto God by Prayer, ſhould aknowledge meekely our ſinnes, and that not only in heart but with tongue, all which are preſent being made eare-witneſſes, euen of euery mans diſtinct and deliberate aſſent vnto each particular branch of a common Inditement drawne againſt our ſelues? How were it poſſible, that the Church ſhould any way elſe with ſuch eaſe and certaintie prouide, that none of her Children may as *Adam* diſſemble that wretchednes, the penitent confeſſion whereof is ſo neceſſary a Preamble, eſpecially to Common Praier? In like manner, if the Church did euer deuiſe a thing fit and conuenient, what more then this, that when together we haue all receiued thoſe heauenly Myſteries wherein Chriſt imparteth himſelfe vnto vs, and giueth viſible teſtification of our bleſſed Communion with him, wee ſhould in hatred of all Hereſies, Factions and Schiſmes, the Paſtor as a Leader, the people as willing followers of him ſtep by ſtep, declare openly our ſelues vnited as Brethren in one, [n] by offering vp with all our hearts and tongues that moſt effectuall Supplication, wherein hee vnto whom wee offer it, hath himſelfe not only comprehended all our neceſſities, but in ſuch ſort alſo framed euery Petition, as might moſt naturally ſerue for many, and doth though not alwaies require, yet alwaies import a multitude of ſpeakers together? For which cauſe Communicants haue euer vſed it, and we at that time by the forme of our very vtterance doe ſhew we vſe it, yea, euery word and ſyllable of it as Communicants. In the reſt wee obſerue that cuſtome whereunto [o] Saint *Paul* allndeth, and whereof the Fathers of the Church in their Writings make often mention, to ſhew indefinitely what was done, but not vniuerſally to bind for euer all Prayers vnto one onely faſhion of vtterance. The reaſons which wee haue alleaged, induce vs to thinke it ſtill *a good worke*, which they in their penſiue care for the well beſtowing of time account *waſte*. As for vnpleaſantneſſe of ſound if it happen, the good of mens Soules doth either deceiue our eares that wee note it not, or arme them with patience to indure it. We are not ſo nice as to caſt away a ſharpe Knife, becauſe the edge of it may ſometimes grate. And ſuch ſuttle opinions as few but Vtopians are likely to fall into, wee in this Clymate doe not greatly feare.

n Τὶς γὰρ ἔτι ἐχθρὸν ὑπόπτευσεν ἂν δύνασθαι μεθ' οὗ μίαν ἀφῖκται πρὸς θεὸν τὴν φωνὴν. Baſil. Præf. in Pſal.

o 1. Cor. 14. 16.

37 The complaint which they make about *Pſalmes* and *Hymnes*, might as well bee ouerpaſt without any anſwere, as it is without any cauſe brought forth. But our deſire is to content them if it may bee, and to yeeld them a iuſt reaſon euen of the leaſt things wherein vndeſeruedly they haue but as much as dreamed or ſuſpected that wee doe amiſſe. They ſeeme ſometimes ſo to ſpeake, as if it greatly offended them, that ſuch *Hymnes* and *Pſalmes* as are Scripture, ſhould in Common Praier bee otherwiſe vſed then the reſt of the Scripture is woont; ſometime diſpleaſed they are at the artificiall Muſicke which wee adde vnto *Pſalmes* of this kind or of any nature elſe; ſometime the plaineſt and the moſt intelligible rehearſall of them yet they ſauour not, becauſe it is done by interlocution, and with a mutuall returne of Sentences from ſide to ſide. They are not ignorant what difference there is betweene

Our manner of reading the *Pſalmes* otherwiſe then the reſt of the Scripture. They haue alwaies the ſame profit to bee ſtudied in, to bee read and preached vpon which other Scriptures haue, and this aboue the reſt, that they are to bee ſung

other parts of Scripture and *Pſalmes*. The choice and flower of * all things profitable in other Bookes, the *Pſalmes* doe both more briefly containe, and more mouingly alſo expreſſe, by reaſon of that Poeticall forme wherewith they are written. The ancient, when they ſpeake of the Booke of *Pſalmes*, vſe to fall into large diſcourſes, ſhewing how this part aboue the reſt doth of purpoſe ſet forth and celebrate all the conſiderations and operations which belong to God, it magnifieth the holy meditations and actions of diuine men, it is of things heauenly an vniuerſall declaration, working in them, whoſe hearts God inſpireth with the due conſideration thereof, an habit or diſpoſition of mind whereby they are made fit Veſſels both for receit and for deliuerie of whatſoeuer ſpirituall perfection. What is there neceſſary for man to know which the *Pſalmes* are not able to teach? They are to beginners an eaſie and familiar introduction, a mightie augmentation of all vertue and knowledge in ſuch as are entred before, a ſtrong confirmation to the moſt perfect amongſt others. Heroicall Magnanimitie, exquiſite Iuſtice, graue Moderation, exact Wiſdome, Repentance vnfained, vnwearied Patience, the Myſteries of God, the Sufferings of Chriſt, the Terrors of Wrath, the Comforts of Grace, the Workes of prouidence ouer this World, and the promiſed ioyes of that World which is to come, all good neceſſarily to be either knowne or done or had, this one Celeſtiall Fountaine yeeldeth. Let there be any griefe or diſeaſe incident into the ſoule of man, any wound or ſickneſſe named, for which there is not in this Treaſure-houſe a preſent comfortable remedie at all times readie to bee found. Hereof it is that wee couet to make the *Pſalmes* eſpecially familiar vnto all. This is the verie cauſe why wee iterate the *Pſalmes* oftner then any other part of Scripture beſides, the cauſe wherefore wee inure the people together with their Miniſter, and not the Miniſter alone to read them as other parts of Scripture hee doth.

But to make daily Praiers of them hand-ouer-head, or otherwiſe then the preſent eſtate wherein we be, doth agree with the matter contained in them is an abuſing of them.

T.C.l.3.p.206.

* ὑπερεκτικὴ τῶν πανιέρων ὑμνολογία. Dionyſ. Hierar. Eccleſ.c.3.

Of Muſicke with *Pſalmes*.

38 Touching Muſicall Harmonie, whether by Inſtrument or by Voyce, it being but of high and low in ſounds a due proportionable diſpoſition, ſuch notwithſtanding is the force thereof, and ſo pleaſing effects it hath in that very part of man which is moſt diuine, that ſome haue beene thereby induced to thinke that the Soule it ſelfe by nature is, or hath in it harmony. A thing which delighteth all Ages and beſeemeth all States; a thing as ſeaſonable in griefe as in ioy; as decent being added vnto actions of greateſt waight and ſolemnitie, as being vſed when men moſt ſequeſter themſelues from action. The reaſon hereof is an admirable facilitie which Muſicke hath to expreſſe and repreſent to the mind, more inwardly than any other ſenſible meane, the very ſtanding, riſing and falling, the very ſteps and inflections euery way, the turnes and varieties of all paſſions whereunto the minde is ſubiect: yea, ſo to imitate them, that whether it reſemble vnto vs the ſame ſtate wherein our mindes alreadie are, or a cleane contrary, wee are not more contentedly by the one confirmed, then changed and led away by the other. In Harmony the very Image and Character euen of Vertue and Vice is perceiued, the mind delighted with their Reſemblances, and brought, by hauing them often iterated, into a loue of the things themſelues. For which cauſe there is nothing more contagious and peſtilent, then ſome kindes of Harmonie; then ſome nothing more ſtrong and

and potent vnto good. And that there is ſuch a difference of one kinde from another, we neede no prooſe but our owne experience, in as much as wee are at the hearing of ſome more inclined vnto ſorrow and heauineſſe; of ſome, more mollified and ſoftned in minde; one kinde apter to ſtay and ſettle vs, another to moue and ſtirre our affections; there is that draweth to a maruelous graue and ſober mediocritie, there is alſo that carryeth as it were into exſtaſies, filling the minde with an heauenly ioy, and for the time in a manner, ſeuering it from the body. So that although we lay altogether aſide the conſideration of Dittie or Matter, the very harmonie of ſounds being framed in due ſort, and carryed from the eare to the ſpirituall faculties of our ſoules, is by a natiue puiſſance and efficacie greatly auaileable to bring to a perfect temper whatſoeuer is there troubled, apt as well to quicken the ſpirits, as to allay that which is too eager, ſoueraigne againſt melancholy and deſpaire, forcible to draw forth teares of deuotion, if the minde be ſuch as can yeeld them, able both to mooue and to moderate all affections. The Prophet *Dauid* hauing therefore ſingular knowledge not in Poetrie alone but in Muſique alſo, iudged them both to be things moſt neceſſarie for the houſe of God, left behinde him to that purpoſe a number of diuinely endited Poemes, and was farther the Author of adding vnto Poetrie melodie in publique prayer, melodie both vocall and inſtrumentall for the rayſing vp of mens hearts, and the ſweetning of their affections towards God. In which conſiderations the Church of Chriſt doth likewiſe at this preſent day retayne it as an ornament to Gods ſeruice, and an helpe to our owne deuotion. They which vnder pretence of the Law Ceremoniall abrogated, require the abrogation of inſtrumentall Muſique, approuing neuertheleſſe the vſe of vocall melodie to remayne, muſt ſhew ſome reaſon wherefore the one ſhould bee thought a Legall Ceremonie and not the other. In Church-Muſique curioſitie and oſtentation of arte, wanton, or light, or vnſuteable harmonie, ſuch as onely pleaſeth the eare, and doth not naturally ſerue to the very kinde and degree of thoſe impreſſions which the matter that goeth with it leaueth, or is apt to leaue in mens mindes, doth rather blemiſh and diſgrace that wee doe, then adde either beautie or furtherance vnto it. On the other ſide, theſe faults preuented, the force and efficacie of the thing it ſelfe, when it drowneth not vtterly, but fitly ſuteth with matter altogether ſounding to the praiſe of God, is in truth moſt admirable, and doth much edifie if not the vnderſtanding, becauſe it teacheth not, yet ſurely the affection, becauſe therein it worketh much. They muſt haue hearts very drie and tough, from whom the melodie of Pſalmes doth not ſometime draw that wherein a minde religiouſly affected delighteth. Be it as *Rabanus Maurus* obſerueth, that at the firſt the Church in this exerciſe was more ſimple and plaine then wee are, that their ſinging was little more then onely a melodious kinde of pronunciation, that the cuſtome which wee now vſe was not inſtituted ſo much for their cauſe which are ſpirituall, as to the end that into groſſer and heauier mindes whom bare wordes doe not eaſily moue, the ſweetneſſe of melodie might make ſome entrance for good things. S. *Baſil* himſelfe acknowledging as much, did not thinke that from ſuch inuentions the leaſt iot of eſtimation and credit thereby ſhould bee derogated:

Επειδὴ γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον δυσέγωγον πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐπιῤῥεπὲς τῆς ὀρθῆς βίου κατημελοῦντας ἡμᾶς, τί ποιεῖ: τὸ ἐκ τῆς μελῳδίας τερπνὸν τοῖς ῥύσμασιν ἐγκατέμιξεν ἵνα τῷ προσωπεῖ καὶ λείῳ τῆς ἀκοῆς τὸ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου ὠφέλιμον λανθανόντως ὑποδεξώμεθα. Διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἀναρμόνια ταῦτα μέλη τῶν ψαλμῶν ἡμῖν ἐπινενόηνται, ἵνα οἱ παῖδες τὴν ἡλικίαν ἢ καὶ ὅλως οἱ νεαροὶ τὸ ἦθος τῷ μὴ δοκεῖν μελῳδῶσι τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκπαιδεύωνται. Ὦ τῆς σοφῆς ἐπινοίας τοῦ διδασκάλου ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄδειν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ λυσιτελῆ μανθάνειν μηχανωμένου, Basil. in Psal.

a For (saith he) whereas the holy Spirit saw that mankinde is vnto vertue hardly drawne, and that righteousnesse is the lesse accounted of, by reason of the proneneſſe of our affections to that which delighteth, it pleased the wisedome of the same Spirit to berow from melodie that pleasure, which mingled with heauenly mysteries, causeth the smoothnesse and softnesse of that which toucheth the eare, to conuey as it were by stealth the treasure of good things into mans minde. To this purpose were those harmonious tunes of Psalmes deuised for vs, that they which are either in yeeres but young, or touching perfection of vertue as yet not grown to ripenesse, might, when they thinke they sing, learne. O the wise conceit of that heauenly teacher, which hath by his skil found out a way, that doing those things wherein we delight, we may also learne that whereby we profit!

Of singing or saying Psalmes and other parts of common Prayer, wherein the People and Minister answere one another by course. For the singing of Psalmes by course, and side after side, although it be very ancient, yet it is not commendable, and so much the more to bee suspected, for that the Deuill hath gone about to get it so great authoritie, partly by deriuing it from *Ignatius* time, and partly in making the world beleeue that this came from heauen, and that the Angels were heard to sing after this sort. Which as it is a meere fable, so is it confuted by Historiographers, whereof some ascribe the beginning of this to *Damasus*, some other vnto *Flauianus* and *Diodorus*. *T. C. lib. 1. pag. 203.*

39 And if the Prophet *Dauid* did thinke that the very meeting of men together, and their accompanying one another to the house of God, should make the bond of their loue insoluble, and tye them in a league of inuiolable amitie, *Psal.* 54.14. how much more may we iudge it reasonable to hope, that the like effects may grow in each of the people towards other, in them all towards their Pastor, and in their Pastor towards euery of them, betweene whom there daily and interchangeably passe in the hearing of God himselfe, and in the presence of his holy Angels so many heauenly Acclamations, Exultations, Prouocations, Petitions, Songs of cõfort, Psalmes of praise & thanksgiuing, in all which particulars, as when the Pastor maketh their sutes, and they with one voice testifie a generall assent thereunto; or when hee ioyfully beginneth, and they with like alacritie follow, diuiding betwen them the Sentences wherwith they striue, which shall most shew his owne, and stir vp others zeale to the glorie of that God whose name they magnifie; or when hee proposeth vnto God their necessities, and they their owne requests for relicfe in euery of them; or when he lifteth vp his voice like a trumpet, to proclaime vnto them the Lawes of God, they adioyning, though not as *Israel* did, by way of generalitie a cheerfull promise, b *All that the Lord hath commanded we will doe*, yet that which God doth no lesse approue, that which sauoureth more of meekenesse, that which testifieth rather a feeling knowledge of our common imbecillitie, vnto the seuerall branches thereof, seuerall, lowly, and humble requests for grace at the mercifull hands of God, to performe the thing which is commanded; or when they wish reciprocally each others ghostly happinesse; or when he by exhortation raiseth them vp, and they by protestation of their readinesse declare, he speaketh not in vaine vnto them; these interlocutorie formes of speech what are they else but most effectuall, partly testifications, and partly inflammations of all pietie? When and how this custome of singing by course came vp in the Church, it is not certaynely knowne. c *Socrates* maketh *Ignatius* the Bishop

b *Exod.* 19. 8. 24.3. *Deuter.* 5.27. 26.17. *Iosh.* 24.16.

c *Socrat. Hist. Eccles. l. 6. c. 8.*

Biſhop of Antioch in Syria the firſt beginner thereof, euen vnder the Apoſtles themſelues. But againſt *Socrates* they ſet the authoritie of [a] *Theodoret*, who draweth the originall of it from Antioch as *Socrates* doth; howbeit aſcribing the inuention to others, *Flauian*, and *Diodore*, men which conſtantly ſtood in defence of the Apoſtolike faith, againſt the Biſhop of that Church, *Leontius*, a fauourer of the Arrians. Againſt both *Socrates* and *Theodoret*, [b] *Platina* is brought as a witneſſe, to teſtifie that *Damaſus* Biſhop of Rome began it in his time. Of the Latine Church it may be true which *Platina* ſaith. And therefore the eldeſt of that Church which maketh any mention thereof, is [c] Saint *Ambroſe*, Biſhop of Millan at the ſame time when *Damaſus* was of Rome. Amongſt the Grecians [d] Saint *Baſil* hauing brought it into his Church before they of Neocæſarea vſed it, *Sabellius* the Heretike and *Marcellus* tooke occaſion thereat to incenſe the Churches againſt him, as being an author of new deuices in the ſeruice of God. Whereupon, to auoid the opinion of noueltie and ſingularitie, hee alleageth for that which himſelfe did, the example of the Churches of Egypt, Libya, Thebes, Paleſtina, Thrarabians, Phenicians, Syrians, Meſopotamians, and in a manner all that reuerenced the cuſtome of ſinging Pſalmes together. If the Syrians had it then before *Baſil*, Antioch the Mother-Church of thoſe parts muſt needes haue vſed it before *Baſil*, and conſequently before *Damaſus*. The queſtion is then how long before, and whether ſo long that *Ignatius*, or as ancient as *Ignatius*, may bee probably thought the firſt Inuenters. *Ignatius* in *Traianes* dayes ſuffered Martyrdome. And [e] of the Churches in Pontus and Bithynia to *Traiane* the Emperor his owne Vicegerent there affirmeth, that the onely crime hee knew of them, was, they vſed to meete together at a certayne day, and to praiſe Chriſt with Hymnes as a God, *ſecum inuicem*, one to another amongſt themſelues. Which for any thing we know to the contrarie, might be the ſelfe-ſame forme which *Philo Iudæus* expreſſeth, declaring how the Eſſens were accuſtomed with Hymnes and Pſalmes to honour God, ſometime all exalting their voyces together in one, and ſometime one part anſwering another, wherein, as hee thought, they ſwarued not much from the patterne of *Moſes* and [f] *Miriam*. Whether *Ignatius* did at any time heare the Angels praiſing God after that ſort, or no, what matter is it? If *Ignatius* did not, yet one which muſt be with vs of greater authoritie, did. [g] *I ſaw the Lord* (ſaith the Prophet *Eſay*) *on an high Throne, the Seraphims ſtood vpon it*, one cryed to another, *ſaying, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoſts, the whole world is full of his glorie.* But whoſoeuer were the Author, whatſoeuer the Time, whenceſoeuer the Example of beginning this cuſtome in the Church of Chriſt, ſith wee are wont to ſuſpect things onely before triall, and afterwards either to approue them as good, or if we finde them euill, accordingly to iudge of them, their counſell muſt needs ſeeme very vnſeaſonable, who aduiſe men now to ſuſpect that wherewith the world hath had by their owne account twelue hundreth yeeres acquaintance and vpwards, enough to take away ſuſpicion and iealouſie. Men know by this time if euer they will know, whether it be good or euill which hath been ſo long retayned. As for the Deuill, which way it ſhould greatly benefit him to haue this manner of ſinging Pſalmes accounted an inuention of *Ignatius*, or an imitation

a *Theod. lib. 2. cap. 24.*

b *Plat. in vita Damaſi.*

c *Bene mari plerunq; comparatur Eccleſia, quæ primo ingredientis populi agmine totis veſtibulis undas vomit; deinde in oratione totius plebis tanquam vndis refluentib⁹ ſtridet, tum reſponſorys Pſalmorum, cantu virorum, mulierum, virginum, parunlorum conſonus vndarum fragor reſultat.* Hexam. l. 2. c. 5.

d *Baſil. Epiſt. 63.*

e *Plin. ſecund. Epiſt.*

f *Exod. 15. 1. 21*

g *Eſa. 6. 3.*

imitation of the Angels of heauen wee doe not well vnderſtand. But wee very well ſee in them who thus pleade, a wonderfull celeritie of diſcourſe. For perceiuing at the firſt but onely ſome cauſe of ſuſpicion, and feare leſt it ſhould bee euill, they are preſently in one and the ſelfe-ſame breath reſolued, that [a] *what beginning ſoeuer it had, there is no poſsibilitie it ſhould be good.* The potent arguments which did thus ſuddainely breake in vpon them & ouercome them are firſt, that it is not vnlawfull for the people all ioyntly to praiſe God in ſinging of Pſalmes: ſecondly, that they are not any where forbidden by the Law of God to ſing euery Verſe of the whole Pſalme, both with heart and voice quite and cleane throughout: thirdly, that it cannot be vnderſtood what is ſung after our manner. Of which three, for as much as lawfulneſſe to ſing one way, proueth not another way inconuenient, the former two are true allegations, but they lack ſtrength to accompliſh their deſire; the third ſo ſtrong that it might perſwade, if the truth thereof were not doubtfull. And ſhall this enforce vs to baniſh a thing which all Chriſtian Churches in the world haue receiued; a thing which ſo many ages haue held; a thing which the moſt approued Councels and Lawes haue ſo oftentimes ratified; a thing which was neuer found to haue any inconuenience in it; a thing which alwayes heretofore the beſt men and wiſeſt Gouernors of Gods people did thinke they could neuer commend enough; a thing which as *Baſil* was perſwaded, did both ſtrengthen the Meditation of thoſe holy wordes which were vttered in that ſort, and ſerue alſo to make attentiue, and to raiſe vp the hearts of men; a thing whereunto Gods people of old did reſort with hope and thirſt, that thereby eſpecially their ſoules might be edified; a thing which filleth the minde with comfort and heauenly delight, ſtirreth vp flagrant deſires and affections correſpondent vnto that which the words contayne, allayeth all kinde of baſe and earthly cogitations, baniſheth and driueth away thoſe euill ſecret ſuggeſtions which our inuiſible Enemie is alwayes apt to miniſter, watreth the heart to the end it may fructifie, maketh the vertuous in trouble full of magnanimitie and courage, ſerueth as a moſt approued remedie againſt all dolefull and heauie accidents which befall men in this preſent life; to conclude, ſo fitly accordeth with the Apoſtles owne exhortation,* *Speake to your ſelues in Pſalmes and Hymnes, and ſpirituall Songs, making melodie, and ſinging to the Lord in your hearts*, that ſurely there is more cauſe to feare leſt the want thereof be a mayme, then the vſe a blemiſh to the ſeruice of God? It is not our meaning, that what we attribute vnto the Pſalmes, ſhould be thought to depend altogether on that only forme of ſinging or reading them by courſe, as with vs the manner is; but the end of our ſpeech is to ſhew, that becauſe the Fathers of the Church, with whom the ſelfe-ſame cuſtome was ſo many Ages agoe in vſe, haue vttered all theſe things concerning the fruit which the Church of God did then reape, obſeruing that and no other forme, it may bee iuſtly anouched that wee our ſelues retayning it, and beſides it alſo the other more newly & not vnfruitfully deuiſed,

* *Epheſ.* 5. 19.

a From whence ſoeuer it came, it cannot be good, conſidering that when it is granted that all the People may prayſe God (as it is in ſinging of Pſalmes) then this ought not to bee reſtrayned vnto a few; and where it is lawfull both with heart and voice to ſing the whole Pſalme, there it is not meete that they ſhould ſing but the one halfe with their heart and voice, and the other with their heart onely. For where they may both with heart and voice ſing, there the heart is not enough. Therefore beſides the incommoditie which commeth this way, in that being toſſed after this ſort, men cannot vnderſtand what is ſung, thoſe other two inconueniences come of this forme of ſinging, and therefore it is baniſhed in all reformed Churches. *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 203.

deuiſed, doe neither want that good which the later inuention can affoord, nor loſe any thing of that for which the Ancient ſo oft and ſo highly commend the former. Let noueltie therefore in this giue ouer endleſſe contradictions, and let ancient cuſtome preuaile.

40 We haue alreadie giuen cauſe ſufficient for the great conueniencie and vſe of reading the Pſalmes oftner then other Scriptures. Of reading or ſinging likewiſe *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis*, oftner then the reſt of the Pſalmes, the cauſes are no whit leſſe reaſonable, ſo that if the one may very well monethly, the other may as well euen daily be iterated. They are Songs which concerne vs ſo much more then the Songs of *Dauid*, as the Goſpell toucheth vs more then the Law, the new Teſtament then the Old. And if the Pſalmes, for the excellency of their vſe, deſerue to be oftner repeated then they are, but that the multitude of them permitteth not any oftner repetition, what diſorder is it if theſe few Euangelicall Hymnes which are in no reſpect leſſe worthy, and may bee by reaſon of their paucitie imprinted with much more eaſe in all mens memories, be for that cauſe euery day rehearſed? In our owne behalfe it is conuenient and orderly enough, that both they and wee make day by day prayers and ſupplications the very ſame; why not as fit and conuenient to magnifie the name of God day by day with certayne the very ſelfe-ſame Pſalmes of praiſe and thankſgiuing? Either let them not allow the one, or elſe ceaſe to reproue the other. For the ancient receiued vſe of intermingling Hymnes and Pſalmes with diuine readings, enough hath beene written. And if any may fitly ſerue vnto that purpoſe, how ſhould it better haue been deuiſed, then that a competent number of the Old being firſt read, theſe of the New ſhould ſucceede in the place where now they are ſet? In which place notwithſtanding there is ioyned with *Benedictus* the hundreth Pſalme; with *Magnificat*, the ninetie eight; the ſixtie ſeuenth with *Nunc dimittis*, and in euery of them the choice left free for the Miniſter to vſe indifferently the one or the other. Seeing therefore they pretend no quarrell at other Pſalmes, which are in like manner appointed alſo to bee daily read, why doe theſe ſo much offend and diſpleaſe their taſte? They are the firſt gratulations wherewith our Lord and Sauiour was ioyfully receiued at his entrance into the World, by ſuch as in their hearts, armes, and very bowels embraced him; being propheticall diſcoueries of Chriſt alreadie preſent, whoſe future comming the other Pſalmes did but fore-ſignifie; they are againſt the obſtinate incredulitie of the Iewes, the moſt luculent teſtimonies that Chriſtian Religion hath; yea the onely ſacred Hymnes they are that Chriſtianitie hath peculiar vnto it ſelfe, the other being Songs too of praiſe and thankſgiuing, but Songs wherewith as wee ſerue God, ſo the Iew likewiſe. And whereas they tell vs theſe Songs were fit for that purpoſe, when *Simeon* and *Zacharie*, and the bleſſed *Virgin* vttered them, but cannot ſo bee to vs which haue not receiued like benefit; ſhould they not remember how expreſſely *Ezechias* amongſt many other good things is commended for this alſo, * that the praiſes of God were through his appointment daily ſet forth, by vſing in publique diuine Seruice the Songs of *Dauid* and *Aſaph* vnto that very end? Either there wanted wiſe men to giue *Ezechias* aduice, and to informe him of that which in his caſe was as true as it is in

Of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis*.

These thankeſgiuings were made by occaſion of certayn particular benefits, and are no more to be vſed for ordinarie prayers, then the *Aue Maria*. So that both for this cauſe and the other before alleaged of the Pſalmes, it is not cõuenient to make ordinarie prayers of them. *T.C. l.3. p.208.*

* *1.Chron.29.30*

in ours, namely, that without ſome inconuenience and diſorder hee could not appoint thoſe Pſalmes to bee vſed as ordinarie Prayers, ſeeing that although they were Songs of thankſgiuing, ſuch as *Dauid* and *Aſaph* had ſpeciall occaſion to vſe, yet not ſo the whole Church and People afterwards whom like occaſions did not befall: or elſe *Ezechias* was perſwaded as we are, that the prayſes of God in the mouthes of his Saints, are not ſo reſtrayned to their owne particular, but that others may both conueniently and fruitfully vſe them; firſt, becauſe the myſticall communion of all faithfull men is ſuch as maketh euery one to be intereſſed in thoſe precious bleſſings, which any one of them receiueth at Gods hands: ſecondly, becauſe when any thing is ſpoken to extoll the goodneſſe of God whoſe mercy indureth for euer, albeit the very particular occaſion whereupon it riſeth doe come no more, yet the Fountayne continuing the ſame, and yeelding other new effects which are but only in ſome ſort proportionable, a ſmall reſemblance betweene the benefits which we and others haue receiued, may ſerue to make the ſame wordes of praiſe and thankſgiuing fit, though not equally in all circumſtances fit for both, a cleere demonſtration whereof wee haue in all the auncient Fathers Commentaries and Meditations vpon the Pſalmes: laſt of all, becauſe euen when there is not as much as the ſhew of any reſemblance, neuertheleſſe by often vſing their wordes in ſuch manner, our mindes are daily more and more inured with their affections.

Of the Letanie.

41 The publike eſtate of the Church of God amongſt the Iewes hath had many rare and extraordinarie occurrents, which alſo were occaſions of ſundrie [a] open ſolemnities and offices, whereby the people did with generall conſent make ſhew of correſpondent affection towards God. The like dueties appeare vſuall in the ancient Church of Chriſt, by that which [b] *Tertullian* ſpeaketh of Chriſtian women matching themſelues with Infidels. *She cannot content the Lord with performance of his diſcipline, that hath at her ſide a vaſſall whom Satan hath made his viceagent to croſſe whatſoeuer the faithfull ſhould doe. If her preſence be required at the time of Station or ſtanding prayer, he chargeth her at no time but that to bee with him in his bathes; if a faſting day come, he hath on that day a banquet to make; if there be cauſe for the Church to goe forth in ſolemne Proceſſion, his whole familie haue ſuch buſineſſe come vpon them that no one can be ſpared.* Theſe *Proceſſions*, at it ſeemeth, were firſt begun for the interring of holy Martyrs, and the viſiting of thoſe places where they were intombed. Which thing the name it ſelfe applyed by [c] Heathens vnto the office of exequies, and partly the ſpeeches of ſome of the ancient

Wee pray for the auoiding of thoſe dangers which are nothing neere vs, as from Lightning and Thundring in the midſt of Winter, from Storme and Tempeſt when the weather is moſt faire and the Seas moſt calme. It is true that vpon ſome vrgent calamitie a prayer may and ought to be framed, which may beg either the commoditie for want whereof the Church is in diſtreſſe, or the turning away of that miſchiefe which either approcheth or is alreadie vpon it: but to make thoſe prayers which are for the preſent time and danger, ordinarie and daily prayers, I cannot hitherto ſee any either Scripture or example of the Primitiue Church. And here for the ſimples ſake I will ſet downe after what ſort this abuſe crept into the Church. There was one *Mamercus* Biſhop of Vienna, which in the time of great earthquakes, which were in France, inſtituted certaine ſupplications, which the Grecians, and we of them, call the Letanie, which concerned that matter: there is no doubt, but as other diſcommodities roſe in other Countries, they likewiſe had praiers accordingly. Now Pope *Gregorie* either made himſelfe, or gathered the ſupplications that were made againſt the calamities of euery Countrie, and made of them a great Letanie or Supplication, as *Platina* calleth it, and gaue it to be vſed in all Churches: which thing albeit all Churches might doe for the time, in reſpect of the caſe of the calamitie which the Churches ſuffered, yet there is no cauſe why it ſhould be perpetuall that was ordayned but for a time, and why all Lands ſhould pray to be deliuered from the incommodities that ſome Land hath beene troubled with. *T.C. lib.1. pag.137.* a *Exod.15.20. Wiſd. 10.20. 2.Sam.6.2. 1 Chron.13.5. 2.Chron.20.3. Ioel 2.15.* b *Tertull.l.2. ad Vxor.* c *Terent. And.*

ancient deliuered concerning [a] Chriſtian proceſſions, partly alſo the very droſſe which ſuperſtition thereunto added, I meane, the cuſtome of inuocating Saints in proceſſions heretofore vſuall, doe ſtrongly inſinuate. And as things inuented to one purpoſe are by vſe eaſily conuerted to [b] more, it grew that ſupplications with this ſolemnitie for the appeaſing of Gods wrath, and the auerting of publique euils, were of the Greeke Church termed [c] *Litanies*, *Rogations*, of the Latine. To the people of *Vienna*, (*Marmercus* being their Biſhop about 450. yeeres after Chriſt) there befell many things, the ſuddaineſſe and ſtrangeneſſe whereof ſo amazed the hearts of all men, that the City they began to forſake as a place which heauen did threaten with imminent ruine. It beſeemed not the perſon of ſo graue a Prelate to be either vtterly without counſell as the reſt were, or in a common perplexitie to ſhew himſelfe alone ſecure. Wherefore as many as remained, he earneſtly exhorteth to preuent portended calamities, vſing thoſe vertuous and holy meanes wherewith others in like caſe haue preuailed with God. To which purpoſe hee perfecteth the *Rogations* or *Litanies* before in vſe, and addeth vnto them that which the preſent neceſſity required. Their good ſucceſſe mooued [d] *Sidonius* Biſhop of *Aruerna* to vſe the ſame ſo corrected *Rogations* at ſuch time as hee and his people were after afflicted with famine, and beſieged with potent aduerſaries. For till the emptie name of the Empire came to be ſettled in *Charles* the great, the fall of the Romans huge dominion concurring with other vniuerſall euils, cauſed thoſe times to be dayes of much affliction and trouble throughout the world. So that *Rogations* or *Litanies* were then the very ſtrength, ſtay and comfort of Gods Church. Wherupon in the yeere fiue hundred and ſix it was by the [e] Councill of *Aurelia* decreed, that the whole Church ſhould beſtow yeerely at the feaſt of Pentecoſt three dayes in that kind of proceſſionary ſeruice. About halfe an hundreth yeeres after, to the end that the Latine Churches which all obſerued this cuſtome, might not vary in the order and forme of thoſe great *Litanies* which were ſo ſolemnely euery where exerciſed, it was thought conuenient by *Gregorie* the firſt and the beſt of that name, to draw the flower of them all into one. But this iron began at the length to gather ruſt. Which thing the [f] *Synod* of *Colen* ſaw, and in part redreſt within that Prouince, neither denying the neceſſary vſe for which ſuch *Litanies* ſerue, wherein Gods clemency and mercy is deſired by publique ſute, to the end that plagues, deſtructions, calamities, famines, warres, and all other the like aduerſities which for our manifold ſinnes we haue alwayes cauſe to feare, may bee turned away from vs and preuented through his grace; nor yet diſſembling the great abuſe whereunto as ſundry other things, ſo this had growne by mens improbitie and malice, to whome that which was deuiſed for the appeaſing of Gods diſpleaſure, gaue opportunitie of committing things which iuſtly kindled his wrath. For remedie whereof it was then thought better, that theſe and all other ſupplications or proceſſions ſhould be no where vſed but only within the walles of the houſe of God, the place ſanctified vnto prayer. And by vs not onely ſuch inconueniences being remedied, but alſo whatſoeuer was otherwiſe amiſſe in forme or matter, it now remayneth a worke, the abſolute perfection whereof vpbraydeth with error or ſomewhat worſe, them whom in all parts it doth not ſatisfie.

[a] *Hieron. Epiſt. 22. ad Euſt. Martyres tibi quærantur in cubiculo tuo.*

[b] *Nunquam cauſa deerit procedendi ſi ſemper quando neceſſe eſt progreſſura ſis.*

[c] *Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 8. Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 8. Theod. lib. 16. lib. 30. Lib. 3. cap. 10. Nouel. 68. 51. Baſil Epiſt. 63. Niceph. lib. 14. ca. 3. Cedren. in Theodoſ.*

[d] *Sidon. lib. 7. Epiſt. 1.*

[e] *Concil. to. 2. pa. 513.*

[f] *Concil. to. 5. an. 1536.*

As therefore Letanies haue beene of longer continuance then that we ſhould make either *Gregorie* or *Mamercus* the authour of them, ſo they are of more permanent vſe then that now the Church ſhould thinke it needeth them not. What dangers at any time are imminent, what euils hang ouer our heads, God doth know and not wee. We finde by daily experience, that thoſe calamities may be neereſt at hand, readieſt to breake in ſuddainely vpon vs, which wee in regard of times or circumſtances may imagine to be fartheſt off. Or if they doe not in deede approch, yet ſuch miſeries as being preſent all men are apt to bewaile with teares, the wiſe by their prayers ſhould rather preuent. Finally if we for our ſelues had a priuiledge of immunitie, doth not true Chriſtian Charitie require that whatſoeuer any part of the world, yea any one of all our brethren elſewhere doth either ſuffer or feare, the ſame we accompt as our owne burthen? What one petition is there found in the whole *Letanie*, whereof wee ſhall euer be able at any time to ſpie that no man liuing needeth the grace or benefit therein craued at Gods hands? I am not able to expreſſe how much it doth grieue me, that things of principall excellencie ſhould be thus bitten at, by men whome God hath indued with graces both of wit and learning for better purpoſes.

Of *Athanaſius* Creede, and *Gloria Patri*.

42 Wee haue from the Apoſtles of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt receiued that briefe Confeſſion of faith, which hath beene alwayes a badge of the Church, a marke whereby to diſcerne Chriſtian men from Infidels and Iewes. [a] *This faith receyued from the Apoſtles and their Diſciples* (ſayth *Irenæus*) *the Church though diſperſed throughout the world, doth notwithſtanding keepe as ſafe as if it dwelt within the walles of ſome one houſe, and as vniformely hold, as if it had but one onely heart and ſoule; this as conſonantly it preacheth, teacheth, and deliuereth, as if but one tongue did ſpeake for all. As one Sunne ſhineth to the whole world, ſo there is no faith but this one publiſhed, the brightneſſe whereof muſt enlighten all that come to the knowledge of the truth.* [b] *This rule* (ſayth *Tertullian*) *Chriſt did inſtitute, the ſtreame and current of this rule haue gone as farre, it hath continued as long as the very promulgation of the Goſpell.* [c] Vnder *Conſtantine* the Emperour, about three hundreth yeeres and vpward after Chriſt, *Arrius* a Prieſt in the Church of *Alexandria*, a ſuttle-witted and a maruellous faire-ſpoken man, but diſcontented that one ſhould bee placed before him in honor, whoſe ſuperiour hee thought himſelfe in deſert, became through enuie and ſtomacke prone vnto contradiction, and bold to broch at the length that hereſie wherein the deitie of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt conteined, but not opened in the former Creed, the coequalitie and coeternitie of the Sonne with the Father was denyed. Being for this impietie depriued of his place by the Biſhop of the ſame Church, the puniſhment which ſhould haue reformed him, did but increaſe his obſtinacie, and giue him occaſion of labouring with greater earneſtneſſe elſewhere, to intangle vnwarie mindes with the ſnares of his damnable opinion. *Arrius* in ſhort time had woon to himſelfe a number both of followers and of great defenders, whereupon much diſquietneſſe on all ſides enſued. The Emperour, to reduce the Church of Chriſt vnto the vnitie of ſound beliefe, when other meanes, whereof triall was firſt made, tooke no effect, gathered that famous aſſemblie of 318. Biſhops

a *Irenæ. l. 1. c. 3.*
b *Tertul. de præſcr. aduerſ. hæret. & aduerſ. Prax.*
c The like may be ſaid of the *Gloria patri*, and the *Athanaſius* Creede. It was firſt brought into the Church, to the end that men thereby ſhould make an open profeſſion in the Church of the Diuinitie of the Sonne of God againſt the deteſtable opinion of *Arius* and his Diſciples, wherewith at that time maruellouſly ſwarmed almoſt the whole Chriſtendom. Now that it hath pleaſed the lord to quench that fire, there is no ſuch cauſe why theſe things ſhould be vſed in the Church, at the leaſt why that *Gloria patri* ſhould be ſo often repeated. *T. C. l. 1. p. 137.*

in

in the Councell of *Nice*, where beſides order taken for many things which ſeemed to neede redreſſe, there was with common conſent for the ſettling of all mens mindes, that other Confeſſion of faith ſet downe which wee call the Nicene Creede, whereunto the Arrians themſelues which were preſent ſubſcribed alſo: not that they meant ſincerely, and indeede to forſake their errour, but onely to eſcape depriuation and exile which they ſaw they could not auoid, openly perſiſting in their former opinions when the greater part had concluded againſt them, and that with the Emperours royall aſſent. Reſeruing therefore themſelues vnto future oportunities, and knowing that it would not boote them to ſtirre againe in a matter ſo compoſed, vnleſſe they could draw the Emperour firſt, and by his meanes the chiefeſt Biſhops vnto their part, till *Conſtantines* death and ſomewhat after they alwayes profeſſed loue and zeale to the Nicene faith, yet ceaſed not in the meane while to ſtrengthen that part which in heart they fauoured, and to infeſt by all meanes vnder colour of other quarrels their greateſt aduerſaries in this cauſe: amongſt them *Athanaſius* eſpecially, whom by the ſpace of 46. yeeres, from the time of his conſecration to ſucceede *Alexander* Archbiſhop in the Church of *Alexandria*, till the laſt houre of his life in this world, they neuer ſuffered to inioy the comfort of a peaceable day. The heart of *Conſtantine* ſtolne from him. *Conſtantius Conſtantines* ſucceſſor, his ſcourge and torment by all the wayes that malice armed with ſoueraigne authoritie could deuiſe and vſe. Vnder *Iulian* no reſt giuen him. And in the dayes of *Valentinian* as little. Crimes there were laid to his charge many, the leaſt whereof being iuſt, had bereaued him of eſtimation and credit with men while the world ſtandeth. His Iudges euermore the ſelfeſame men by whome his accuſers were ſuborned. Yet the iſſue alwayes on their part ſhame; on his, triumph. Thoſe Biſhops and Prelates, who ſhould haue accompted his cauſe theirs, and could not many of them but with bleeding hearts and with wayred cheekes behold a perſon of ſo great place and woorth conſtrayned to indure ſo foule indignities, were ſure by bewraying their affection towards him, to bring vpon themſelues thoſe moleſtations, whereby if they would not be drawne to ſeeme his aduerſaries, yet others ſhould be taught how vnſafe it was to continue his friends. Whereupon it came to paſſe in the end, that (verie few excepted) all became ſubiect to the ſway of time; other oddes there was none amongſt them, ſauing onely that ſome fell ſooner away, ſome later from the ſoundneſſe of beliefe; ſome were leaders in the hoſt of impietie, and the reſt as common ſouldiours, either yeelding through feare, or brought vnder with penurie, or by flatterie inſnared, or elſe beguiled through ſimplicitie, which is the faireſt excuſe that well may be made for them. Yea (that which all men did wonder at) *Oſius* the ancienteſt Biſhop that Chriſtendome then had, the moſt forward in defence of the Catholique cauſe, and of the contrary part moſt feared, that very *Oſius* with whoſe hand the Nicene Creede it ſelfe was ſet downe and framed for the whole Chriſtian world to ſubſcribe vnto, ſo farre yeelded in the end, as euen with the ſame hand to ratifie the Arrians confeſſion, a thing which they neither hoped to ſee, nor the other part euer feared, till with amazement they ſaw it done. Both were perſwaded, that although there had beene for

Osius no way but either presently subscribe or die, his answer and choice would haue beene the same that [a] *Eleazars* was, *It doth not become our age to dissemble, whereby many young persons might thinke, that* [b] OSIVS *an hundred yeeres old and vpward, were now gone to another Religion, and so through mine hypocrisie [for a little time of transitorie life] they might be deceiued by mee, and I procure malediction and reproch to my old age. For though I were now deliuered from the torments of men, yet could I not escape the hand of the Almightie, neither aliue nor dead.* But such was the streame of those times, that all men gaue place vnto it, which wee cannot but impute partly to their owne ouersight. For at the first the Emperour was theirs, the determination of the Councell of Nice was for them, they had the *Arrians* hands to that Councell. So great aduantages are neuer changed so farre to the contrarie, but by great errour. It plainely appeareth that the first thing which weakned them, was their securitie. Such as they knew were in heart still affected towards *Arrianisme*, they suffered by continuall neereneſſe to possesse the mindes of the greatest about the Emperour, which themselues might haue done with very good acceptation, and neglected it. In *Constantines* life-time to haue settled *Constantius*, the same way had beene a dutie of good seruice towards God, a meane of peace and great quietnesse to the Church of Christ, a labour easie, and how likely wee make coniecture, when after that so much paine was taken to instruct and strengthen him in the contrary course, after that so much was done by himselfe to the furtherance of heresie, yet being touched in the end voluntarily with remorse, nothing more grieued him then the memorie of former proceedings in the cause of Religion, and that which he now foresaw in *Iulian*, the next Phisicion into whose hands the body that was thus distempered must fall. Howbeit this wee may somewhat excuse, in as much as euerie mans particular care to his owne charge was such, as gaue them no leasure to heede what others practised in Princes Courts. But of the two Synods of Arimine and Seleucia, what should wee thinke? *Constantius* by the *Arrians* suggestion had deuised to assemble all the Bishops of the whole world about this controuersie, but in two seuerall places the Bishops of the West at Arimine in Italie, the Easterne at Seleucia the same time. Amongst them of the East there was no stop, they agreed without any great adoe, gaue their sentence against heresie, excommunicated some chiefe maintainers thereof, and sent the Emperour word what was done. They had at Arimine about foure hundreth which held the truth, scarce of the aduerse part foure score, but these obstinate, and the other wearie of contending with them: whereupon by both it was resolued to send to the Emperour such as might informe him of the cause, and declare what hindered their peaceable agreement. There are chosen [c] for the Catholique side such men as had in them nothing to bee noted but boldnesse, neither grauitie, nor learning, nor wisedome. The *Arrians* for the credit of their faction take the eldest, the best experienced, the most wary and the longest practised *Veterans* they had amongst them. The Emperour coniecturing of the rest on either part by the qualitie of them whom hee saw, sent them speedily away, and with them a certaine Confession of

a 2. *Mac.* 6. 24.

b *Maior centenario. Sulpit. Seuer. hist. lib.* 2.

c *Ex parte nostra leguntur homines adolescentes, parum docti & parum cauti. Ab* Arrianis *autem missi senes callidi, & ingenio valentes veterno perfidiæ imbuti, qui apud regem facile superiores extiterunt.* Sulpit. lib. 2.

faith

faith ambiguouſly and ſubtilly drawne by the *Arrians*, whereunto vnleſſe they all ſubſcribed, they ſhould in no caſe bee ſuffered to depart from the place where they were. At the length it was perceiued, that there had not beene in the Catholiques either at Arimine, or at Seleucia ſo much foreſight, as to prouide that true intelligence might paſſe betweene them what was done. Vpon the aduantage of which errour, their aduerſaries abuſing each with perſwaſion that other had yeelded, ſurprized both. The Emperour the more deſirous and glad of ſuch euents, for that, beſides all other things wherein they hindred themſelues, the gall and bitterneſſe of certaine mens writings, who ſpared him little for honours ſake, made him for their ſakes the leſſe inclinable to that truth, which hee himſelfe ſhould haue honoured and loued. Onely in *Athanaſius* there was nothing obſerued throughout the courſe of that long tragedie, other then ſuch as very well became a wiſeman to doe, and a righteous to ſuffer. So that this was the plaine condition of thoſe times, the whole world againſt *Athanaſius*, and *Athanaſius* againſt it; halfe an hundred of yeeres ſpent in doubtfull tryall which of the two in the end would preuaile, the ſide which had all, or elſe the part which had no friend but God and death, the one a defender of his innocencie, the other a finiſher of all his troubles. Now although theſe contentions were cauſe of much euill, yet ſome good the Church hath reaped by them, in that they occaſioned the learned and ſound in faith to explaine ſuch things as hereſie went about to depraue. And in this reſpect the Creed of *Athanaſius* firſt exhibited vnto *Iulius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and afterwards (as we may probably gather) ſent to the Emperour *Iouinian*, for his more full information concerning that truth which *Arrianiſme* ſo mightily did impugne, was both in the Eaſt and the Weſt Churches accepted as a treaſure of ineſtimable price, [b] by as many as had not giuē vp euen the very ghoſt of belief. Then was the Creed of *Athanaſius* written, howbeit not then ſo expedient to be publikely vſed as now in the Church of God, becauſe while the heat of diuiſion laſteth, truth it ſelfe induring oppoſition, doth not ſo quietly and currantly paſſe throughout all mens hands, neither can bee of that accompt which afterwards it hath, when the world once perceiueth the vertue thereof not only in it ſelfe, but alſo by the conqueſt which God hath giuē it ouer hereſie. That which hereſie did by ſiniſter interpretations goe about to peruert in the firſt and moſt ancient Apoſtolike Creed, the ſame being by ſingular dexteritie and plainneſſe cleered from thoſe hereticall corruptions, partly by this Creed of *Athanaſius*, written about the yeere three hundred and forty, and partly by [c] that other ſet downe in the Synod of *Conſtantinople* forty yeeres after, comprehending together with the *Nicene* Creed an addition of other articles which the *Nicene* Creed omitted, becauſe the controuerſie then in hand needed no mention to bē made of them; theſe Catholique declarations of our beliefe deliuered by them which were ſo much neerer then we are vnto the firſt publication thereof, and continuing needfull for all men at all times to know, theſe Confeſſions as teſtimonies of our continuance in the ſame faith to this preſent day, wee rather vſe then any other gloſſe or paraphraſe deuiſed by our ſelues, which though it were to the ſame effect, notwithſtanding could not bee of the like authoritie and credit. For that of [d] *Hillary* vnto S. *Auguſtine* hath beene euer, and is like-

Eiſdemque conſcripta ab improbis fidem tradit verbis fallentibus inuoluitum quæ Catholicam diſciplinam perfidia latente lacereturr. Ibid.

b Ταύτλω μοὶ δοκῶσιν ἀιδόυμενοι τλὼ ὁμολογίαν ὁὶ τε τῆς ἑσπερίας, χ̓ ἡς ἑώας ἴσον βιώσιμον. Greg. Naz. de Athana.

c That Creed which in the booke of common Prayer followeth immediatly after the reading of the Gospell.

d *Hilar. Arola. Epiſt. ad Auguſt.*

ly to be alwayes true, *Your moſt religious wiſedome knoweth how great their number is in the Church of God, whom the very authoritie of mens names doth keepe in that opinion which they hold alreadie, or draw vnto that which they haue not before held.* Touching the Hymne of *Glorie*, our vſuall concluſion to Pſalmes, the [a] glory of all things is that wherein their higheſt perfection doth conſiſt: and the glory of God that diuine excellencie whereby hee is eminent aboue all things, his omnipotent, infinite, and eternall being, [b] which Angels and glorified Saints doe intuitiuely behold, wee on earth apprehend principally by faith, in part alſo by that kinde of knowledge which groweth from experience of thoſe effects, the greatneſſe whereof exceedeth the powers and abilities of all creatures both in heauen and earth. God is [c] glorified when ſuch his excellencie aboue all things is with due admiration acknowledged. Which dutifull acknowledgement of Gods excellencie by occaſion of ſpeciall effects, being the very proper ſubiect and almoſt the onely matter purpoſely treated of in all Pſalmes, if that ioyfull Hymne of Glorie haue any vſe in the Church of God, whoſe name wee therewith extoll and magnifie, can wee place it more fitly then where now it ſerueth as a cloze or concluſion to Pſalmes? Neither is the forme thereof newly or vnneceſſarily inuented. *Wee muſt* (ſaith [d] Saint *Baſill*) *as wee haue receiued euen ſo baptize, and as wee baptize euen ſo beleeue, and as we beleeue euen ſo giue glory.* Baptizing wee vſe the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt; Confeſſing the Chriſtian faith we declare our beliefe in the Father, and in the Sonne, and in the Holy Ghoſt; aſcribing glory vnto God, we giue it to the Father, and to the Sonne, and to the Holy Ghoſt. It is ἀπόδειξις τῆς ὀρθῆς φρονήματος, *the token of a true and ſound vnderſtanding* for matter of doctrine about the Trinitie, when in miniſtring Baptiſme, and making confeſſion, and giuing glory, there is a coniunction of all three, and no one of the three ſeuered from the other two. Againſt the *Arrians* affirming the Father to bee greater then the Sonne in honour, excellencie, dignitie, maieſtie, this forme and manner of glorifying God was not at that time firſt begun, but receiued long before, and alleaged at that time as an argument for the truth. [e] *If* (ſayth *Fœbadius*) *there be that inequalitie which they affirme, then doe wee euery day blaſpheme God, when in thankſgiuings and offerings of ſacrifice wee acknowledge thoſe things common to the Father and the Sonne.* The *Arrians* therefore, for that they perceiued how this did preiudice their cauſe, altered the Hymne of Glory, whereupon enſued in the Church of *Antioch* about the yeere 349. that iarre which [f] *Theodoret* and *Sozomen* mention. *In their Quires while they prayſed God together as the manner was, at the end of the Pſalmes which they ſung, it appeared what opinion euery man held, for as much as they glorified ſome the Father,* And *the Sonne,* And *the Holie Ghoſt, ſome the Father* By *the Sonne* In *the Spirit; the one ſort thereby declaring themſelues to embrace the Sonnes equalitie with the Father, as the Councell of Nice had defined, the other ſort againſt the Councell of Nice his inequalitie.* LEONTIVS *their* Biſhop, although an enemie to the better part, yet warie and ſuttle, as in a manner all the heads of the *Arrians* faction were, could at no time be plainely heard to vſe either forme, perhaps leaſt his open contradiction of them whom hee fauoured not might make them the more eager, and by that meane the

a 1. *Cor.* 15. 40. *Exod.* 33. 18. *Hebr.* 1. 3.
b *Math.* 18. 13.
c *Ioſ.* 7. 19. *Pſal.* 22. 23.
d *Baſil. epiſt.* 78.
e *Fœbad. lib. cont. Arria.*
f *Theod. lib.* 2. *Cap.* 24. *Sozomen. lib.* 4. *cap.* 19.

the leſſe apt to be priuatly wonne; or peraduenture for that though he ioyned in opinion with that ſort of *Arrians*, who denyed the Sonne to be equall with the Father, yet from them he diſſented, which thought the Father and the Sonne not onely vnequall, but vnlike, as *Aetius* did vpon a friuolous and falſe ſurmiſe, that becauſe the Apoſtle hath ſayd, [a] *one God of whome, one Lord* by *whome*, [b] *one Spirit in whome*, his different manner of ſpeech doth argue a different nature and being in them of whome hee ſpeaketh: out of which blinde collection, it ſeemeth that this their new deuiſed forme did firſt ſpring. But in truth euen that verie forme which the *Arrians* did then vſe (ſauing that they choſe it to ſerue as their ſpeciall marke of recogniſance, and gaue it ſecretly within themſelues a ſiniſter conſtruction) hath not otherwiſe as much as the ſhew of any thing which ſoundeth towards impietie. For albeit if wee reſpect Gods glory within it ſelfe, it bee the equall right and poſſeſſion of all three, and that without any oddes, any difference, yet touching his manifeſtation thereof vnto vs by continuall effects, and our perpetuall acknowledgement thereof vnto him likewiſe by vertuous offices, doth not euerie tongue both wayes confeſſe, that the brightneſſe of his glorie hath ſpred it ſelfe through-out the world *By* the Miniſterie of his onely begotten Sonne, and is *In* the manifold graces of the Spirit euery way maruellous; againe, that whatſoeuer wee doe to his glorie, it is done *In* the power of the Holie Ghoſt, and made acceptable *By* the merit and mediation of Ieſus Chriſt? So that glorie to the Father *And* the Sonne, or glorie to the Father *By* the Sonne, ſauing onely where euill mindes doe abuſe and peruert moſt holie things, are not elſe the voyces of errour and ſchiſme, but of ſound and ſincere Religion. It hath beene the cuſtome of the Church of Chriſt to end ſometimes prayers, and Sermons alwayes, with words of glory, wherein, as long as the bleſſed Trinitie had due honour, and till *Arrianiſme* had made it a matter of great ſharpneſſe and ſubtiltie of wit to bee a ſound beleeuing Chriſtian, men were not curious what ſyllables or particles of ſpeech they vſed. Vpon which confidence and truſt notwithſtanding, when Saint *Baſil* began to practiſe the like indifferencie, and to conclude publique prayers, glorifying ſometime the Father with the Sonne and the Holy Ghoſt, ſometime the Father by the Sonne in the Spirit, whereas long cuſtome had enured them vnto the former kinde alone, by meanes whereof the later was new and ſtrange in their eares, this needleſſe experiment brought afterwards vpon him a neceſſary labour of excuſing himſelfe to his friends, and maintaining his owne act againſt them, who becauſe the light of his candle too much drowned theirs, were glad to lay hold on ſo colourable matter, and exceeding forward to traduce him as an authour of ſuſpitious innouation. How hath the world forſaken that courſe which it ſometime held? How are the iudgements, hearts and affections of men altered? May we not wonder that a man of *S. Baſils* authoritie and qualitie, an Arch-prelate in the houſe of God, ſhould haue his name farre and wide cald in queſtion, and be driuen to his painefull apologies, to write in his owne defence whole volumes, and yet hardly to obtaine with all his endeuour a pardon, the crime layd againſt him being but onely a change of ſome one or two ſyllables in their vſuall Church-liturgie? It was thought

[a] 1. *Cor.* 8. 6.
[b] 1. *Cor.* 12. 3. 4. 13.

thought in him an vnpardonable offence to alter any thing; in vs as intolerable, that we ſuffer any thing to remaine vnaltered. The very Creed of *Athanaſius* and that ſacred Hymne of glory, then which nothing doth ſound more heauenly in the eares of faithfull men, are now reckoned as ſuperfluities, which wee muſt in any caſe pare away, leſt wee cloy God with too much ſeruice. Is there in that confeſſion of faith any thing which doth not at all times edifie and inſtruct the attentiue hearer? Or is our faith in the bleſſed Trinitie a matter needleſſe to be ſo oftentimes mentioned and opened in the principall part of that dutie which wee owe to God, our publique prayer? Hath the Church of Chriſt from the firſt beginning, by a ſecret vniuerſall inſtinct of Gods good Spirit, alwayes tied it ſelfe to end neither Sermon nor almoſt any ſpeech of moment which hath concerned matters of God, without ſome ſpeciall words of honor and glorie to that Trinitie which we all adore; and is the like concluſion of Pſalmes become now at the length an eye-ſore or a gauling to their eares that heare it? Thoſe flames of *Arrianiſme* they ſay are quenched, which were the cauſe why the Church deuiſed in ſuch ſort to confeſſe and prayſe the glorious Deitie of the Sonne of God. Seeing therefore the ſore is whole, why retayne wee as yet the playſter? When the cauſe why any thing was ordayned doth once ceaſe, the thing it ſelfe ſhould ceaſe with it, that the Church being eaſed of vnprofitable labours, needfull offices may the better bee attended. For the doing of things vnneceſſarie, is many times the cauſe why the moſt neceſſarie are not done. But in this caſe ſo to reaſon will not ſerue their turnes. For firſt the ground whereupon they build, is not certainely their owne, but with ſpeciall limitations. Few things are ſo reſtrayned to any one end or purpoſe, that the ſame being extinct they ſhould forthwith vtterly become fruſtrate. Wiſedome may haue framed one and the ſame thing to ſerue commodiouſly for diuers ends, and of thoſe ends any one be ſufficient cauſe for continuance, though the reſt haue ceaſed, euen as the tongue, which nature hath giuen vs for an inſtrument of ſpeech, is not idle in dumb perſons, becauſe it alſo ſeruеth for taſte. Againe, if time haue worne out, or any other meane altogether taken away what was firſt intended, vſes not thought vpon before may afterwards ſpring vp, and be reaſonable cauſes of retaining that which other conſiderations did formerly procure to be inſtituted. And it commeth ſometime to paſſe, that a thing vnneceſſarie in it ſelfe as touching the whole direct purpoſe whereto it was meant or can bee applied, doth notwithſtanding appeare conuenient to bee ſtill held euen without vſe, leſt by reaſon of that coherence which it hath with ſomewhat moſt neceſſarie, the remoouall of the one ſhould indamage the other, and therefore men which haue cleane loſt the poſſibilitie of ſight, keepe ſtill their eyes nevertheleſſe in the place where nature ſet them. As for theſe two branches whereof our queſtion groweth, *Arrianiſme* was indeede ſome occaſion of the one, but a cauſe of neither, much leſſe the onely intire cauſe of both. For albeit conflict with *Arrians* brought forth the occaſion of writing that Creed, which long after was made a part of the Church-liturgie, as Hymnes and ſentences of glory were a part thereof before; yet cauſe ſufficient there is why both ſhould remaine in vſe, the one as a moſt diuine explication of the chiefeſt articles of our Chriſtian

Chriſtian beliefe, the other as an heauenly acclamation of ioyfull applauſe to his prayſes in whome wee beleeue, neither the one nor the other vnworthy to be heard ſounding as they are in the Church of Chriſt, whether Arrianiſme liue or die. Againſt which poyſon likewiſe if we thinke that the Church at this day needeth not thoſe ancient preſeruatiues, which ages before vs were ſo glad to vſe, wee deceiue our ſelues greatly. The weedes of hereſie being growne vnto ſuch ripeneſſe as that was, doe euen in the very cutting downe ſcatter oftentimes thoſe ſeedes which for a while lie vnſeene and buried in the earth, but afterward freſhly ſpring vp againe no leſſe pernicious then at the firſt. Which thing they very well know, and I doubt not will eaſily confeſſe, who liue to their great, both toile and griefe, where the blaſphemies of *Arrians*, *Samoſatenians*, *Tritheits*, *Eutychians*, and *Macedonians* are renewed by them, who to hatch their hereſie, haue choſen thoſe Churches as fitteſt neſts where *Athanaſius* Creede is not heard; by them I ſay renued, who following the courſe of extreme reformation, were wont in the pride of their owne proceedings to glorie, that whereas *Luther* did but blow away the roofe, and *Zwinglius* batter but the walles of Popiſh ſuperſtition, the laſt and hardeſt worke of all remained, which was, to raze vp the very ground and foundation of Poperie, that doctrine concerning the deitie of Chriſt, which *Satanaſius* (for ſo it pleaſed thoſe impious forſaken miſcreants to ſpeake) hath in this memorable Creede explaned. So manifeſtly true is that which one of the [a] ancients hath concerning Arrianiſme, *Mortuis authoribus huius veneni, ſcelerata tamen eorum doctrina non moritur*, the authours of this venome being dead and gone, their wicked doctrine notwithſtanding continueth.

[a] *Fœbar. contra Arr.*

43 Amongſt the heapes of theſe exceſſes and ſuperfluities there is eſpied the want of a principall part of dutie, *There are no thankſgiuings for the benefits for which there are petitions* in our Booke of prayer. This they haue thought a point materiall to bee obiected. Neither may wee take it in euill part to be admoniſhed what ſpeciall duties of thankfulneſſe wee owe to that mercifull God, for whoſe vnſpeakable graces the only requitall which wee are able to make, is a true, heartie, and ſincere acknowledgement, how precious we eſteeme ſuch benefits receiued, and how infinite in goodneſſe the Authour from whom they come. But that to euery petition wee make for things needfull there ſhould be ſome anſweruble ſentence of thanks prouided particularly to follow ſuch requeſts obteined, either it is not a matter ſo requiſite as they pretend; or if it bee, wherefore haue they not then in ſuch order framed their owne Booke of Common Prayer? Why hath our Lord and Sauiour taught vs a forme of prayer conteyning ſo many petitions of thoſe things which we want, and not deliuered in like ſort as many ſeuerall formes of thankſgiuing, to ſerue when any thing we pray for is granted? What anſwere ſoeuer they can reaſonably make vnto theſe demands, the ſame ſhall diſcouer vnto them how cauſeleſſe a cenſure it is, that there are not in our Booke thankſgiuings for all the benefits for which there are petitions. For concerning the bleſſings of God, whether they tend vnto this life or the life to come, there is great

Our want of particular thankſgiuing. As ſuch prayers are needfull whereby we beg releaſe from our diſtreſſes, ſo there ought to be as neceſſary prayers of thankſgiuing, when wee haue receiued thoſe things at the Lords hand which wee asked. *T.C.lib.1.page* 138. I doe not ſimply require a ſolemne and expreſſe thankſgiuing for ſuch benefits, but onely vpon a ſuppoſition, which is, that if it be expedient that there ſhould be expreſſe prayers againſt ſo many of their earthly miſeries, that then alſo it is meet that vpon the deliuerance there ſhould be an expreſſe thankſgiuing. *T.C.lib.3.page* 209.

great cauſe why wee ſhould delight more in giuing thanks, then in making requeſts for them, in as much as the one hath penſiueneſſe and feare, the other alwayes ioy annexed: the one belongeth vnto them that ſeeke, the other vnto them that haue found happineſſe; they that pray doe but yet ſowe, they that giue thanks declare they haue reaped. Howbeit, becauſe there are ſo many graces whereof we ſtand in continuall neede, graces for which we may not ceaſe daily and hourely to ſue, graces which are in beſtowing alwayes, but neuer come to bee fully had in this preſent life, and therefore when all things heere haue an end, endleſſe thanks muſt haue their beginning in a ſtate which bringeth the full and finall ſatisfaction of all ſuch perpetuall deſires; againe, becauſe our common neceſſities, and the lacke which wee all haue, as well of ghoſtly as of earthly fauours is in each kinde ſo eaſily knowne, but the gifts of God according to thoſe degrees and times which hee in his ſecret wiſedome ſeeth meete, are ſo diuerſly beſtowed, that it ſeldome appeareth what all receiue, what all ſtand in neede of it ſeldome lieth hid, wee are not to maruell though the Church doe oftner concurre in ſutes then in thanks vnto God for particular benefits. Neuertheleſſe, leſt God ſhould bee any way vnglorified, the greateſt part of our daily ſeruice they know conſiſteth according to [a] the bleſſed Apoſtles owne preciſe rule, in much varietie of Pſalmes and Hymnes, for no other purpoſe, but only that out of ſo plentifull a treaſure there might be for euery mans heart to chooſe out his owne ſacrifice, and to offer vnto God by particular ſecret inſtinct, what fitteth beſt the often occaſions which any ſeuerall either party or congregation may ſeeme to haue. They that would cleane take from vs therefore the daily vſe of the very beſt meanes wee haue to magnifie and prayſe the name of Almightie God for his rich bleſſings, they that complaine of our reading and ſinging ſo many Pſalmes for ſo good an end, they I ſay that finde fault with our ſtore, ſhould of all men bee leaſt willing to reprooue our ſcarcitie of thankſgiuings. But becauſe peraduenture they ſee it is not either *generally* fit or poſſible that Churches ſhould frame thankſgiuings anſwerable to each petition, they ſhorten ſomewhat the reynes of their cenſure, there are no formes of thankſgiuing they ſay for releaſe of thoſe *common calamities*, from which wee haue petitions to be deliuered. *There are prayers ſet forth to be ſayd in the common calamities and vniuerſall ſcourges of the Realme, as plague, famine, &c. And in deede ſo it ought to be by the word of God. But as ſuch prayers are needfull*, whereby we beg releaſe from our diſtreſſes, ſo there ought to be as neceſſary prayers of thankſgiuing, when we haue receiued thoſe things at the Lords hand which wee asked in our prayers. As oft therefore as any publique or vniuerſall ſcourge is remoued, as oft as wee are deliuered from thoſe either imminent or preſent calamities, againſt the ſtorme and tempeſt whereof wee all inſtantly craued fauour from aboue, let it bee a queſtion what wee ſhould render vnto God for his bleſſings vniuerſally, ſenſibly, and extraordinarily beſtowed. A prayer of three or foure lines inſerted into ſome part of our Church-liturgie? No, wee are not perſwaded that when God doth in trouble inioyne vs the duty of inuocation, and promiſe vs the benefit of deliuerance, and profeſſe that the thing hee expecteth after at our hands is to glorifie him as our mighty and only Sauiour, the Church can diſcharge in manner conuenient

The default of the booke, for that there are no formes of thankſgiuing for the releaſe from thoſe common calamities, from which we haue petitions to be deliuered. *T.C.lib.3.p.208.*

a *Eph.5.9. Coloſ.3.16.*

T.C.lib.1.p.138.

a

a worke of ſo great importance by fore-ordeyning ſome ſhort Collect wherein briefly to mention thanks. Our cuſtome therefore whenſoeuer ſo great occaſions are incident, is by publique authoritie to appoint throughout all Churches ſet and ſolemne formes as well of ſupplication as of thankſgiuing, the preparations and intended complements whereof may ſtirre vp the mindes of men in much more effectuall ſort, then if only there ſhould bee added to the Booke of prayer that which they require. But we erre in thinking that they require any ſuch matter. For albeit their words to our vnderſtanding be very plaine, that in our Booke *there are prayers ſet forth* to be ſayd when *common calamities* are felt, as *plague, famine*, and ſuch like; againe, that *indeede ſo it ought to be by the word of God*; that likewiſe *there ought to be as neceſſary prayers of thankſgiuing when we haue receiued thoſe things*; finally, that the want of ſuch formes of thankſgiuing for the releaſe from thoſe common calamities from which we haue petitions to be deliuered, is the *default of the Booke* of Common prayer: yet all this they meane but only by way of *ſuppoſition if expreſſe prayers* againſt ſo many earthly miſeries were conuenient, *that then* in deede as many expreſſe and particular thankſgiuings ſhould be likewiſe neceſſarie. Seeing therfore we know that they hold the one ſuperfluous, they would not haue it ſo vnderſtood as though their mindes were that any ſuch addition to the Booke is needfull, whatſoeuer they ſay for arguments ſake concerning this pretended defect. The truth is they waue in and out, no way ſufficiently grounded, no way reſolued what to thinke, ſpeake or write, more then onely that becauſe they haue taken it vpon them, they muſt (no remedie now) be oppoſite.

44 The laſt ſuppoſed fault concerneth ſome few things, the very matter whereof is thought to be much amiſſe. In a ſong of prayſe to our Lord Ieſus Chriſt we haue theſe words, *When thou hadſt ouercome the ſharpneſſe of death, thou didſt open the Kingdome of heauen to all beleeuers.* Which maketh ſome ſhew of giuing countenance to their errour, who thinke that the faithfull which departed this life before the comming of Chriſt, were neuer till then made partakers of ioy, but remayned all in that place which they terme the *Lake of the Fathers*. In our *Liturgie* requeſt is made that wee may bee preſerued from ſuddaine death. This ſeemeth friuolous, becauſe the Godly ſhould alwayes be prepared to die. Requeſt is made that God would giue thoſe things which we for our vnworthineſſe dare not aske. This they ſay, *carrieth with it the note of Popiſh ſeruile feare, and ſauoureth not of that confidence and reuerent familiaritie that the children of God haue through Chriſt with their heauenly Father.* Requeſt is made that we may euermore be defended from all aduerſitie. For this *there is no promiſe in Scripture*, and therefore *it is no prayer of faith, or of the which we can aſſure our ſelues that we ſhall obtaine it.* Finally, requeſt is made that God would haue mercy vpon all men. This is impoſſible, becauſe ſome are the veſſels of wrath, to whom God will neuer extend his mercie.

In ſome things the matter of our Prayer, as they affirme, vnſound.

45 As Chriſt hath purchaſed that heauenly Kingdome, the laſt perfection whereof is *glorie in the life to come*, grace in this life a preparation thereunto; ſo the ſame he hath *opened* to the world in ſuch ſort, that whereas none can poſſibly without him attaine ſaluation, by him *all that beleeue* are ſaued. Now whatſoeuer hee did or ſuffered, the end thereof was to open the doores of the Kingdome of heauen which our iniquities had *ſhut vp*. But becauſe by *aſcending after*

When thou hadſt ouercome the ſharpneſſe of death, thou didſt open the kingdome of heauen vnto all beleeuers.

after that the ſharpneſſe of death was ouercome, he tooke the very *locall poſſeſſion* of glory, and that *to the vſe of all that are his*, euen as himſelfe before had witneſſed, [a] *I goe to prepare a place for you*, and againe, whom thou haſt giuen me, O Father, [b] *I will that where I am, they be alſo with me*, that my glory which thou haſt giuen me they may behold: it appeareth that *when Chriſt did aſcend*, hee then moſt *liberally opened* the Kingdome of heauen, *to the end* that with him and by him all beleeuers might raigne. In what eſtate the Fathers reſted which were dead before, it is not hereby either one way or other determined. All wee can rightly gather is, that as touching their ſoules what degree of ioy or happineſſe ſoeuer it pleaſed God to beſtow vpon them, *his aſcenſion* which ſucceeded *procured* theirs, and theirs concerning the body muſt needes be *not only of*, but after his. As therefore [c] *Heluidius*, againſt whom *S. Ierome* writeth, abuſed greatly thoſe words of *Mathew* concerning *Ioſeph* and the mother of our Sauiour Chriſt, *He knew her not till ſhee had brought forth her firſt borne*, thereby gathering againſt the honor of the bleſſed Virgin, that a thing denyed with ſpeciall circumſtance, doth import an oppoſite affirmation when once that circumſtance is expired: after the ſelfe-ſame manner it ſhould bee a weake Collection, if whereas we ſay that *when* Chriſt had ouercome the ſharpneſſe of death, he *then opened* the Kingdome of heauen to all beleeuers, a thing in ſuch ſort affirmed with circumſtance were taken as inſinuating an oppoſite denyall before that circumſtance be accompliſhed, and conſequently, that becauſe when the ſharpneſſe of death was ouercome, hee then opened heauen *as well to beleeuing Gentiles as Iewes*, heauen till then was no receptacle to the ſoules of either. Wherefore bee the Spirits of the iuſt and righteous before Chriſt truly or falſely thought excluded out of heauenly ioy, by that which wee in the words alleaged before doe attribute to Chriſts aſcenſion, there is to no ſuch opinion, nor to the [d] fauourers thereof any countenance at all giuen. Wee cannot better interpret the meaning of theſe words then Pope *Leo* himſelfe expoundeth them, whoſe ſpeech concerning our Lords aſcenſion may ſerue in ſtead of a marginall gloſſe, [e] *Chriſts exaltation is our promotion, and whither the glory of the head is already gone before, thither the hope of the bodie alſo is to follow. For as this day wee haue not only the poſſeſſion of Paradiſe aſſured vnto vs, but in Chriſt we haue entred the higheſt of the heauens.* His opening the Kingdome of heauen and his entrance thereinto was not onely to his owne vſe, but for the benefit of all beleeuers.

a *Iohn* 14.2.
b *Iohn* 17.24.
c *Hieron. contr. Helu. Aug. her.* 84.
d *Lyr. ſuper. Gene.* 29. *Th. p.* 3. *q.* 52.
e *Leo Ser.* 1. *de Aſcenſ.*

Touching prayers for deliuerance from ſuddain death.

46 Our good or euill eſtate after death dependeth moſt vpon the qualitie of our liues. Yet ſomewhat there is why a vertuous minde ſhould rather wiſh to depart this world with a kinde of treatable diſſolution, then to bee ſuddainely cut off in a moment; rather to bee taken then ſnatched away from the face of the earth. Death is that which all men ſuffer, but not all men with one minde, neither all men in one manner. For being of neceſſitie a thing common, it is through the manifold perſwaſions, diſpoſitions and occaſions of men, with equall deſerts both of praiſe and diſpraiſe ſhunned by ſome, by others deſired. So that abſolutely wee cannot diſcommend, wee cannot abſolutely approoue either willingneſſe to liue or forwardneſſe to die. And concerning the wayes of death, albeit the choiſe thereof be onely in his hands, who alone hath power ouer all fleſh, and vnto whoſe appointment wee ought with patience

tience, meekely to ſubmit our ſelues (for to be agents voluntarily in our owne deſtruction, is againſt both God and nature) yet there is no doubt but in ſo great varietie, our deſires will and may lawfully preferre one kinde before another. Is there any man of worth and vertue, although not inſtructed in the Schoole of Chriſt, or euer taught what the ſoundneſſe of religion meaneth, that had not rather end the dayes of this tranſitorie life as *Cyrus* in *Xenophon*, or in *Plato Socrates* are deſcribed, then to ſinke downe with them of whome [a] *Elihu* hath ſaid *Memento moriuntur*, there is ſcarce an inſtant betweene their flouriſhing and their not being? But let vs which know what it is to dye as *Abſalon* or *Ananias* and *Saphira* dyed, let vs beg of God that when the houre of our reſt is come, the patternes of our diſſolution may be [b] *Iacob*, *Moſes*, *Ioſua*, *Dauid*, who leaſureably ending their liues in peace, prayed for the mercies of God to come vpon their poſteritie; repleniſhed the hearts of the neereſt vnto them with words of memorable conſolation; ſtrengthned men in the feare of God, gaue them wholeſome inſtructions of life, and confirmed them in true religion, in ſumme, taught the world no leſſe vertuouſly how to dye, then they had done before how to liue. To ſuch as iudge things according to the ſenſe of naturall men and aſcend no higher, ſuddaineneſſe becauſe it ſhortneth their griefe ſhould in reaſon be moſt acceptable. That which cauſeth bitterneſſe in death, is the languiſhing attendance and expectation thereof ere it come. And therefore Tyrants vſe what arte they can to increaſe the ſlowneſſe of death. Quicke riddance out of life is often both requeſted and beſtowed as a benefit. Commonly therefore it is for vertuous conſiderations, that wiſedome ſo farre preuaileth with men as to make them deſirous of ſlowe and deliberate death againſt the ſtreame of their ſenſuall inclination, content to indure the longer griefe and bodily paine, that the ſoule may haue time to call it ſelfe to a iuſt accompt of all things paſt, by meanes whereof repentance is perfected, there is wherein to exerciſe patience, the ioyes of the kingdome of heauen haue leiſure to preſent themſelues, the pleaſures of ſinne and this worlds vanities are cenſured with vncorrupt iudgement, Charitie is free to make aduiſed choice of the ſoile wherein her laſt ſeede may moſt fruitefully be beſtowed, the minde is at libertie to haue due regard of that diſpoſition of worldly things which it can neuer afterwards alter, and becauſe [c] the neerer wee draw vnto God, the more wee are oftentimes inlightned with the ſhining beames of his glorious preſence as being then euen almoſt in ſight, a leaſurable departure may in that caſe bring forth for the good of ſuch as are preſent, that which ſhall cauſe them for euer after from the bottome of their hearts to pray, *O let vs die the death of the righteous, and let our laſt end be like theirs.* All which benefits and opportunities are by ſuddaine death preuented. And beſides, for as much as death howſoeuer is a generall effect of the wrath of God againſt ſinne, and the ſuddaineneſſe thereof a thing which hapneth but to few, the world in this reſpect feareth it the more as being ſubiect to doubtfull conſtructions, which as no man willingly would incurre, ſo they whoſe happie eſtate after life is of all mens the moſt certaine, ſhould eſpecially wiſh that no ſuch accident in their death may giue vncharitable mindes occaſion of raſh, ſiniſter, and ſuſpitious verdits,

[a] *Iob.34.20.*

[b] *Heb.11.21. Deut.33. Ioſh.24. 1.Reg.2.*

[c] *Cypr. de mortal.*

whereunto they are ouer-prone, ſo that whether euill men or good be reſpected, whether we regard our ſelues or others, to be preſerued from ſuddaine death is a bleſſing of God. And our prayer againſt it importeth a two-fold deſire, firſt, that death when it commeth may giue vs ſome conuenient reſpit, or ſecondly, if that be denyed vs of God, yet we may haue wiſedome to prouide alwayes before-hand, that thoſe euils ouertake vs not, which death vnexpected doth vſe to bring vpon careleſſe men, and that although it be ſuddaine in it ſelfe, neuertheleſſe in regard of our prepared mindes it may not be ſuddaine.

Prayer that thoſe things which we for our vnworthineſſe dare not aske, God for the worthineſſe of his Sonne would vouchſafe to graunt. This requeſt carrieth with it ſtill the note of the Popiſh ſeruile feare, and ſauoureth not of that confidence and reuerent familiaritie that the children of God haue through Chriſt with their heauenly Father. *T.E.lib.1. page 136.*

47 But is it credible that the very acknowledgement of our owne vnworthineſſe to obteine, and in that reſpect our profeſſed fearefulneſſe to aske any thing otherwiſe then onely for his ſake to whome God can denye nothing, that this ſhould be noted for a Popiſh error, that this ſhould be termed baſeneſſe, abiection of mind, or *ſeruilitie*, is it credible? That which we for our vnworthineſſe are afraid to craue, our prayer is, that God for the worthineſſe of his Sonne would notwithſtanding vouchſafe to graunt. May it pleaſe them to ſhew vs which of theſe words it is that carrieth the note of Popiſh and ſeruile feare? In reference to other creatures of this inferior world mans worth and excellencie is admired. Compared with God, the trueſt inſcription wherewith wee can circle ſo baſe a coyne is that of *Dauid*, [a] *Vniuerſa vanitas eſt omnis homo*, whoſoeuer hath the name of a mortall man, there is in him whatſoeuer the name of vanitie doth comprehend. And therefore what we ſay of our owne *vnworthineſſe*, there is no doubt but truth will ratifie. Alleaged in prayer it both becommeth and behoueth Saints. For as humilitie is in ſuters a decent vertue, ſo the teſtification thereof by ſuch effectuall acknowledgements not onely [b] argueth a ſound apprehenſion of his ſupereminent glorie and maieſtie before whome we ſtand, but putteth alſo into his hands a kinde of pledge or bond for ſecuritie againſt our vnthankfulneſſe, the very naturall roote whereof is alwayes either ignorance, diſſimulation, or pride; ignorance, when we know not the author from whome our good commeth; diſſimulation, when our hands are more open then our eyes vpon that we receiue; pride, when we thinke our ſelues *worthie* of that which meere grace and vndeſerued mercy beſtoweth. In prayer therefore to abate ſo vaine imaginations with the *true conceit of vnworthineſſe*, is rather to preuent then commit a fault. It being no error thus to thinke, no fault thus to ſpeake of our ſelues when we pray, is it a fault that the conſideration of our vnworthineſſe maketh vs *fearefull* to open our mouthes by way of ſuite? While *Iob* had proſperitie and liued in honor, men feared him for his authorities ſake, and in token of their feare when they ſaw him they [c] *hid themſelues*. Betweene *Elihu* and the reſt of *Iobs* familiars the greateſt diſparitie was but in yeeres. And he, though riper then they in iudgement, doing them reuerence in regard of age, ſtood long [d] *doubtfull*, and very loth to aduenture vpon ſpeach in his elders hearing. If ſo ſmall inequalitie betweene man and man make their modeſtie a commendable vertue, who reſpecting ſuperiors *as ſuperiors*, can neither ſpeake nor

a *Pſal.39.5.*

b Μεμνημένος γὰρ τῆς ἰδίας παρὰ πάντα οὐδενείας μεμνήσῃ καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ πάντα ὑπερβολῆς. *Philo. de ſacrif. Abel. & Cain.*

c *Iob.29.8.* Amongſt the parts of honor *Ariſtotle* reckoneth προσκυνήσεις and ἐκστάσεις. *Rhet. lib.1.ca 5.*

d *Iob 32. 6.*

nor ſtand before them without feare: that the Publican approcheth not more boldly to God; that when Chriſt in mercie draweth neere to *Peter*, he in humilitie and feare craueth diſtance; that being to ſtand, to ſpeake, to ſue in the preſence of ſo great maieſtie we are afraid, let no man blame vs. [a] In which conſideration notwithſtanding, becauſe to flie altogether from God, to deſpaire that creatures vnworthie ſhall be able to obteine any thing at his hands, and vnder that pretenſe to ſurceaſe from prayers as bootleſſe or fruitleſſe offices, were to him no leſſe iniurious then pernitious to our owne ſoules, euen that which we tremble to doe we doe, we aske thoſe things which we dare not aske. The knowledge of our owne vnworthineſſe is not without beliefe in the merits of Chriſt. With that true feare which the one cauſeth there is coupled true boldneſſe, and encouragement drawne from the other. The very ſilence which our vnworthineſſe putteth vs vnto, doth it ſelfe make requeſt for vs, and that in the confidence of his grace. Looking inward we are ſtricken dumbe, looking vpward we ſpeake and preuaile. O happie mixture wherein things contrary doe ſo qualifie and correct the one the danger of the others exceſſe, that neither boldneſſe can make vs preſume as long as we are kept vnder with the ſenſe of our owne wretchedneſſe; nor, while we truſt in the mercie of God through Chriſt Ieſus, feare be able to tyrannize ouer vs! As therefore our feare excludeth not that [b] boldneſſe which becommeth Saints; ſo if their *familiaritie* with God doe not ſauor of this feare, it draweth too neere that irreuerend confidence wherewith true humilitie can neuer ſtand.

a The Publican did indeed not lift vp his eyes: So that if by his example we ſhould ſay we dare aske nothing, wee ought alſo to aske nothing: otherwiſe inſtead of teaching true humilitie, wee open a ſchoole to hypocriſie, which the Lord deteſteth. *T.C.li.3.pa.203.*

b *Rom.5.2. 8.15. Heb.10,19.*

48 Touching continuall deliuerance in the world from all aduerſitie, their conceit is, that we ought not to aske it of God by prayer, for as much as in Scripture there is no promiſe that we ſhall be euermore free from vexations, calamities and troubles. Mindes religiouſly affected are woont in euery thing of waight and moment which they doe or ſee, to examine according vnto rules of pietie what dependencie it hath on God, what reference to themſelues, what coherence with any of thoſe duties whereunto all things in the world ſhould leade, and accordingly they frame the inward diſpoſition of their mindes ſometime to admire God, ſometimes to bleſſe him and giue him thanks, ſometime to exult in his loue, ſometime to implore his mercie. All which different eleuations of ſpirit vnto God are conteyned in the name of prayer. Euery good and holie deſire though it lacke the forme, hath notwithſtanding in it ſelfe the ſubſtance, and with him the force of a prayer, who regardeth the very moanings, grones and ſighes of the hart of man. Petitionarie prayer belongeth only to ſuch as are in themſelues impotent, and ſtand in need of reliefe from others. We thereby declare vnto God what our owne deſire is that he by his power ſhould effect. It preſuppoſeth therefore in vs firſt the want of that which we pray for; ſecondly, a feeling of that want; thirdly, an earneſt willingneſſe of minde to be eaſed therein; fourthly, a declaration of this our deſire in the ſight of God, not as if he ſhould be otherwiſe ignorant of our neceſſities, but becauſe we this way ſhew that we honor him as our God, and are verily perſwaded that no good thing can come to paſſe which he by his omnipotent power effecteth not. Now becauſe there is no mans prayer acceptable, whoſe perſon is odious, neither any mans perſon gracious without

Prayer to be euermore deliuered from all aduerſitie. For as much as there is no promiſe in the Scripture that we ſhould be free from all aduerſitie, and that euermore it ſeemeth that this prayer might haue beene better conceiued being no prayer of faith, or of the which we can aſſure our ſelues that we ſhal obteine it. *T.C.lib.1. pag.136.*

faith, it is of neceſſitie required that they which pray doe beleeue. The prayers which our Lord and Sauiour made were for his owne worthineſſe accepted; ours God accepteth not but with this condition, if they be ioyned with [a] beliefe in Chriſt. The prayers of the iuſt are accepted alwayes, but not alwayes thoſe things graunted for which they pray. For in prayer if faith and aſſurance to obteine were both one and the ſame thing, ſeeing that the effect of not obteining is a plaine teſtimonie that they which prayed were not ſure they ſhould obteine, it would follow that their prayer being without certaintie of the euent, was alſo made vnto God without faith, and conſequently that God abhorred it. Which to thinke of ſo many prayers of Saints as we finde haue failed in particular requeſts how abſurd were it? His faithfull people haue this comfort, that whatſoeuer they rightly aske, the ſame no doubt, but they ſhall receiue, ſo farre as may ſtand with the glorie of God, and their owne euerlaſting good, vnto either of which two it is no vertuous mans purpoſe to ſeeke or deſire to obtaine any thing preiudiciall, and therefore that clauſe which our Lord and Sauiour in the prayer of his agonie did expreſſe, wee in petitions of like nature doe alwayes implie, *Pater, ſi poſſibile eſt*, if it may ſtand with thy will and pleaſure. Or if not, but that there be ſecret impediments and cauſes in regard whereof the thing we pray for is denyed vs, yet the prayer it ſelfe which we make is a pleaſing ſacrifice to God, who both accepteth and rewardeth it ſome other way. So that ſinners in very truth are denyed when they [b] ſeeme to preuaile in their ſupplications, becauſe it is not for their ſakes or to their good that their ſutes take place; the faithfull contrariwiſe, becauſe it is for their good oftentimes that their petitions doe not take place, preuaile euen then when they moſt [c] ſeeme denied. *Our Lord God in anger hath graunted ſome impatient mens requeſts, as on the other ſide the Apoſtles ſute he hath of fauor and mercie not graunted*, ſayth S. *Auguſtine*. To thinke we may pray vnto God for nothing but what he hath promiſed in holy Scripture we ſhall obteine, is perhaps an error. For of prayer there are two vſes. It ſerueth as a meane to procure thoſe things which God hath promiſed to graunt when we aske; and it ſerueth as a meane to expreſſe our lawfull deſires alſo towards that, which whether we ſhal haue or no we know not til we ſee the euent. Things in themſelues vnholy or vnſeemely we may not aske; we may whatſoeuer being not forbidden, either nature or grace ſhall reaſonably moue vs to wiſh as importing the good of men, albeit God himſelfe haue no where by promiſe aſſured vs of that particular which our prayer craueth. To pray for that which is in it ſelfe and of it owne nature apparently a thing impoſſible, were not conuenient. Wherefore though men doe without offence wiſh daily that the affaires which with euill ſucceſſe are paſt might haue fallen out much better, yet to pray that they may haue bene any other then they are, this being a manifeſt impoſſibilitie in it ſelfe, the rules of religion doe not permit. Whereas contrariwiſe when things of their owne nature contingent and mutable are by the ſecret determination of God appointed one way, though wee the other way make our prayers, and conſequently aske thoſe things of God which are *by this ſuppoſition* impoſſible, we notwithſtanding doe not hereby in prayer tranſgreſſe our lawfull bounds. That Chriſt, as the only begotten Sonne of God, hauing

[a] *Oratio quæ non fit per Chriſtum, non ſolum non poteſt delere peccatum, ſed etiam ipſa fit peccatum. Aug. enar. 1. in Pſal. 108.*

[b] *Num. 11. 33. 1. Sam. 8. 7. Iob. 1. 12. & 2. 6. Luk. 8. 52.*

[c] *2. Cor. 12. 7. 8. 9. Aug epiſt. 121. ad probam viduam.*

hauing no ſuperior, and therefore owing honor vnto none, neither ſtanding in any neede, ſhould either giue thanks, or make petition vnto God, were moſt abſurd. As man what could beſeeme him better, whether we reſpect his affection to Godward, or his owne neceſſitie, or his charitie and loue towards men? Some things he knew ſhould come to paſſe and notwithſtanding prayed for them, becauſe he alſo knew that the neceſſarie meanes to effect them, were his prayers. As in the Pſalme it is ſayd, [a] *Aske of me, and I will giue thee the Heathen for thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for thy poſſeſſion.* Wherefore that which heere God promiſeth his Sonne, the ſame in the 17. of *Iohn* he prayeth for, [b] *Father, the houre is now come, glorifie thy Sonne, that thy Sonne alſo may glorifie thee, according as thou haſt giuen him power ouer all fleſh.* But had Chriſt the like promiſe concerning the effect of euery particular for which he prayed? That which was not effected could not be promiſed. And we know in [c] what ſort he prayed for remouall of that bitter cup, which cup he taſted notwithſtanding his prayer. To ſhift off this example they anſwere firſt that [d] *as other children of God, ſo Chriſt had a promiſe of deliuerance,* as farre *as the glorie of God in the accompliſhment of his vocation would ſuffer.* And if we our ſelues haue not alſo in that ſort the promiſe of God to be euermore deliuered from all aduerſitie, what meaneth the ſacred Scripture to ſpeake in ſo large termes, *Be obedient, and the Lord thy God will make thee plenteous in* [e] *euery worke of thy hand, in the fruite of thy bodie, and in the fruite of thy cattell, and in the fruite of the land for thy wealth.* Agayne, *Keepe his lawes, and thou ſhalt be bleſt aboue all people, the Lord ſhall take from thee* [f] *all infirmities.* The man whoſe delight is in the lawe of God, [g] *whatſoeuer he doth it ſhall proſper.* For the vngodly there are *great plagues* remayning; but whoſoeuer putteth his truſt in the Lord, mercie imbraceth him [h] *on euery ſide.* Not onely that mercie which keepeth from being ouerlayd or oppreſt, but mercie which ſaueth from being *touched* with grieuous miſeries, mercie which turneth away the courſe of [i] *the great water-flouds,* and permitteth them not to *come neere.* Neuertheleſſe, becauſe the prayer of Chriſt did concerne but one calamitie, they are ſtill bold to deny the lawfulneſſe of our prayer for deliuerance out of all, yea though we pray with the ſame exception that hee did, *If ſuch deliuerance may ſtand with the pleaſure of Almightie God and not otherwiſe.* For they haue ſecondly found out a rule that prayer ought onely to be made for deliuerance [k] *from this or that particular aduerſitie, whereof wee know not but vpon the euent what the pleaſure of God is.* Which quite ouerthroweth that other principle wherein they require vnto euery prayer which is of faith an aſſurance to obtaine the thing we pray for. At the firſt to pray againſt all aduerſitie was vnlawfull, becauſe we cannot aſſure our ſelues that this will be graunted. Now wee haue licence to pray againſt any particular aduerſitie, and the reaſon giuen, becauſe we know not but vpon the euent what God will doe. If wee know not what God will doe, it followeth that for any aſſurance wee haue, hee may doe otherwiſe then wee pray, and we may faithfully pray for that which we cannot aſſuredly preſume that God will graunt. Seeing therefore neither of theſe two anſwers will ſerue the turne, they haue a [l] third, which is, that to pray in ſuch ſort is but idly miſ-ſpent labour, becauſe God alreadie hath reuealed his will touching this

a *Pſal.*2.8.

b *Iohn* 17.1.2.

c *Matth.*26.39. *Mark.*14.36. *Luk.*22.42.

d Neither did our Sauiour Chriſt pray without promiſe: for as other the children of God to whoſe condition he had humbled himſelfe haue, ſo had he a promiſe of deliuerance, ſo farre as the glorie of God in the accompliſhment of his vocation would ſuffer. *T.C.lib.*3. *page* 200.

e *Deut.*30.9.

f *Deut.*7.15.

g *Pſal.*1.4.

h *Pſal.*32.11.

i 7.

k *T.C.lib.*3. *page* 201.

l We ought not to deſire to be free from all aduerſitie if it be his will, conſidering that he hath alreadie declared his will therein. *T. C. lib.*3. *pag.*201.

this requeſt, and we know that the ſute we make is denied before we make it. Which neither is true, and if it were, was Chriſt ignorant what God had determined touching thoſe things which himſelfe ſhould ſuffer? To ſay [a] *he knew not what waight of ſufferances his heauenly Father had meaſured vnto him*, is ſomewhat hard, harder that although *he knew them*, notwithſtanding for the preſent time they were *forgotten, through the force of thoſe vnſpeakable pangs which he then was in.* The one againſt the plaine expreſſe words of the holie Euangeliſt, [b] *He knew all things that ſhould come vpon him*; the other leſſe credible, if any thing may be of leſſe credit then what the Scripture it ſelfe gaineſayeth. Doth any of them which wrote his ſufferings, make report that memorie failed them? Is there in his words and ſpeeches any ſigne of defect that way? Did not himſelfe declare before whatſoeuer was to happen in the courſe of that whole tragedie? Can we gather by any thing after taken from his owne mouth either in the place of publique iudgement, or vpon the altar of the Croſſe, that through the bruſing of his body, ſome part of the treaſures of his ſoule were ſcattered and ſlipt from him? If that which was perfect both before and after did faile at this only middle inſtant, there muſt appeare ſome manifeſt cauſe how it came to paſſe. True it is, that the pangs of his heauineſſe and griefe were *vnſpeakeable:* and as true, that becauſe the mindes of the afflicted doe neuer thinke they haue fully conceiued the waight or meaſure of their owne wo, they vſe their affection as a whetſtone both to wit and memory, theſe as nurces doe feede griefe, ſo that the weaker his conceit had bin touching that which he was to ſuffer, the more it muſt needs in that houre haue helped to the mitigation of his anguiſh. But his anguiſh we ſee was then at the very higheſt whereunto it could poſſibly riſe; which argueth his deepe apprehenſion euen to the laſt drop of the gaule which that cup conteyned, and of euery circumſtance wherein there was any force to augment heauineſſe, but aboue all things, the reſolute determination of God, and his owne vnchangeable purpoſe which he at that time could not forget. To what intent then was his prayer which plainely teſtifieth ſo great willingneſſe to auoid death? Will, whether it be in God or man, belongeth to the eſſence or nature of both. The nature therefore of God being one, there are not in God diuers wills, although the Godhead be in diuers perſons, becauſe the power of willing is a naturall not a perſonall proprietie. Contrariwiſe, the perſon of our Sauiour Chriſt being but one, there are in him two wills, becauſe two natures, the nature of God, and the nature of man, which both doe imply this facultie and power. So that in Chriſt there is a diuine and there is an humane will, otherwiſe he were not both God and man. Hereupon the Church hath of old condemned Monothelites as Heretiques, for holding that Chriſt had but one will. The works and operations of our Sauiours humane will were all ſubiect to the will of God, and framed according to this law, [c] *I deſired to doe thy will, O God, and thy law is within mine heart.* Now as mans will, ſo the will of Chriſt hath two ſeuerall kinds of operation, the one naturall or neceſſarie, whereby it deſireth ſimply whatſoeuer is good in it ſelfe, and ſhunneth as generally all things which hurt; the other deliberate, when we therefore imbrace things as good, becauſe the eye of vnderſtanding iudgeth them good to that end which we ſimply deſire. Thus in

a *T.C. lib. 3. page 201.*

b *Iohn 18. 4.*

c *Pſal. 40. 8.*

it

it ſelfe we deſire health, phiſicke onely for healths ſake. And in this ſort ſpeciall reaſon oftentimes cauſeth the will by choiſe to preferre one good thing before another, to leaue one for anothers ſake, to forgoe meaner for the attainement of higher deſires, which our Sauiour likewiſe did. Theſe different inclinations of the will conſidered, the reaſon is eaſie how in Chriſt there might grow deſires ſeeming, but being not indeed oppoſite either the one of them vnto the other, or either of them to the will of God. For let the manner of his ſpeech be weighed, [a] *My ſoule is now troubled, and what ſhould I ſay? Father, ſaue me out of this houre. But yet for this very cauſe am I come into this houre.* His purpoſe herein was moſt effectually to propoſe to the view of the whole world two contrarie obiects, the like whereunto in force and efficacie were neuer preſented in that manner to any but onely to the Soule of Chriſt. There was preſented before his eyes in that fearefull houre on the one ſide Gods heauie indignation and wrath towards mankinde as yet vnappeaſed, death as yet in full ſtrength, hell as yet neuer maſtered by any that came within the confines and bounds thereof, ſomewhat alſo peraduenture more then is either poſſible or needfull for the wit of man to find out, finally himſelfe fleſh and bloud * left alone to enter into conflict with all theſe; on the other ſide, a world to be ſaued by One, a pacification of wrath through the dignity of that ſacrifice which ſhould be offred, a conqueſt ouer death through the power of that Deity which would not ſuffer the tabernacle thereof to ſee corruption, and an vtter diſappointment of all the forces of infernall powers, through the puritie of that ſoule which they ſhould haue in their hands and not be able to touch. Let no man maruaile that in this caſe the ſoule of Chriſt was much *troubled*. For what could ſuch apprehenſions breede but (as their nature is) inexplicable paſſions of minde, deſires abhorring what they imbrace, and imbracing what they abhorre? In which agonie *how ſhould the toong goe about to expreſſe* what the ſoule indured? When the griefes of *Iob* were exceeding great, his words accordingly to open them were many; howbeit, ſtill vnto his ſeeming they were vndiſcouered, [b] *Though my talke* (ſayth Iob) *be this day in bitterneſſe, yet my plague is greater then my groning*. But heere to what purpoſe ſhould words ſerue, when nature hath more to declare then grones and ſtrong cryes, more then ſtreames of bloudie ſweates, more then his doubled and tripled prayers can expreſſe, who thriſe putting forth his hand to receiue that cup, beſides which there was no other cauſe of his comming into the world, he thriſe pulleth it backe againe, and as often euen with teares of bloud craueth, *If it be poſſible, O Father: Or if not, euen what thine owne good pleaſure is*, for whoſe ſake the paſſion that hath in it a bitter and a bloudie conflict euen with wrath and death and hell is moſt welcome. Whereas therefore we finde in God a will reſolued that Chriſt ſhall ſuffer; and in the humane will of Chriſt two actuall deſires, the one auoyding, and the other accepting death; is that deſire which firſt declareth it ſelfe by prayer, againſt that wherewith he concludeth prayer, or either of them againſt his minde to whome prayer in this caſe ſeeketh? we may iudge of theſe diuerſities in the will, by the like in the vnderſtanding. For as the intellectuall part doth not croſſe it ſelfe, by conceiuing man to be iuſt and vniuſt, when it meaneth not the ſame man, nor by imagining the ſame man learned and vnlearned,

[a] *Iohn* 12.27.

* *Matth.27.46. Non potuit diuinitas humanitatem, & ſecundum aliquid deſeruiſſe, & ſecùdum aliquid non deſeruiſſe? Subtraxit protectionem, ſed non ſeparauit vnionem. Sic ergo dereliquit vt non adiuuaret, ſed non dereliquit vt recederet. Sic ergo humanitas à diuinitate in paſſione derelicta eſt. Quam tamen mortem quia non pro ſua iniquitate, ſed pro noſtra redemptione ſuſtinuit, quare ſit derelicta requirit, non quaſi aduerſus Deum de pœna murmurãs, ſed nobis innocentiam ſuam in pœna demonſtrans. Hug. de Sacra. li.2.par.1.c.10. Deus meus, vt quid dereliquiſti me? Vox eſt nec ignorantiæ, nec diffidentiæ, nec querelæ, ſed admirationis tantum, quæ alijs inueſtigandæ cauſæ ardorem & diligentiam acuat.*

[b] *Iob.* 23.2.

learned, if learned in one skill, and in another kinde of learning vnskilfull, because the parts of euery true opposition doe alwaies both concerne the same subiect, and haue reference to the same thing, sith otherwise they are but in shew opposite and not in truth: So the will about one and the same thing may in contrarie respects haue contrarie inclinations, and that without contrarietie. The minister of iustice may for publique example to others, vertuously will the execution of that partie, whose pardon another for consanguinities sake as vertuously may desire. Consider death in it selfe, and nature teacheth Christ to shun it; Consider death as a meane to procure the saluation of the world, and mercie worketh in Christ all [a] willingnesse of minde towards it. Therefore in these two desires there can be no repugnant opposition. Againe, compare them with the will of God, and if any opposition be, it must be onely betweene his appointment of Christs death, and the former desire which wisheth deliuerance from death. But neither is this desire opposite to the will of God. The will of God was that Christ should suffer the paines of death. Not so his will, as if the torment of innocencie did in it selfe please and delight God, but such was his will, in regard of the end whereunto it was necessarie that Christ should suffer. The death of Christ in it selfe therefore God willeth not, which to the end we might thereby obtaine life he both alloweth and appointeth. In like maner the Sonne of man indureth willingly to that purpose those grieuous paines, which simply not to haue shunned had bin against nature, and by consequent against God. I take it therefore to be an error, that Christ either knew not what himselfe was to suffer, or else had forgotten the things he knew. The roote of which error was an ouer-restrained consideration of prayer, as though it had no other lawfull vse but onely to serue for a chosen meane, whereby the will resolueth to seeke that which the vnderstanding certainely knoweth it shall obteine: whereas prayers in truth both ours are, and his were, as well sometime a presentation of meere desires, as a meane of procuring desired effects at the hands of God. We are therefore taught by his example, that the presence of dolorous and dreadfull obiects euen in mindes most perfect, may as cloudes ouercast all sensible ioy; that no assurance touching future victories can make present conflicts so sweete and easie, but nature will shun and shrinke from them, nature will desire ease and deliuerance from oppressiue burthens; that the contrarie determination of God is oftentimes against the effect of this desire, yet not against the affection it selfe, because it is naturally in vs; that in such case our prayers cannot serue vs as meanes to obtaine the thing we desire; that notwithstanding they are vnto God most acceptable sacrifices, because they testifie we desire nothing but at his hands, and our desires we submit with contentment to be ouerruled by his will, and in generall they are not repugnant vnto the naturall will of God, which wisheth to the works of his owne hands, in that they are his owne handie-worke, all happinesse, although perhaps for some speciall cause in our owne particular, a contrarie determination haue seemed more conuenient; finally, that thus to propose our desires which cannot take such effect as we specifie, shall notwithstanding otherwise procure vs his heauenly grace, euen as this very prayer of Christ obteined [b] Angels to be sent him as comforters in his agonie. And according to this

[a] *Esa.* 53.10. *Iohn* 10.15.

[b] *Luk.* 22.43.

this example wee are not afraid to preſent vnto God our prayers for thoſe things, which that hee will performe vnto vs wee haue no ſure nor certaine knowledge. [a] S[t]. *Pauls* prayer for the Church of Corinth was that they might not doe any euill, although he knew that no man liueth which ſinneth not, although he knew that in this life we alwayes muſt pray, [b] *Forgiue vs our ſinnes.* It is our frailtie that in many things wee all doe amiſſe, but a vertue that we would doe amiſſe in nothing, and a teſtimonie of that vertue, when we pray that what occaſion of ſinne ſoeuer doe offer it ſelfe, wee may be ſtrengthned from aboue to withſtand it. They pray in vaine to haue ſinne pardoned which ſeeke not alſo to preuent ſinne by prayer, euen euery particular ſinne by prayer againſt all ſinne, except men can name ſome tranſgreſſion wherewith wee ought to haue truce. For in very deede although wee cannot be free from all ſinne collectiuely in ſuch ſort that no part thereof ſhall be found inherent in vs, yet diſtributiuely at the leaſt all great and grieuous actuall offences, as they offer themſelues one by one, both may and ought to be by all meanes auoyded. So that in this ſenſe to bee preſerued from all ſinne is not impoſſible. Finally, concerning deliuerance it ſelfe from all aduerſitie, wee vſe not to ſay men are in aduerſitie whenſoeuer they feele any ſmall hinderance of their welfare in this world, but when ſome notable affliction or croſſe, ſome great calamitie or trouble befalleth them. Tribulation hath in it diuers circumſtances, the minde ſundrie faculties to apprehend them: It offereth ſometime it ſelfe to the lower powers of the ſoule as a moſt vnpleaſant ſpectacle, to the higher ſometimes as drawing after it a traine of dangerous inconueniences, ſometime as bringing with it remedies for the curing of ſundrie euils, as Gods inſtrument of reuenge and furie ſometime, ſometime as a rod of his iuſt yet moderate ire and diſpleaſure, ſometime as matter for them that ſpitefully hate vs to exerciſe their poyſoned malice, ſometime as a furnace of tryall for vertue to ſhew it ſelfe, and through conflict to obteine glorie. Which different contemplations of aduerſitie doe worke for the moſt part their anſwerable effects. Aduerſitie either apprehended by ſenſe as a thing offenſiue and grieuous to nature; or by reaſon conceiued as a ſnare, an occaſion of many mens falling from God, a ſequell of Gods indignation and wrath, a thing which Satan deſireth, and would be glad to behold; tribulation thus conſidered being preſent cauſeth ſorrow, and being imminent breedeth feare. For moderation of which two affections growing from the very naturall bitterneſſe and gall of aduerſitie, [c] the Scripture much alleageth contrarie fruits, which affliction like wiſe hath whenſoeuer it falleth on them that are tractable, the grace of Gods holie Spirit concurring therewith. But when the Apoſtle S. *Paul* teacheth, that [d] euery one which will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſus muſt ſuffer perſecution, and by many tribulations we muſt enter into the kingdome of heauen, becauſe in a forreſt of many woolues, ſheepe cannot chooſe but feede in continuall danger of life; or when [e] S. *Iames* exhorteth to accompt it a matter of exceeding ioy when we fall into diuers temptations, becauſe by the tryall of faith patience is brought forth; was it ſuppoſe we their meaning to fruſtrate our Lords admonition, *Pray that ye enter not into temptation?* when himſelfe pronounceth them bleſſed that ſhould for his name ſake be ſubiect to

[a] 2. *Cor.* 13. 7.

[b] We may not pray in this life to be free from all ſinne, becauſe we muſt alwayes pray Forgiue vs our ſinnes. *T. C. lib.* 3. *pa.* 200.

[c] *Pſal.* 119. 71.

[d] 2. *Tim.* 3. 12. To pray againſt perſecution is contrary to that word which ſaith, that euery one which will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſu, muſt ſuffer perſecution. *T. C. li.* 3. *pa.* 200.

[e] *Iam.* 1. 3.

to all kindes of ignominie and opprobrious malediction, was it his purpoſe that no man ſhould euer pray with DAVID, [a] *Lord, remoue from me ſhame and contempt?* In thoſe tribulations, ſayth [b] S. AVGVSTINE, *which may hurt as well as profit, we muſt ſay with the Apoſtle, What we ſhould aske as we ought, we know not, yet becauſe they are tough, becauſe they are grieuous, becauſe the ſenſe of our weakeneſſe flieth them, we pray according to the generall deſire of the will of man, that God would turne them away from vs, owing in the meane while this deuotion to the Lord our God, that if he remoue them not, yet we doe not therefore imagine our ſelues in his ſight deſpiſed, but rather with godly ſufferance of euils expect greater good at his mercifull hands. For thus is vertue in weakeneſſe perfected.* To the fleſh (as the Apoſtle himſelfe graunteth) all affliction is naturally grieuous. Therefore nature which cauſeth to feare, teacheth to pray againſt all aduerſitie. Proſperitie in regard of our corrupt inclination to abuſe the bleſſings of Almightie God, doth proue for the moſt part a thing dangerous to the ſoules of men. Very eaſe it ſelfe is [c] death to the wicked, and the proſperitie of fooles ſlayeth them; their table is a ſnare, and their felicitie their vtter ouerthrow. Few men there are which long proſper and ſinne not. Howbeit euen as theſe ill effects, although they be very vſuall and common, are no barre to the hartie prayers, whereby moſt vertuous minds wiſh peace and proſperitie alwayes where they loue, becauſe they conſider that this in it ſelfe is a thing naturally deſired: ſo becauſe all aduerſitie is in it ſelfe againſt nature, what ſhould hinder to pray againſt it, although the prouidence of God turne it often vnto the great good of many men? Such prayers of the Church to be deliuered from all aduerſitie, are no more repugnant to any reaſonable diſpoſition of mens mindes towards death, much leſſe to that bleſſed patience and meeke contentment which Saints by heauenly inſpiration haue to indure what croſſe or calamitie ſoeuer it pleaſeth God to lay vpon them, then our Lord and Sauiors owne prayer before his paſſion was repugnant vnto his moſt gracious reſolution to dye for the ſinnes of the whole world.

a *Pſal.*119.22.

b *Auguſt. epiſt.* 121.*ca.*14.

c *Prou.*1.32.

Prayer that all men may finde mercie, and of the will of God that all men might be ſaued.

49 In praying for deliuerance from all aduerſitie, we ſeeke that which nature doth wiſh to it ſelfe; but by intreating for mercie towards all, we declare that affection wherewith Chriſtian Charitie thirſteth after the good of the whole world, we diſcharge that dutie which [d] the Apoſtle himſelfe doth impoſe on the Church of Chriſt as a *commendable* office, a ſacrifice *acceptable* in Gods ſight, a ſeruice according to his heart whoſe *deſire* is to haue all men ſaued, a worke moſt ſuteable with his purpoſe who gaue himſelfe to be the price of redemption *for all*, and a forcible meane to *procure the conuerſion* of all ſuch as are not yet acquainted with the myſteries of that truth which muſt ſaue their ſoules. Againſt it there is but the bare ſhew of this one impediment, that all mens ſaluation and many mens eternall condemnation or death are things the one repugnant to the other, that both cannot be brought to paſſe; that we know there are veſſels of wrath to whome God will neuer extend mercie, and therefore that wittingly we aske an impoſſible thing to be had. The truth is that as life and death, mercie and wrath are matters of meere vnderſtanding or knowledge, all mens ſaluation and ſome mens endleſſe perdition are things ſo oppoſite, that whoſoeuer doth affirme the one, muſt neceſſarily

d 1.*Tim.*2.3.

ſarily deny the other, God himſelfe cannot effect both, or determine that both ſhall be. There is in the knowledge both of God and man this certaintie, that life and death haue deuided betweene them the whole bodie of mankinde. What portion either of the two hath, God himſelfe knoweth; for vs he hath left no ſufficient meanes to comprehend, and for that cauſe neither giuen any leaue to ſearch in particular who are infallibly the heires of the kingdome of God, who caſtawayes. Howbeit concerning the ſtate of all men with whome we liue (for onely of them our prayers are meant) we may till the worlds end, *for the preſent*, alwayes preſume, that *as farre as in vs there is power to diſcerne* what others are, and as farre as any dutie of ours dependeth vpon the notice of their condition in reſpect of God, the ſafeſt axiomes for charitie to reſt it ſelfe vpon are theſe, *He which beleeueth alreadie, is*; and *He which beleeueth not as yet, may be the child of God.* [a] It becommeth not vs *during life altogether to condemne any man, ſeeing that* (for any thing we know) *there is hope of euery mans forgiueneſſe, the poſſibilitie of whoſe repentance is not yet cut off by death.* And therefore Charitie which [b] *hopeth all things*, prayeth alſo for all men. Wherefore to let go perſonall knowledge touching veſſels of wrath and mercie, what they are inwardly in the ſight of God it skilleth not, for vs there is cauſe ſufficient in all men, whereupon to ground our prayers vnto God in their behalfe. For whatſoeuer the minde of man apprehendeth as good, the will of charitie and loue is to haue it inlarged in the very vttermoſt extent, that all may inioy it to whome it can any way adde perfection. Becauſe therefore the farther a good thing doth reach, the nobler and worthier we reckon it, our prayers for all mens good no leſſe then for our owne, the Apoſtle with very fit termes commendeth as being καλὸν, a worke commendable for the largenes of the affection from whence it ſpringeth, euen as theirs, [c] which haue requeſted at Gods hands the ſaluation of many with the loſſe of their owne ſoules, drowning as it were and ouerwhelming themſelues in the abundance of their loue towards others, is propoſed as being in regard of the rareneſſe of ſuch affections ὑπερκαλὸν, more then excellent. But this extraordinarie height of deſire after other mens ſaluation is no common marke. The other is a dutie which belongeth vnto all and preuaileth with God dayly. For as it is in it ſelfe good, ſo God accepteth and taketh it in very good part at the hands of faithfull men. Our prayers for all men doe include both them that ſhall finde mercie, and them alſo that ſhall finde none. For them that ſhall, no man will doubt but our prayers are both accepted and graunted. Touching them for whome we craue that mercie which is not to be obteined, let vs not thinke that [d] our Sauiour did miſinſtruct his Diſciples, willing them to pray for the peace euen of ſuch as ſhould be vncapeable of ſo great a bleſſing; or that the prayers of the [e] Prophet *Ieremy* offended God, becauſe the anſwere of God was a reſolute denyall of fauor to them for whome ſupplication was made. And if any man doubt how God ſhould accept ſuch prayers in caſe they be oppoſite to his will, or not graunt them if they be according vnto that which himſelfe willeth, our anſwere is, that ſuch ſutes God accepteth in that they are conformable vnto his *generall inclination*, which is that all men might be ſaued, yet alwaies he graunteth them not, for as much as there is in God ſometimes a more priuate *occaſioned will*

which

[a] *Sidon. Apol. lib. 6. Epiſt.*

[b] *1. Cor. 14. 7.*

[c] *Rom. 9. 3. & 10. 1.*

[d] *Math. 10. 11. 12.*

[e] *Ier. 15. 1.*

which determineth the contrary. So that the other being the rule of our actions and not this, our requeſts for things oppoſite to this will of God are not therefore the leſſe gracious in his ſight. There is no doubt but we ought in all things to frame our wills to the will of God, and that otherwiſe in whatſoeuer we do we ſinne. For of our ſelues being ſo apt to erre, the only way which we haue to ſtreighten our paths, is by following the rule of his will, whoſe footeſteps naturally are right. If the eye, the hand, or the foote doe that which the will commandeth, though they ſerue as inſtruments to ſinne, yet is ſinne the commaunders fault and not theirs, becauſe nature hath abſolutely and without exception made them ſubiects to the will of man which is Lord ouer them. As the body is ſubiect to the will of man, ſo mans will to the will of God; for ſo it behoueth that the better ſhould guide and commaund the worſe. But becauſe the ſubiection of the body to the will is by naturall neceſſitie, the ſubiection of the will vnto God voluntarie; we therefore ſtand in need of direction after what ſort our wills and deſires may be rightly conformed to his. Which is not done by willing alwayes the ſelfeſame thing that God intendeth. For it may chance that his purpoſe is ſometime the ſpeedie death of them, whoſe long continuance in life if we ſhould not wiſh we were vnnaturall. When the obiect or matter therefore of our deſires is (as in this caſe) a thing both good of it ſelfe and not forbidden of God; when the end for which we deſire it is vertuous and apparently moſt holie; when the roote from which our affection towards it proceedeth is Charitie; pietie that which we doe in declaring our deſire by prayer; yea ouer and beſides all this, ſith we know that to pray for all men liuing is but to ſhew the ſame affection which towards euery of them our Lord Ieſus Chriſt hath borne, who knowing onely as God who are his, did [a] as man taſte death for the good of all men, ſurely to that will of God which ought to be and is the knowne rule of all our actions, we doe not herein oppoſe our ſelues, although his ſecret determination happily be againſt vs, which if we did vnderſtand as we do not, yet to reſt contented with that which God will haue done, is as much as hee requireth at the hands of men. And concerning our ſelues what wee earneſtly craue in this caſe, the ſame, as all things elſe that are of like condition, wee meekely ſubmit vnto his moſt gracious will and pleaſure. Finally, as we haue cauſe ſufficient why to thinke the practice of our Church allowable in this behalfe, ſo neither is ours the firſt which hath bene of that minde. For to end with the words [b] of *Proſper*, *This lawe of ſupplication for all men* (ſayth he) *the deuout zeale of all Prieſts and of all faithfull men doth hold with ſuch full agreement, that there is not any part of all the world where Chriſtian people doe not vſe to pray in the ſame manner. The Church euery where maketh prayers vnto God not onely for Saints and ſuch as alreadie in Chriſt are regenerate, but for all Infidels and enemies of the croſſe of Ieſus Chriſt, for all Idolaters, for all that perſecute Chriſt in his followers, for Iewes to whoſe blindnes the light of the Goſpell doth not yet ſhine, for heretiques and ſchiſmatiques, who from the vnitie of faith and charitie are eſtranged. And for ſuch what doth the Church aske of God but this, that leauing their errors they may be conuerted vnto him, that faith and charitie may be giuen him, and that out of the darkeneſſe of ignorance they may come to the knowledge of his truth? which becauſe they cannot themſelues do in their owne behalfe,*

as long

a *Propterea nihil contrarietatis erat, ſi Chriſtus homo ſecundum affectum pietatis quam in humanitate ſua aſſumpſerat aliquid volebat, quod tamen ſecundum voluntatem diuinam, in qua cum patre omnia diſponebat futurum non eſſe præſciebat, quia & hoc ad veram humanitatem pertinebat, vt pietatem moueretur, & hoc ad veram diuinitatem vt à ſua diſpoſitione non moueretur. Hug. de quat. Chriſt volunt.*

b *Pro. ſp. de vocat. Gen lib. 1. ca. 4. inter opera Ambroſ.*

as long as the ſway of euill cuſtome ouerbeareth them, and the chaines of Satan detaine them bound, neither are they able to breake thorow thoſe errours wherein they are ſo determinately ſettled, that they pay vnto falſitie the whole ſumme of whatſoeuer loue is owing vnto Gods Truth, our Lord mercifull and iuſt requireth to haue all men prayed for, that when we behold innumerable multitudes drawne vp from the depth of ſo bottomleſſe euils, we may not doubt but (in part) God hath done the thing wee requeſted, nor deſpaire, but that being thankefull for them towards whom alreadie hee hath ſhewed mercy, the reſt which are not as yet inlightned, ſhall before they paſſe out of life be made partakers of the like grace. Or if the grace of him which ſaueth [for ſo wee ſee it falleth out] ouerpaſſe ſome, ſo that the Prayer of the Church for them be not receiued, this we may leane to the hidden iudgements of Gods righteouſneſſe, and acknowledge that in this ſecret there is a Gulfe, which while we liue we ſhall neuer ſound.

50 Inſtruction and Prayer, whereof we haue hitherto ſpoken, are duties which ſerue as Elements, Parts or Principles to the reſt that follow, in which number the Sacraments of the Church are chiefe. The Church is to vs that very * Mother of our new birth, in whoſe bowels wee are all bred, at whoſe breſts wee receiue nouriſhment. As many therefore as are apparently to our iudgement borne of God, they haue the ſeed of their Regeneration by the Miniſterie of the Church, which vſeth to that end and purpoſe not onely the Word, but the Sacraments, both hauing generatiue force and vertue. As oft as wee mention a Sacrament properly vnderſtood (for in the Writings of the ancient Fathers all Articles which are peculiar to Chriſtian Faith, all duties of Religion containing that which ſenſe or naturall reaſon cannot of it ſelfe diſcerne, are moſt commonly named Sacraments) our reſtraint of the Word to ſome few principall Diuine Ceremonies, importeth in euery ſuch Ceremonie two things, the ſubſtance of the Ceremonie it ſelfe which is viſible, and beſides that ſomewhat elſe more ſecret, in reference whereunto we conceiue that Ceremonie to be a Sacrament. For wee all admire and honour the Holy Sacraments, not reſpecting ſo much the ſeruice which we doe vnto God in receiuing them, as the dignitie of that ſacred and ſecret gift which wee thereby receiue from God. Seeing that Sacraments therefore conſiſt altogether in relation to ſome ſuch gift or grace ſupernaturall, as onely God can beſtow, how ſhould any but the Church adminiſter thoſe Ceremonies as Sacraments, which are not thought to be Sacraments by any but by the Church? There is in Sacraments to bee obſerued their force and their forme of adminiſtration. Vpon their force their neceſſitie dependeth. So that how they are neceſſarie wee cannot diſcerne, till wee ſee how effectuall they are. When Sacraments are ſaid to be viſible Signes of inuiſible Grace, wee thereby conceiue how grace is indeed the very end for which theſe heauenly Myſteries were inſtituted, and beſides ſundry other properties obſerued in them, the matter whereof they conſiſt, is ſuch as ſignifieth, figureth, and repreſenteth their end. But ſtill their efficacie reſteth obſcure to our vnderſtanding, except wee ſearch ſomewhat more diſtinctly what Grace in particular, that is, whereunto they are referred, and what manner of operation they haue towards it. The vſe of Sacraments is but onely in this life, yet ſo, that here they concerne a farre better life then this, and are for that cauſe accompanied with

Of the name, the authour, and the force of Sacraments, which force conſiſteth in this, that God hath ordained them as means to make vs partakers of him in Chriſt, and of life through Chriſt.

* *Galat.* 4. 26. *Eſa.* 54. 3.

grace which worketh Saluation. Sacraments are the powerfull Inſtruments of God to eternall life. For as our naturall life conſiſteth in the vnion of the body with the Soule; ſo our life ſupernaturall in the vnion of the Soule with God. And for as much as there is no vnion of God with man, without that [a] meane betweene both which is both, it ſeemeth requiſite that we firſt conſider how God is in Chriſt, then how Chriſt is in vs, and how the Sacraments doe ſerue to make vs partakers of Chriſt. In other things wee may be more briefe, but the waight of theſe requireth largeneſſe.

a *Oportebat Deum carnem fieri vt in ſemetipſo concordiam conſibularet terrenorum pariter atq; cœleſtium, dum vtriuſque partim in ſe connectens pignora, & Deum pariter homini, & hominem Deo copularet.* Tertull. de Trinit.

That God is in Chriſt by the perſonall Incarnation of the Sonne who is very God. *Iſay 9.6. Ier.23.6. Rom.9.5. Iohn 16.15. Iohn 5.21. Coloſſ.2.9. 1.Iohn 5.20.*

51 The Lord our God is but one God. In which indiuiſible vnitie notwithſtanding we adore the Father as being altogether of himſelfe, wee glorifie that Conſubſtantiall Word which is the Sonne, wee bleſſe and magnifie that Coeſſentiall Spirit eternally proceeding from both, which is the Holy Ghoſt. Seeing therefore the Father is of none, the Sonne is of the Father, and the Spirit is of both, they are by theſe their ſeuerall properties really diſtinguiſhable each from other. For the ſubſtance of God with this propertie *to bee of none*, doth make the perſon of the Father; the very ſelfe-ſame ſubſtance in number with this propertie *to be of the Father*, maketh the perſon of the Sonne; the ſame ſubſtance hauing added vnto it the propertie of *proceeding from the other two*, maketh the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt. So that in euery perſon there is implyed both the ſubſtance of God which is one, and alſo that propertie which cauſeth the ſame perſon really and truly to differ from the other two. Euery [b] perſon hath his owne ſubſiſtence which no other beſides hath, although there be others beſides that are of the ſame ſubſtance. As no man but *Peter* can be the perſon which *Peter* is, yet *Paul* hath the ſelfe-ſame Nature which *Peter*. Againe, Angels haue euery of them the nature of pure and inuiſible Spirits, but euery Angell is not that Angell which appeared in a Dreame to *Ioſeph*. Now when God became man, leſt wee ſhould erre in applying this to the perſon of the Father, or of the Spirit, Saint *Peters* Confeſſion vnto Chriſt was, Thou art the [c] *Sonne* of the liuing God, and Saint *Iohns* Expoſition thereof was made plaine, that it is the [d] *Word* which was made fleſh. [e] *The Father and the Holy Ghoſt* (ſaith DAMASCEN) *haue no communion with the Incarnation of the Word, otherwiſe then onely by approbation and aſſent.* Notwithſtanding, for as much as the Word and Deitie are one ſubiect, we muſt beware we exclude not the Nature of God from incarnation, and ſo make the Sonne of God incarnate not to bee very God. For vndoutedly euen [f] the nature of God it ſelfe in the onely perſon of the Sonne is incarnate, and hath taken to it ſelfe fleſh. Wherefore incarnation may neither be granted to any perſon but onely one, nor yet denied to that nature which is common vnto all three. Concerning the cauſe of which incomprehenſible Myſtery, for as much as it ſeemeth a thing vnconſonant, that the world ſhould honour any other as the Sauiour, but him whom it honoureth as the Creator of

b Πρόσωπον ἤγουν ὑπόστασις ἐστὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἁγίους πατέρας τὸ ἰδικὸν παρὰ τὸ κοινὸν. Κοινότες γὰρ ἐσὶν ἡ φύσις ἑκάστου πραγματος ἴδιαι δὲ εἰσὶν αἱ ὑποστάσεις. Suid. ἡ οὐσία καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐχ ὑφίσαται, ἀλλὰ ἐν ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι θεωρεῖται. τὸ δὲ κοινὸν μετὰ τῶ ἰδιαζ ζόγος ἔχει ἡ πρόσασι καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ ὑπάρξαι. Damaſc. de Orthod. fide lib.3.cap.6.

c *Mat.16.16.*

d *Iohn 1.14.*

Ignat. Epiſt. ad Magneſ. Ὃς ἐσὶν αὐτῦ λόγος οὐ ῥῆσὸς ἀλλ' οὐσιώδης. Οὐ γὰρ ἐσὶ λαλιᾶς ἐνάρθρε φώνημα ἀλλ' ἐνεργείας θεικῆς οὐσία γεννητή.

e Κατ' οὐδένα λόγον κεκοινώνηκεν ὁ πατὴρ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τῆ σαρκώσει τῦ λόγε, εἰ μὴ κατ' εὐδοκίαν καὶ βούλησιν. Damaſc.

f *In illo diuinitatis eſt vnigeniti facta particeps mortalitatis noſtræ, vt & nos participes eius immortalitatis eſſemus.* Aug. Epiſt.57.

of the World, and in the wiſedome of God it hath not beene thought conuenient to admit any way of ſauing man but by man himſelfe, though nothing ſhould be ſpoken of the loue and mercie of God towards man, which this way are become ſuch a ſpectacle, as neither men nor Angels can behold without a kind of heauenly aſtoniſhment, wee may hereby perceiue there is cauſe ſufficient why Diuine Nature ſhould aſſume Humane, that ſo [a] God might be in Chriſt reconciling to himſelfe the World. And if ſome cauſe bee likewiſe required, why rather to this end and purpoſe the Sonne, then either the Father or the Holy Ghoſt ſhould be made man, could wee which are borne the children of wrath, be adopted the Sonnes of God through grace, any other then the naturall Sonne of God being Mediator betweene God and vs? It [b] became therefore him by whom all things are, to be the way of Saluation to all, that the inſtitution and reſtitution of the World might bee both wrought by one hand. The Worlds Saluation was without the incarnation of the Sonne of God; a thing impoſſible, not ſimply impoſſible, but impoſſible, it being preſuppoſed that the wil of God was no otherwiſe to haue it ſaued then by the death of his owne Sonne. Wherefore taking to himſelfe our fleſh, and by his incarnation making it his owne fleſh, hee had now of his owne, although from vs, what to offer vnto God for vs. And as Chriſt tooke manhood, that by it hee might be capable of death whereunto he humbled himſelfe, ſo becauſe manhood is the proper ſubiect of compaſſion and feeling pittie, which maketh the Scepter of Chriſts Regencie euen in the Kingdome of Heauen amiable, hee which without our nature could not on earth ſuffer for the ſinnes of the World, doth now alſo [c] by meanes thereof both make interceſſion to God for ſinners, and exerciſe dominion ouer all men with a true, a naturall, and a ſenſible touch of mercie.

[a] 2. Cor. 5. 19.

[b] Heb. 2. 10.

[c] Heb. 4. 15.

52 It is not in mans abilitie either to expreſſe perfectly, or conceiue the manner how this was brought to paſſe. But the ſtrength of our faith is tryed by thoſe things wherein our wits and capacities are not ſtrong. Howbeit becauſe this Diuine Myſtery is more true then plaine, diuers hauing framed the ſame to their owne conceits and fancies, are found in their expoſitions thereof more plaine then true: In ſo much that by the ſpace of fiue hundred yeeres after Chriſt, the Church was almoſt troubled with nothing elſe, ſauing only with care and trauaile to preſerue this Article from the ſiniſter conſtruction of Heretikes. Whoſe firſt miſts when the light of the [d] *Nicen* Councell had diſpeld, it was not long ere *Macedonius* transferred vnto Gods moſt Holy Spirit the ſame blaſphemie, wherewith *Arrius* had alreadie diſhonoured his coeternally begotten Sonne; not long ere *Apollinarius* beganne to [e] paire away from Chriſts humanitie. In refutation of which impieties when the Fathers of the Church *Athanaſius*, *Baſil*, and the two *Gregories*, had by their painefull trauailes ſufficiently cleered the truth, no leſſe for the Deity of the holy Ghoſt, then for the complete humanitie of Chriſt, there followed hereupon a finall concluſion, whereby thoſe controuerſies, as alſo the reſt which *Paulus Samoſatenus*, *Sabellius*, *Photinus*, *Aetius*, *Eunomius*, together with the whole ſwarme of peſtilent *Dimi-arians*, had from time to time ſtirred vp ſithence the Councell of *Nice*, were both priuately firſt at Rome in a ſmaller Synod, and

The miſinterpretations which Hereſie hath made of the manner how God and man are vnited in one Chriſt.

[d] *Anno D.* 325.

[e] Μηδὲ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φησὶ τὴν σάρκα ἐκείνῳ ἀθρανάτῳ νοὸς ἡγεμόνι συνημμένην ἀπὸ τῆς ἀντῳ ἐνδυκότος θεῦ. Suid.

then [a] at Conſtantinople in a generall famous Aſſembly brought to a peaceable and quiet end, ſeuenſcore Biſhops and tenne agreeing in that Confeſſion which by them ſet downe, remaineth at this preſent houre, a part of our Chuch-Liturgie, a Memoriall of their fidelitie and zeale, a ſoueraigne preſeruatiue of Gods people from the venemous infection of Hereſie. Thus in Chriſt the veritie of God, and the complete ſubſtance of man, were with full agreement eſtabliſhed throughout the World, till ſuch time as the Hereſie of *Neſtorius* broched it ſelfe, [b] *diuiding Chriſt into two perſons, the Sonne of God, and the Sonne of man, the one a perſon begotten of God before all Worlds, the other alſo a perſon borne of the Virgin* MARY, *and in ſpecial fauour choſen to be made intire to the Son of God aboue all men, ſo that whoſoeuer will honor God, muſt together honor Chriſt, with whoſe perſon God hath vouchſafed to ioyne himſelfe in ſo high a degree of gracious reſpect and fauour.* But that the ſelfe-ſame perſon which verily is man, ſhould properly be God alſo, and that, by reaſon not of two perſons linked in amitie, but of two natures, Humane and Diuine, conioyned in one and the ſame perſon, the God of glorie may be ſaid as well to haue ſuffered death, as to haue raiſed the dead from their graues, the Sonne of man as well to haue made as to haue redeemed the World, *Neſtorius* in no caſe would admit. That which deceiued him, was want of heed to the firſt beginning of that admirable combination of God with man. The Word, ſaith S. *Iohn*, was made fleſh and dwelt [c] *in vs*. The Euangeliſt vſeth the plurall number, Men for Manhood, *Vs* for the nature whereof we conſiſt, euen as the Apoſtle denying the Aſſumption of *Angelicall nature*, ſaith likewiſe in the plurall number, he tooke not [d] *Angels* but the ſeed of *Abraham*. It pleaſed not the Word or Wiſdome of God to take to it ſelfe ſome one perſon amongſt men, for then ſhould that one haue beene aduanced which was aſſumed and no more, but Wiſedome, to the end Shee might ſaue many, built her Houſe of that *nature* which is common vnto all, Shee made not *this or that man* her Habitation, but dwelt *in vs*. The Seedes of Herbs and Plants at the firſt are not in act, but in poſſibilitie that which they afterwards grow to be. If the Sonne of God had taken to himſelfe a man now made and alreadie perfected, it would of neceſſitie follow that there are in Chriſt two perſons, the one aſſuming and the other aſſumed, whereas the Sonne of God did not aſſume a mans perſon vnto his owne, but a mans nature to his owne perſon, and therefore tooke *ſemen*, the ſeed of *Abraham*, the very firſt originall Element of our nature, [e] before it was come to haue any perſonall Humane ſubſiſtence. The fleſh and the coniunction of the fleſh with God beganne both at one inſtant, his making and taking to himſelfe our fleſh was but one act, ſo that in Chriſt there is no perſonall ſubſiſtence but one, and that from euerlaſting. By taking only the nature of man, hee ſtill continueth one perſon, and changeth but the manner of his ſubſiſting, which was before in the meere glory of the Sonne of God, and is now in the habit of our fleſh. For as much therefore as Chriſt hath no perſonall ſubſiſtence but one whereby wee acknowledge him to haue beene eternally the Sonne of God, wee muſt of neceſſitie apply to the *perſon* of the Sonne of God, euen that which is ſpoken of Chriſt according to his Humane nature. For Example, according to the fleſh hee was borne of the Virgin *Mary*, baptized of *Iohn* in the Riuer Iordan, by *Pilate* adiudged

a An. Do. 381.

b Οὐκ ἔτι τὼ ἕνωσιν ὁμολογεῖ μεθ' ἡμῶν, Cyril. Epiſt. ad Eulog.

Οὐκ ἄλεγε γὰρ ἕνωσιν τὸν λόγον τῷ θεῷ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ δύο ὑποστάσεις ἔλεγε καὶ διαίρεσιν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ θεὸν ἀπεκάλει τὸν χριστὸν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτι ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἕξει καὶ τῇ οἰκειώσει χῦ τὸ παντὸ ἀλλήλοις ἀρίσκειν διὰ τὴν σοφὸν φιλίας, Leont. de Sect.

c *Iohn* 1.14.

d *Heb.* 2.16.

e ἡ ληφθεῖσα φύσις ἀ πρωτῆρχε τῆς λύσεως. Theod. Dial. Ἀτρεπ.

adiudged to dye, and executed by the Iewes. Wee cannot ſay properly that the Virgin bore, or *Iohn* did baptize, or *Pilate* condemne, or the Iewes crucifie the nature of man, becauſe theſe all are perſonall Attributes, his perſon is the ſubiect which receiueth them, his nature, that which maketh his perſon capable or apt to receiue. If wee ſhould ſay that the perſon of a man in our Sauiour Chriſt was the ſubiect of theſe things, this were plainely to intrap our ſelues in the very ſnare of the *Neſtorians* Hereſie, betweene whom and the Church of God there was no difference, ſauing onely that *Neſtorius* imagined in Chriſt as well a perſonall Humane ſubſiſtence as a Diuine, the Church acknwledging a ſubſtance both Diuine and Humane, but no other perſonall ſubſiſtence then Diuine, becauſe the Sonne of God tooke not to himſelfe a mans perſon, but the nature onely of a man. Chriſt is a perſon both Diuine and Humane, howbeit not therefore two perſons in one, neither both theſe in one ſenſe, but a perſon Diuine, becauſe hee is *perſonally* the Sonne of God, Humane, becauſe *hee hath* really *the nature* of the children of men. In Chriſt therefore God and Man, *there is* (ſaith [a] PASCHASIVS) *a two-fold ſubſtance, not a two-fold perſon, becauſe one perſon extinguiſheth another, whereas one nature cannot in another become extinct.* For the perſonall being which the Sonne of God alreadie had, ſuffered not the ſubſtance to bee perſonall which hee tooke, although together with the nature which hee had, the nature alſo which hee tooke continueth. Whereupon it followeth againſt *Neſtorius*, that no perſon was borne of the Virgin but the Sonne of God, no perſon but the Sonne of God baptized, the Sonne of God condemned, the Sonne of God and no other perſon crucified, which one onely point of Chriſtian Beliefe, *the infinite worth of the Sonne of God*, is the verie ground of all things beleeued concerning life and Saluation, by that which Chriſt either did or ſuffered as man in our behalfe. But for as much as Saint *Cyril*, the chiefeſt of thoſe two hundred Biſhops aſſembled in the [b] Councell of Epheſus where the Hereſie of *Neſtorius* was condemned, had in his Writings againſt the Arrians auouched, that *the Word or Wiſedome* of God hath *but one nature* which is eternall, and whereunto hee aſſumed fleſh (for the Arrians were of opinion, that beſides Gods owne eternall Wiſedome, there is a Wiſedome which God created before all things, to the end hee might thereby create all things elſe, and that this created Wiſedome was the Word which tooke fleſh.) Againe, for as much as the ſame *Cyril* had giuen inſtance in the bodie and the ſoule of man, no farther then onely to enforce by Example againſt *Neſtorius*, that a viſible and an inuiſible, a mortall and an immortall ſubſtance may vnited make *one perſon*, the words of *Cyril* were in proceſſe of time ſo taken, as though it had beene his drift to teach, that euen as in vs the body and the ſoule, ſo in Chriſt, God and man make but *one nature*. Of which errour, ſixe hundred and thirtie Fathers in the [c] Councell of Chalcedon condemned *Eutyches*. For as *Neſtorius* teaching rightly that God and man are diſtinct Natures, did thereupon miſ-inferre that in CHRIST thoſe natures can by no coniunction make one perſon; ſo *Eutyches* of ſound beliefe, as touching their true perſonall copulation became vnſound, by denying the difference which ſtill continueth betweene the one and the other nature. Wee muſt therefore

[a] *Paſchaſ. lib. de Spirit. Sanct.*

[b] *An. D. 431.*

[c] *An. D. 451.*

keepe warily a middle course, shunning both that distraction of persons wherein *Nestorius* went awry, and also this later confusion of natures which deceiued *Eutyches*. [a] These natures from the moment of their first combination haue beene and are for euer inseparable. For euen when his Soule forsooke the Tabernacle of his Body, his Deitie forsooke neither Body nor Soule. If it had, then could we not truly hold either that the person of Christ was buried, or that the person of Christ did raise vp it selfe from the dead. For the Body separated from the Word, can in no true sense be termed the person of Christ; nor is it true, to say that the Sonne of God in raising vp that Body did raise vp himselfe, if the Body were not both with him and of him, euen during the time it lay in the Sepulchre. The like is also to be said of the Soule, otherwise wee are plainely and inuitably *Nestorians*. The very person of Christ therefore for euer one & the selfesame, was only touching bodily substance concluded within the Graue, his Soule onely from thence seuered, but by personall vnion, his Deitie still vnseparably ioyned with both.

a Ἀ'χώρισον προσῆκει τῆς σαρκὸς εἶναι τὴν θείαν φύσιν ὁμολογεῖν κἀν τῷ σταυρῷ κἀν τῷ τάφῳ. Theodor. Dial. Ἀπαθὴς.

That by the vnion of the one with the other nature in Christ, there groweth neyther gaine nor losse of essentiall properties to either.

53 The sequell of which coniunction of natures in the person of Christ, is no abolishment of naturall properties appertaining to either substance, no transition or transmigration thereof out of one substance into another, finally, no such mutuall infusion as really causeth the same naturall operations or properties to be made common vnto both substances, but whatsoeuer is naturall to Deitie, the same remaineth in Christ vncommunicated vnto his Manhood, & whatsoeuer naturall to Manhood, his Deitie thereof is vncapable. The true properties and operations of his Deitie are, to know that which is not possible for *created natures* to comprehend; to bee simply the highest cause of all things, the welspring of immortalitie & life; to haue neither end nor beginning of daies; to be euery where present, and inclosed no where; to be subiect to no alteration nor passion; to produce of it selfe those effects which cannot proceed but from infinite Maiestie and power. The true properties and operations of his Manhood are such, as [b] *Irenæus* reckoneth vp, *If Christ* (saith hee) *had not taken flesh from the very earth, he would not haue coueted those earthly nourishments wherewith bodies which bee taken from thence are fed. This was the nature which felt hunger after long fasting, was desirous of rest after trauaile, testified compassion and loue by teares, groned in heauinesse, and with extremitie of griefe euen melted away it selfe into bloudie sweates.* To Christ wee ascribe both working of Wonders and suffering of paines, wee vse concerning him, speeches as well of Humilitie as of Diuine Glory, but the one we apply vnto that nature which he tooke of the Virgin *Mary*, the other to that which was in the beginning. Wee may not therefore imagine that the properties of the weaker nature haue vanisht with the presence of the more glorious, and haue bin therein swallowed vp as in a Gulfe. We dare not in this point giue eare to them, who ouer-boldly affirme, that [c] *The nature which Christ tooke weake and feeble from vs by being mingled with Deity, became the same which Deity is, that the Assumption of our substance vnto his, was like the blending of a drop of Vineger with the huge Ocean, wherein although it continue still, yet not with those properties which seuered it hath, because sithence the instant of their coniunction, all distinction and difference of the one from the other is extinct, and whatsoeuer we can now conceiue of the Sonne of God, is nothing*

b Ταῦτα πάντα σύμβολα σαρκὸς τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς ἐπλημμένης. Iren. lib. 3. aduers. hæres. Christ did all these, ἀνθρωπίνου σώματος νόμῳ. Greg. Nazian. orat. 2. de filio. τοὺς μὲν ταπεινοὺς λόγους τῷ ἐκ Μαρίας ἀνθρώπῳ, τοὺς δὲ ὑπερφυεῖς τῷ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντι λοιπὸν. Theodor. Dial. Ἀσύγχυτ. c Gregor. Nyss. Epist. ad Theoph. l. Alexandr.

else

elſe but meere Deitie, which wordes are ſo plaine and direct for *Eutyches*, that I ſtand in doubt they are not his whoſe name they carry. Sure I am, they are far from truth, and muſt of neceſſitie giue place to the better aduiſed ſentences of other men. [a] *He which in himſelfe was appointed* (ſaith HILARIE) *a Mediator to ſaue his Church, and for performance of that myſterie of mediation betweene God and Man, is become God and Man, doth now, being but one, conſiſt of both thoſe natures vnited, neither hath he through the vnion of both incurred the damage or loſſe of either, leſt by being borne a Man, we ſhould thinke he hath giuen ouer to be God, or that becauſe he continueth God, therefore he cannot be Man alſo, whereas the true beliefe which maketh a man happy, proclaymeth ioyntly God and Man, confeſſeth the Word and Fleſh together.* CYRIL more plainely, [b] *His two natures haue knit themſelues the one to the other, and are in that neereneſſe as vncapable of confuſion as of diſtraction. Their coherence hath not taken away the difference betweene them. Fleſh is not become God, but doth ſtill continue fleſh, although it be now the fleſh of God.* Yea, *of each ſubſtance* (ſaith [c] LEO) *the properties are all preſerued and kept ſafe.* Theſe two natures are as cauſes and originall grounds of all things which Chriſt hath done. Wherefore ſome things hee doth as God, becauſe his Deitie alone is the well-ſpring from which they flow; ſome things as Man, becauſe they iſſue from his meere humane nature; ſome things ioyntly as both God and Man, becauſe both natures concurre as principles thereunto. For albeit the properties of each *nature* doe cleaue onely to that nature whereof they are properties, and therefore Chriſt cannot *naturally be* as God, the ſame which he *naturally is* as Man, yet both natures may very well concurre vnto *one effect*, and Chriſt in that reſpect be truly ſaid to *worke* both as God and as Man, one and the ſelfeſame thing. Let vs therefore ſet it downe for a rule or principle ſo neceſſarie, as nothing more to the playne deciding of all doubts and queſtions about the vnion of natures in Chriſt, that of both natures there is a *cooperation* often, an *aſſociation* alwayes, but neuer any mutuall *participation*, whereby the properties of the one are infuſed into the other. Which rule muſt ſerue for the better vnderſtanding of that which [d] *Damaſcene* hath touching croſſe and circularie ſpeeches, wherein there are attributed to God ſuch things as belong to Manhood, and to Man ſuch as properly concerne the Deitie of Chriſt Ieſus, the cauſe whereof is the *aſſociation* of natures in one ſubiect. A kinde of mutuall commutation there is, whereby thoſe concrete names, *God*, and *Man*, when we ſpeake of *Chriſt*, doe take interchangeably one anothers roome, ſo that for truth of ſpeech it skilleth not whether we ſay, that the Son of God hath created the world, and the Sonne of man by his death hath ſaued it, or elſe that the Sonne of man did create, and the Sonne of God die to ſaue the world. Howbeit, as oft as we attribute to God what the Manhood of Chriſt claymeth, or to man what his Deitie hath right vnto, we vnderſtand by the name of God, and the name of Man, neither the one nor the other nature, but the whole perſon of Chriſt in whom both natures are. When the Apoſtle ſaith of the Iewes, that they crucified the Lord of glorie, and when the Sonne of Man, being on earth, affirmeth, that the Sonne of Man was in heauen at the ſame inſtant, there is in theſe two ſpeeches that mutuall circulation before mentioned. In the one there is attributed to God, or the [e] Lord of glorie, death, whereof diuine nature is not capable; in the other

a *Hilar. de Trin. lib 9.*

b *Cypr. Epiſt. ad Neſt.*

c *Salua proprietate vtriuſque naturæ, in ſecepta eſt à maieſtate humilitas, a virtute infirmitas, ab æternitate mortalitas, Leo. Epiſt. ad Flau.*

d Οὕτως ἐν τρόπῳ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως ἑκατέρας φύσεως ἀντιδιδόσης τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τὰ ἴδια, διὰ τὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως ταυτότητα, κ) τὴν εἰς ἀλλήλα περιχώρησιν, *Damaſc. de Orthod. fid. lib. 3. c. 4. Verum eſt duarum in Chriſto naturarum, alteram ſuas altera proprietates impartire, enunciando vadicet, idque non in abſtracto ſed in concreto ſolum, diuinas hominis non humanitati, humanas non Deitati ſed Deo tribui. Cuius hæc eſt ratio, quia cum ſuppoſitum prædicationis ſit eiuſmodi vt vtramque naturam in ſe contineat, ſiue ab vna, ſiue ab altera denominetur nihil refert.*

e *1. Cor. 2. 8.*

other vbiquitie vnto [a] Man, which humane nature admitteth not. Therefore by the Lord of glorie wee muſt needes vnderſtand the whole perſon of Chriſt, who being Lord of glorie, was indeede crucified, but not in that nature for which he is termed the Lord of glorie. In like manner, by the Sonne of Man the whole perſon of Chriſt muſt neceſſarily bee meant, who being man vpon earth, filled heauen with his glorious preſence, but not according to that nature for which the title of man is giuen him. Without this caution the Fathers, whoſe beliefe was ſincere and their meaning moſt ſound, ſhall ſeeme in their writings one to denie what another conſtantly doth affirme. *Theodoret* diſputeth with great earneſtneſſe, that *God* cannot bee ſaid to ſuffer. But he thereby meaneth Chriſts *diuine nature* againſt [b] *Apollinarius*, which held euen Deitie it ſelfe paſſible. *Cyril* on the other ſide againſt *Neſtorius* as much contendeth, that whoſoeuer will denie *very God* to haue ſuffered death, doth forſake the faith. Which notwithſtanding to hold, were hereſie, if the name of God in this aſſertion did not import as it doth the perſon of Chriſt, who being verily God, ſuffered death, but in the fleſh, and not in that ſubſtance for which the name of God is giuen him.

a *Iohn* 3.13.

b Ἀνιτλῶ τὸ υἱῷ κωλασκευάζοντι τὸν θεότητα. Greg. Nyſſ. de ſectator. *Apollinar. Epiſt. ad Flauia.*

What Chriſt hath obtayned according to the fleſh, by the vnion of his Fleſh with Deitie.

54 If then both natures doe remayne with their properties in Chriſt thus diſtinct as hath beene ſhewed, we are for our better vnderſtanding what either nature receiueth from other, to note, that Chriſt is by three degrees a receiuer, firſt, in that he is the Sonne of God: ſecondly, in that his humane nature hath had the honour of vnion with Deitie beſtowed vpon it: thirdly, in that by meanes thereof ſundrie eminent graces haue flowed as effects from Deitie into that nature which is coupled with it. On Chriſt therefore there is beſtowed the gift of eternall Generation, the gift of vnion, and the gift of vnction. By the gift of eternall Generation Chriſt hath receiued of the Father one and in number the [e] ſelfe-ſame ſubſtance, which the Father hath of himſelfe vnreceiued from any other. For euery [d] *beginning is a Father* vnto that which commeth of it; and euery *off-ſpring is a Sonne* vnto that out of which it groweth. Seeing therefore the Father alone is [e] originally that Deity which Chriſt [f] originally is not (for Chriſt is God [g] by being of God, light [h] by iſſuing out of light) it followeth hereupon, that whatſoeuer Chriſt hath [i] common vnto him with his heauenly Father, the ſame of neceſſitie muſt bee *giuen* him, but naturally and [k] eternally giuen, not beſtowed by way of beneuolence and fauour, as the other gifts both are. And therefore [l] where the Fathers giue it out for a rule, that whatſoeuer Chriſt is ſaid in Scripture to haue

c *Natiuitas Dei non poteſt non eam ex qua profecta eſt tenere naturam. Neq; enim aliud quàm Deus ſubſiſtit, qui non aliunde quàm ex Deo Deus ſubſiſtit*, Hilar. de Trinit. lib. 5. *Cum ſit gloria, ſempiternitate, virtute, regno, poteſtate hoc quod pater eſt, omnia tamen hæc non ſine auctore ſicut pater, ſed ex patre tanquam filius ſine initio & æqualis habet*, Ruffin. in Symb. Apoſt. cap. 9. *Filium aliunde non deduco, ſed de ſubſtantia patris omnem à patre conſecutum poteſtatem*, Tertull. contra Prax. d *Epheſ.* 1.15. πᾶσα πατριὰ, *quicquid alteri quomodo dat eſſe.* e *Iac.* 1.17. *Pater luminum* υἱῷ τε καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου, Pachym. in Dionyſ. de Cœl. Hierar. cap. 1. *Pater eſt principium totius diuinitatis quia ipſe à nullo eſt. Non enim habet de quo procedat, ſed ab eo & filius eſt genitus, & Spiritus ſanctus procedit*, Aug. de Trin. l 4. c. 20. *Hinc Chriſtus deitatis loco nomen vbiq; patris vſurpat; quia pater nimirum eſt* πηγαῖα θεότης. f *Pater tota ſubſtantia eſt, filius vero deriuatio totius & propagatio*, Tertul. contra Prax. g *Quod enim Deus eſt, ex Deo eſt*, Hilar. de Trin. lib. 5. *Nihil niſi natum habet filius*, Hilar. lib. 4. h Ἀπαύγασμα δόξης. *Heb.* 1.3. Ἔστιν ἀπορροὴ τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δόξης εἰλικρινὴς ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς ἀϊδίου, Sap. 7.25,26. i *Nihil in ſe diuerſum ac diſſimile habent natus & generans*, Hilar. de Synod. aduerſ. Aria. *In Trinitate alius atque alius, non aliud atque aliud*, Vincent. Lyr. cap. 19. k *Vbi author æternus eſt, ibi & natiuitatis æternitas eſt: quia ſicut natiuitas ab authore eſt, ita & ab æterno authore æterna natiuitas eſt*, Hilar. de Trin. lib. 12. *Sicut naturam præſtat filio ſine initio generatio: ita Spiritui ſancto præſtat eſſentiam ſine initio proceſſio*, Aug. de Trin. lib. 5. cap. 15. l Ὅσα λέγει γεγραφὴ ὅτι ἔλαβεν ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ἐδοξάσθη, διὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτοῦ λέγει, ἐ τὴν θεότητα, Theodoret. fol. 42. & ex Gregor. Nazian. Orat. 2. de fil. *ibid.* 44.

haue *receiued*, the ſame wee ought to apply onely to the manhood of Chriſt: their Aſſertion is true of all things which Chriſt hath receiued *by grace*, but to that which hee hath receiued of the Father by eternall natiuitie or birth, it reacheth not. Touching vnion of Deitie with Manhood, it is by grace, becauſe there can bee no greater grace ſhewed towards man, then that God ſhould vouchſafe to vnite to mans nature the Perſon of his onely begotten Sonne. Becauſe the Father [a] loueth the Sonne as Man, hee hath by vniting Deitie with Manhood, *giuen* all things into his hands. It hath [b] *pleaſed* the Father that in him all fulneſſe ſhould dwell. The name which hee hath aboue all names is [c] *giuen* him. As the Father hath life in himſelfe, the Sonne in himſelfe hath life alſo by the [d] *gift* of the Father. The gift whereby God hath made Chriſt a Fountayne of life, is, that [e] *coniunction of the nature of God with the nature of Man*, in the perſon of Chriſt, [f] *which gift* (ſaith Chriſt to the Woman of Samaria) if thou didſt know, and in *that reſpect* vnderſtand *who it is*, which asketh water of thee, thou wouldeſt aske of him, that hee might giue thee liuing Water. The vnion therefore of the Fleſh with Deitie, is to *that fleſh* a gift of principall grace and fauour. For by vertue of this grace, Man is really made God, a creature is exalted aboue the dignitie of all creatures, and hath all creatures elſe vnder it. This admirable vnion of God with Man, can inforce in that higher nature no alteration, becauſe vnto God there is nothing more naturall then not to bee ſubiect to any change. Neither is it a thing impoſſible, that the Word being made Fleſh, ſhould bee that which it was not before, as touching the manner of ſubſiſtence, and yet continue in all qualities or properties of nature the ſame it was, becauſe the Incarnation of the Sonne of God conſiſteth *meerely in the vnion* of Natures, which vnion doth adde perfection to the Weaker, to the Nobler no alteration at all. If therefore it bee demanded what the perſon of the Sonne of God hath attayned by aſſuming Manhood, ſurely, the whole ſumme of all is this, to bee as wee are truely, really, and naturally man, by meanes whereof hee is made capable of meaner offices, then otherwiſe his perſon could haue admitted, the onely gayne he thereby purchaſed for himſelfe, was to bee capable of loſſe and detriment for the good of others. But may it rightly bee ſaid concerning the Incarnation of Ieſus Chriſt, that as our nature hath in no reſpect changed his, ſo from his to ours as little alteration hath enſued? The very cauſe of his taking vpon him our nature, was to change it, to better the qualitie, and to aduance the condition thereof, although in no ſort to aboliſh the ſubſtance which hee tooke, nor to infuſe into it the naturall forces and properties of his Deitie. As therefore wee haue ſhewed how the Sonne of God by his Incarnation hath changed the manner of that perſonall ſubſiſtence which before was ſolitarie, and is now in the aſſociation of fleſh, no alteration thereby accruing to the nature of God; ſo neyther are the *properties of mans nature*, in the perſon of Chriſt, by force and vertue of the ſame coniunction ſo much altered, as not to ſtay within thoſe limits which our ſubſtance is bordered withall; nor the *ſtate and qualitie* of our ſubſtance ſo vnaltered, but that there are in it many glorious effects proceeding from ſo neere copulation with Deitie. God from vs can receiue nothing, wee by him

a *Iohn* 3.35.
b *Epheſ.*1.5.
c *Phil.*2.9.
d *Iohn* 5.26.
e 1.*Iohn* 5.20. Hic eſt verus Deus, & vita æterna.
f *Iohn* 4.10.
g ὥσπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κοινὸν ἐστὶ τὸ δυητὸν, οὕτω τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος κοινὸν τὸ ἀτρεπτον τε καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον, Theod. Dial. Ἀτρεπτος. *Periculum ſtatus ſui Deo nullum eſt*, Tertul. de car. Chr. *Maieſtati ſuæ Dei corporea natiuitas nihil contulit, nihil abſtulit*, Leo de Natiu. Ser. 8. Μένει δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ὁ παρὼν, θεὸς μένει καὶ τὸν ἡμῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ παρασκευάζων ὑπαρξιν, Theophil. *In formam ſerui tranſiſſe non eſt naturam perdidiſſe Dei*, Hilar. de Trin. lib. 12.

him haue obtayned much. For albeit the naturall properties of Deitie bee not communicable to mans nature, the ſupernaturall gifts, graces, and effects thereof are. The honour which our fleſh hath by being the fleſh of the Sonne of God, is in many reſpects great. If wee reſpect but that which is common vnto vs with him, the glorie prouided for him and his in the Kingdome of heauen, his Right and Title thereunto euen in that he is man, differeth from other mens, becauſe hee is that man of whom God is himſelfe a part. Wee haue right to the ſame inheritance with Chriſt, but not the ſame right which hee hath, his being ſuch as wee cannot reach, and ours ſuch as he cannot ſtoupe vnto. Furthermore, to be the Way, the Truth, and the Life; to be the Wiſedome, Righteouſneſſe, Sanctification, Reſurrection; to be the Peace of the whole world, the Hope of the righteous, the Heire of all things; to bee that ſupreme Head whereunto all power both in heauen and in earth is giuen; theſe are not honours common vnto Chriſt with other men, they are Titles aboue the dignitie and worth of any which were but a meere man, yet true of Chriſt euen in that hee is man, but Man with whom Deitie is perſonally ioyned, and vnto whom it hath added thoſe excellencies which make him more then worthy thereof. Finally, ſith God hath deified our nature, though not by turning it into himſelfe, yet by making it his owne inſeparable habitation, wee cannot now conceiue how God ſhould without man either [a] exerciſe diuine power, or receiue the glorie of diuine praiſe. For Man is in [b] both an aſſociate of Deitie. But to come to the grace of *vnction*, did the parts of our nature the Soule and Body of Chriſt receiue by the influence of Deitie, where-with they were matcht, no abilitie of operation, no vertue or qualitie aboue nature? Surely, as the ſword which is made fierie, doth not onely cut by reaſon of the ſharpneſſe which ſimply it hath, but alſo burne by meanes of that heate which it hath from fire; ſo there is no doubt, but the Deitie of Chriſt hath inabled that nature which it tooke of man, to doe more then man in this world hath power to comprehend, for as much as (the bare eſſentiall properties of Deitie excepted) he hath imparted vnto it all things, he hath repleniſht it with all ſuch perfections as the ſame is any way apt to receiue, [c] at the leaſt, according to the exigence of that œconomie or ſeruice, for which it pleaſed him in loue and mercy to be made man. For as the parts, degrees, and offices of that myſticall adminiſtration did require, which he voluntarily vnder-tooke, the beames of Deitie did in operation alwayes accordingly either [d] reſtrayne or enlarge themſelues. From hence we may ſomewhat coniecture, how the powers of that Soule are illuminated, which being ſo inward vnto God, cannot chooſe but bee priuie vnto all things which God worketh, and muſt therfore of neceſſitie be indued with knowledge ſo farre-forth [e] vniuerſall, though not with infinite knowledge peculiar to Deitie it ſelfe. The Soule of Chriſt that ſaw in this life the face of God, was here, through ſo viſible preſence of Deitie, filled with all manner [f] graces and vertues in that vnmatchable degree of perfection, for which of him wee reade it written, that God with the Oile of gladneſſe anointed [g] him [h] aboue his [i] fellowes. And as God hath in Chriſt vnſpeakeably glorified the Nobler, ſo

[a] Μετέχειν ἀνθρωπίνη τῆς θείας ἐνεργείας, Theod.

[b] ἡ δεξιὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ ποιητικὴ πάντων, ἧς ἐστὶν ὁ κύριος· δι' ἣν τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, ἔνωσιν τὸν ἀνωδίρτα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀναγαγοῦσα θεὸν διὰ τῆς ἑνώσεως. Gregor. Nyſſ. Apud Theod.

[c] Luc. 2. 47.

[d] ἡσυχάζοντι θεῷ τῷ λόγῳ ἐν τῷ πειράζεσθαι καὶ σταυροῦσθαι καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν, συγκινουμένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ νίκῃ καὶ ὑπομένειν καὶ χρησίνεσθαι καὶ ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι. Theodoret. & Iren. lib. 3. aduerſ. hæreſ.

[e] Matth. 27. 46.

[f] Col. 2. 3.

[g] Iſa. 11. 2.

[h] Iſa. 61. 1. Luc. 4. 18. Act. 4. 27.

[i] Heb. 1. 9. 2. Cor. 1. 21. 1. Iohn 2. 20, 27.

likewiſe

likewiſe the meaner part of our nature, the very bodily ſubſtance of man. Where alſo that muſt againe be remembred which wee noted before, concerning degrees of the influence of Deitie proportionable vnto his owne purpoſes, intents and counſels. For in this reſpect his body which by naturall condition was corruptible, wanted the gift of euerlaſting immunitie from death, paſſion, and diſſolution, till God which gaue it to bee ſlaine for ſinne, had for righteouſneſſe ſake reſtored it to life with certainetie of endleſſe continuance. Yea, in this reſpect the very glorified Body of Chriſt retayned in it [a] the skars and markes of former mortalitie. But ſhall we ſay, that in heauen his glorious Body by vertue of the ſame cauſe, hath now power to preſent it ſelfe in all places, and to be euery-where at once preſent? We nothing doubt, but God hath many wayes aboue the reach of our capacities exalted that Body which it hath pleaſed him to make his owne, that Body wherewith he hath ſaued the world, that Body which hath beene and is the roote of eternall Life, the Inſtrument wherewith Deitie worketh, the Sacrifice which taketh away ſinne, the Price which hath ranſomed Soules from death, the Leader of the whole Armie of bodies that ſhall riſe againe. For though it had a beginning from vs, yet God hath giuen it vitall efficacie, heauen hath endowed it with celeſtiall power, that vertue it hath from aboue, in regard whereof all the Angels of heauen adore it. Notwithſtanding, [b] a Body ſtill it continueth, a Body conſubſtantiall with our bodies, a Body of the ſame both nature and meaſure which it had on earth. To gather therefore into one ſumme all that hitherto hath beene ſpoken touching this point, there are but foure things which concurre to make complete the whole ſtate of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt; his Deitie, his Manhood, the coniunction of both, and the diſtinction of the one from the other being ioyned in one. Foure principall Hereſies there are which haue in thoſe things withſtood the truth; *Arrians*, by bending themſelues againſt the Deitie of Chriſt; *Apollinarians*, by maiming and miſinterpreting that which belongeth to his humane nature; *Neſtorians*, by renting Chriſt aſunder, and diuiding him into two perſons; the followers of *Eutiches*, by confounding in his perſon thoſe natures which they ſhould diſtinguiſh. Againſt theſe there haue beene foure moſt famous ancient generall Councells, the Councell of *Nice* to define againſt *Arrians*, againſt *Apollinarians* the Councell of *Conſtantinople*, the Councell of *Epheſus* againſt *Neſtorians*, againſt *Eutichians* the *Calcedon* Councell. In foure words, ἀληθῶς, τελέως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀσυγχύτως, *truely*, *perfectly*, *indiuiſibly*, *diſtinctly*, the firſt applyed to his being God, and the ſecond to his being Man, the third to his being of both One, and the fourth to his ſtill continuing in that One both, wee may fully by way of abridgement comprize whatſoeuer antiquitie hath at large handled, either in declaration of Chriſtian beliefe, or in refutation of the foreſaid hereſies. Within the compaſſe of which foure heads, I may truely affirme, that all Hereſies which touch but the perſon of Ieſus Chriſt, whether they haue riſen in theſe later dayes, or in any Age heretofore, may bee with great facilitie brought to confine themſelues. Wee conclude therefore, that to ſaue the World, it was of neceſſitie the Sonne of God ſhould bee thus incarnate, and that God ſhould ſo bee in Chriſt as hath beene declared.

[a] *Iohn* 20. 27.

[b] Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀθάνατον μὲν ἔστι καὶ ἄφθαρτον καὶ θείας δόξης μεστὸν, σῶμα δὲ ὅμως τὴν οἰκείαν ἔχον φύσιν. Theod. fol. 80.

55 Hauing

Of the perſonall preſence of Chriſt euery-where, and in what ſenſe it may be granted he is euery-where preſent according to the fleſh.

55 Hauing thus farre proceeded in ſpeech concerning the perſon of Ieſus Chriſt, his two natures, their coniunction, that which he either is or doth in reſpect of both, and that which the one receiueth from the other; ſith God in Chriſt is generally the medicine which doth cure the world, and Chriſt in vs is that receit of the ſame medicine, whereby wee are euery one particularly cured, in as much as Chriſts Incarnation and Paſſion can bee auaileable to no mans good which is not made partaker of Chriſt, neither can wee participate him without his preſence, wee are briefly to conſider how Chriſt is preſent, to the end it may thereby better appeare how we are made partakers of Chriſt both otherwiſe and in the Sacraments themſelues. All things are in ſuch ſort diuided into finite and infinite, that no one ſubſtance, nature, or qualitie, can be poſſibly capable of both. The world and all things in the world are ſtinted, all effects that proceede from them, all the powers and abilities whereby they worke, whatſoeuer they doe, whatſoeuer they may, and whatſoeuer they are, is limited. Which limitation of each creature is both the perfection and alſo the preſeruation thereof. Meaſure is that which perfecteth all things, becauſe euery thing is for ſome end, neither can that thing bee auaileable to any end which is not proportionable thereunto, and to proportion as well exceſſes as defects, are oppoſite. Againe, for as much as nothing doth periſh but onely through exceſſe or defect of that, the due proportioned meaſure whereof doth giue perfection, it followeth that meaſure is likewiſe the preſeruation of all things. Out of which premiſes we may conclude, not only that nothing created can poſſibly bee vnlimited, or can receiue any ſuch accident, qualitie, or propertie, as may really make it infinite (for then ſhould it ceaſe to bee a creature) but alſo that euery creatures limitation is according to his owne kinde, and therefore as oft as wee note in them any thing aboue their kinde, it argueth that the ſame is not properly theirs, but groweth in them from a cauſe more powerfull then they are. Such as the ſubſtance of each thing is, ſuch is alſo the preſence thereof. Impoſſible it is that [a] God ſhould withdraw his preſence from any thing, becauſe the very ſubſtance of God is infinite. Hee filleth heauen and earth, although hee take vp no roome in either, becauſe his ſubſtance is immateriall, pure, and of vs in this world ſo incomprehenſible, that albeit [b] no part of vs bee euer abſent from him, who is preſent whole vnto euery particular thing, yet his preſence with vs wee no way diſcerne further then onely that God is preſent, which partly by reaſon, and more perfectly by Faith wee know to be firme and certayne. Seeing therefore that preſence euery-where is the ſequele of an infinite and incomprehenſible ſubſtance, (for what can bee euery-where, but that which can no where be comprehended?) to inquire whether Chriſt be euery-where, is to inquire of a naturall propertie, a propertie that cleaueth to the Deitie of Chriſt. Which Deitie being cõmon vnto him with none, but onely the Father and the holy Ghoſt, it followeth that nothing of Chriſt which is limited, that nothing created, that neither the Soule nor the Body of Chriſt, and conſequently, not Chriſt as man, or Chriſt according to his humane nature, can poſſibly be euery where preſent, becauſe thoſe phraſes of limitation and reſtraint doe either point out the principall ſubiect whereunto euery ſuch attribute adhereth, or

a *Pſal.*139.7,8. *Ierem.*23.24.

b *Ideo Deus vbiq; eſſe dicitur, quia nulli parti rerum abſens eſt; ideo totus, quia non parti rerum partem ſui præſentem præbet, & alteri parti, alteram partem, ſed non ſolum vniuerſitati creaturæ, verumetiam cuilibet parti eius totus pariter adeſt*, Auguſt. Epiſt.57.

or elſe they intimate the radicall cauſe out of which it groweth. For example, when wee ſay that Chriſt as man, or according to his humane nature ſuffered death, wee ſhew what nature was the proper ſubiect of mortalitie; when wee ſay that as God, or according to his deitie hee conquered death, wee declare his deitie to haue beene the cauſe, by force and vertue whereof hee rayſed himſelfe from the graue. But neither is the manhood of Chriſt that ſubiect whereunto vniuerſall preſence agreeth, neither is it the cauſe originall by force whereof his perſon is inabled to be euery where preſent. Wherefore Chriſt is eſſentially preſent with all things, in that hee is very God, but not preſent with all things as man, becauſe manhood and the parts thereof can neither be the cauſe nor the true ſubiect of ſuch preſence. Notwithſtanding, ſomewhat more plainly to ſhew a true immediate reaſon wherfore the manhood of Chriſt can neither bee euery where preſent, nor cauſe the perſon of Chriſt ſo to bee, wee acknowledge that of Saint *Auguſtine* concerning Chriſt moſt true, [a] *In that hee is perſonally the word, hee created all things, in that hee is naturally man, hee himſelfe is created of God*, and it doth not appeare that any one creature hath power to bee preſent with all creatures. Whereupon, neuertheleſſe it will not follow that Chriſt cannot therfore be thus preſent, becauſe he is himſelfe a creature, for as much as onely infinite preſence is that which cannot poſſibly ſtand with the eſſence or being of any creature, as for preſence with all things that are, ſith the whole race, maſſe, and body of them is finite, Chriſt by being a *creature*, is not *in that reſpect* excluded from poſſibilitie of preſence with them. That which excludeth him therfore as man from ſo great largenes of preſence, is only his being *man*, a creature *of this particular kind*, whereunto the God of nature hath ſet thoſe bounds of reſtraint and limitation, beyond which to attribute vnto it any thing more then a creature *of that ſort* can admit, were to giue it another nature, to make it a creature of ſome other kinde then in truth it is. Furthermore if Chriſt in that he is man be euery where preſent, ſeeing this commeth not by the nature of manhood it ſelfe, there is no other way how it ſhould grow but either by the grace of vnion with deitie, or by the grace of vnction receiued from deitie. It hath beene alreadie ſufficiently prooued, that by force of vnion the properties of both natures are imparted *to the perſon onely* in whom they are, and not what belongeth to the one nature really conueyed or tranſlated into the other; it hath beene likewiſe prooued, that natures vnited in Chriſt continue the very ſame which they are where they are not vnited. And concerning the grace of vnction, wherein are conteyned the gifts and vertues which Chriſt as man hath aboue men, they make him really and habitually a man more excellent then we are, they take not from him the nature and ſubſtance that wee haue, they cauſe not his ſoule nor bodie to be of another kinde then ours is. Supernaturall endowments are an aduancement, they are no extinguiſhment of that nature whereto they are giuen. The ſubſtance of the body of Chriſt hath no preſence, neither can haue but onely locall. It was not therfore euery where ſeene, nor did it euery where ſuffer death, euery where it could not be intombed, it is not euery where now being exalted into heauen. There is no proofe in the world ſtrong to inforce that Chriſt had a true bodie, but by the true and naturall properties of his bodie. Amongſt which proper-

[a] *Quod ad verbum attinet, creator eſt; quod ad hominem, creatura eſt.* Aug. Epiſt. 57. *Deus qui ſemper eſt & ſemper erat, fit creatura.* Leo de Natiu. *Multi timore trepidãt ne Chriſtum eſſe creaturam dicere complectantur. Nos proclamamus non eſſe periculum dicere Chriſtum eſſe creaturam* Hieron. in Epiſt. ad Eph. 2.

ties, definite or locall preſence is chiefe, [a] *How is it true of Chriſt* (ſayth *Tertullian*) *that hee dyed, was buried, and roſe againe, if Chriſt had not that very fleſh, the nature whereof is capable of theſe things, fleſh mingled with bloud, ſupported with bones, wouen with ſinewes, imbrodered with veines?* If his Maieſticall body haue now any ſuch new property, by force whereof it may euery where really euen *in ſubſtance* preſent it ſelfe, or may at once be in many places, then hath the Maieſtie of his eſtate extinguiſhed the veritie of his nature. [b] *Make thou no doubt or queſtion of it* (ſaith S^t. *Auguſtine*) *but that the man Chriſt Ieſus is now in that very place from whence he ſhall come in the ſame forme and ſubſtance of fleſh, which he carried thither, and from which he hath not taken nature, but giuen thereunto immortalitie. According to this forme he ſpreadeth not out himſelfe into all places. For it behoueth vs to take great heed, leſt while we goe about to maintaine the glorious deitie of him which is man, we leaue him not the true bodily ſubſtance of a man.* According to Saint *Auguſtines* opinion therefore that Maieſticall body which wee make to be euery where preſent, doth thereby ceaſe to haue the ſubſtance of a true bodie. To conclude, wee hold it in regard of the fore-alleaged proofes a moſt infallible truth, that Chriſt as man is not euery where preſent. There are which think it as infallibly true, that Chriſt is euery where preſent as man, which peraduenture in ſome ſenſe may be wel enough granted. His humane ſubſtance in it ſelfe is naturally abſent from the earth, his ſoule and body not on earth, but in heauen only. Yet becauſe this ſubſtance is inſeparably ioyned to that perſonall word which by his very diuine eſſence is preſent with all things, the nature which cannot haue in it ſelfe vniuerſall preſence, hath it *after a ſort* by being *no where ſeuered* from that which euery where is preſent. For in as much as that infinite word is not diuiſible into parts, it could not in part, but muſt needes be wholy incarnate, and conſequently whereſoeuer the word is, it hath with it manhood, elſe ſhould the word be in part or ſomewhere God only, and not man, which is impoſſible. For the *perſon of Chriſt is whole*, perfect God and perfect man whereſoeuer, although the parts of his manhood being finite, and his deitie infinite, we cannot ſay that the *whole of Chriſt* is ſimply euery where, as we may ſay that his deitie is, and that his perſon is by force of deitie. For *ſomewhat of the perſon* of Chriſt is not euery where in that ſort, namely his manhood, the *only coniunction* whereof with deitie is extended as farre as deitie, the actuall *poſition* reſtrained and tied to a certaine place, yet preſence *by way of coniunction* is in ſome ſort preſence. Againe, as the manhood of Chriſt may after a ſort bee euerie where ſayd to be preſent, becauſe that perſon is euery where preſent, from whoſe diuine ſubſtance manhood no where is ſeuered: ſo the ſame vniuerſalitie of preſence may likewiſe ſeeme in another reſpect appliable thereunto, namely; by *cooperation* with deitie, and that *in all things*. The light created of God in the beginning did firſt by it ſelfe illuminate the world, but after that the Sunne and Moone were created, the world ſithence hath *by them* alwayes enioyed the ſame. And that deitie of Chriſt which before our Lords incarnation wrought all things without man, doth now worke nothing wherein the nature which it hath aſſumed is either abſent from it or idle. Chriſt as man hath [c] all power both in heauen and earth giuen him. He hath as man, not as God only, [d] ſupreme dominion ouer quicke and dead, for ſo much his aſcenſion into

a *Tertul. de car. Chriſt.*

b *Auguſt. Ep. 37.*

c *Matth. 28.*

d *Rom. 14. 8.*

into heauen and his ſeſſion at the right hand of God doe import. The Sonne of God which did firſt humble himſelfe by taking our fleſh vpon him, deſcended afterwards much lower, and became according to the fleſh obedient ſo far as to ſuffer death euen the death of the croſſe for all men, becauſe ſuch was his Fathers will. The former was an humiliation of deitie, the later an humiliation of manhood, [a] for which cauſe there followed vpon the later an exaltation of that which was humbled, for with power he created the world, but reſtored it by obedience. In which obedience as according to his manhood he had glorified God on earth, ſo God hath glorified in heauen that nature which yeelded him obedience, and hath giuen vnto Chriſt euen in that he is man ſuch fulneſſe of power ouer the whole world, that hee which before fulfilled in the ſtate of humilitie and patience whatſoeuer God did require, doth now [b] raigne in glory till the time that all things be reſtored. He which came downe from heauen, and deſcended into the loweſt parts of the earth, is aſcended farre aboue all heauens, that ſitting at the right hand of God, he might from thence fil all things with the gracious and happy fruites of his ſauing preſence. Aſcenſion into heauen, is a plaine locall tranſlation of Chriſt according to his manhood from the lower to the higher parts of the world. Seſſion at the right hand of God, is the actuall exerciſe of that regencie and dominion wherein the manhood of Chriſt is ioyned and matched with the deitie of the Sonne of God. Not that his manhood was before without the poſſeſſion of the ſame power, but becauſe the full vſe thereof was ſuſpended, till that humilitie which had been before as a vaile to hide and conceale maieſtie were layd aſide. [c] After his riſing againe from the dead then did God ſet him at his right hand in heauenly places farre aboue all principalitie and power, and might, and domination, and euery name that is named not in this world only but alſo in that which is to come, and hath [d] put all things vnder his feet, & hath appointed him ouer all the head to the Church which is his body, the fulneſſe of him that filleth all in all. The [e] ſcepter of which ſpirituall regiment ouer vs in this preſent world is at the length to be yeelded vp into the hands of the Father which gaue it, that is to ſay, the vſe and exerciſe thereof ſhall ceaſe, there being no longer on earth any militant Church to gouerne. This gouernment therefore he exerciſeth both as God and as man; as God, by eſſentiall preſence with all things; as man, by cooperation with that which eſſentially is preſent. Touching the manner how he worketh as man in all things, the principall powers of the ſoule of man are the will and vnderſtanding, the one of which two in Chriſt aſſenteth vnto all things, and from the other nothing which deitie doth worke is hid, ſo that by knowledge and aſſent the ſoule of Chriſt is preſent with all things which the deitie of Chriſt worketh. And euen the body of Chriſt it ſelfe, although the definite limitation thereof be moſt ſenſible, doth notwithſtanding admit in ſome ſort a kinde of infinite and vnlimited preſence likewiſe. For his body being a part of that nature, which whole nature is preſently ioyned vnto deitie whereſoeuer deitie is, it followeth that his bodily ſubſtance hath euery where a preſence of true coniunction with deitie. And for as much as it is by vertue of that coniunction made the body of the Sonne of God, by whom alſo it was made a ſacrifice for the ſinne of the whole world, this giueth it a *preſence of force and efficacie* throughout all generations of

[a] *Phil.2.9. Hebr 2.9. Reuel.5.12.*

[b] *Luke 21.27. Acts 3.21. Epheſ.4.9.*

[c] *Epheſ.1.20.*

[d] *Pſal.8.6. Hebr.2.8.*

[e] *1.Cor.15.*

men. Albeit therefore nothing be *actually* infinite *in ſubſtance*, but God onely in that he is God, neuertheleſſe as euery number is infinite by poſſibilitie of addition, and euery line by poſſibilitie of extenſion infinite, ſo there is no ſtint which can be ſet to the value or merit of the ſacrificed body of Chriſt, it hath no meaſured certainty of limits, bounds of efficacie vnto life it knoweth none, but is alſo it ſelfe infinite in *poſſibilitie of application*. Which things indifferently euery way conſidered, that gracious promiſe of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt concerning preſence with his to the very end of the world, I ſee no cauſe but that we may well and ſafely interpret he doth performe both as God by eſſentiall preſence of deitie, and as man in that order, ſenſe and meaning which hath bene ſhewed.

The vnion or mutuall participation which is betweene Chriſt and the Church of Chriſt in this preſent world.

56 We haue hitherto ſpoken of the perſon and of the preſence of Chriſt. Participation is that mutuall inward hold which Chriſt hath of vs, and wee of him, in ſuch ſort that each poſſeſſeth other by way of ſpeciall intereſt, propertie, and inherent copulation. For plainer explication whereof, we may from that which hath bene before ſufficiently proued, aſſume to our purpoſe theſe two principles, that *euery originall cauſe imparteth it ſelfe vnto thoſe things which come of it, and whatſoeuer taketh being from any other, the ſame is after a ſort in that which gineth it being.* It followeth hereupon, that the Sonne of God being light of light, muſt needes bee alſo light [a] in light. The perſons of the Godhead, by reaſon of the vnitie of their ſubſtance, doe as neceſſarily remaine one within another, as they are of neceſſitie to be diſtinguiſhed one from another, becauſe two are the iſſue of one, and one the offspring of the other two, onely of three one not growing out of any other. And ſith they all are but one God in number, one indiuiſible eſſence or ſubſtance, their diſtinction cannot poſſibly admit ſeparation. For how ſhould that ſubſiſt *ſolitarily* by it ſelfe which hath no ſubſtance, but *indiuidually* the very ſame whereby others ſubſiſt with it, ſeeing that the multiplication of ſubſtances *in particular* is neceſſarily required to make thoſe things ſubſiſt apart, which haue the ſelfe-ſame generall nature, and the perſons of that Trinitie are not three particular ſubſtances to whome one *generall* nature is common, but three that ſubſiſt by one ſubſtance, *which it ſelfe is particular*, yet they all three haue it, and their ſeuerall wayes of hauing it are that which maketh their perſonall diſtinction? The Father therefore is in the Sonne, and the Sonne in him, they both in the Spirit, and the Spirit in both them. So that the Fathers firſt offspring which is the Sonne, remaineth eternally in the Father; the Father eternally alſo in the Sonne, no way ſeuered or diuided by reaſon of the ſole and ſingle vnitie of their ſubſtance. The Sonne in the Father as light in that light, out of which it floweth without ſeparation; the Father in the Sonne as light in that light which cauſeth and leaueth not. And becauſe in this reſpect his eternall being is of the Father, which eternall being is his life, therefore hee by the Father liueth. Againe, ſith all things doe accordingly loue their offspring as themſelues are more or leſſe conteined in it, he which is thus the onely begotten, muſt needes be in this degree the onely Beloued of the Father. He therefore which is in the Father by eternall deriuation of being and life from him, muſt needes bee

[a] In the boſome of the Father. *Iohn* 1. 18. *Ecce dico alium eſſe patrem & alium filium; non diuiſione alium, ſed diſtinctione.* Tertul. Cont. Prax. *Nec in numerum plura'em defluit incorporea generatio, nec in diuiſionem cadit, vbi qui naſcitur nequaquam à generante ſeparatur.* Rufin. in Symbol.

bee in him through an eternall affection of loue. His incarnation cauſeth him alſo as man to bee now in the Father, and the Father to bee in him. For in that hee is man, hee receiueth life from the Father as from the fountaine of that euerliuing Deitie, which in the perſon of the Word hath combined it ſelfe with manhood, and doth thereunto impart ſuch life as to no other creature beſides him is communicated. In which conſideration likewiſe the [a] loue of the Father towards him is more then it can bee towards any other, neither can any attaine vnto that perfection of loue which he beareth towards his heauenly Father. Wherefore God is not ſo in any, nor any ſo in God as Chriſt, whether wee conſider him as the perſonall word of God, or as the naturall Sonne of man. All other things that are of God haue God in them and hee them in himſelfe likewiſe. Yet becauſe their ſubſtance and his wholy differeth, their coherence and communion either with him or amongſt themſelues is in no ſort like vnto that before mentioned. God hath his influence into the very eſſence of all things, without which influence of deitie ſupporting them, their vtter annihilation could not chooſe but follow. Of him all things haue both receiued their firſt being and their continuance to be that which they are. All things are therefore partakers of God, they are his offſpring, his influence is in them, and the perſonall wiſedome of God is for that very cauſe ſayd to excell in nimbleneſſe or agilitie, to [b] pearce into all intellectuall, pure and ſubtile ſpirits, to goe through all, and to reach vnto euerie thing which is. Otherwiſe, how ſhould the ſame wiſedome bee that which ſupporteth, [c] beareth vp, and ſuſtaineth all? Whatſoeuer God doth worke, the hands of all three perſons are ioyntly and equally in it, according to *the order of that connexion* whereby they each depend vpon other. And therefore albeit in that reſpect the Father bee firſt, the Sonne next, the Spirit laſt, and conſequently neereſt vnto euery effect which groweth from all three, neuertheleſſe, they all being of one eſſence, are likewiſe all of one efficacie. Dare any man, vnleſſe hee bee ignorant altogether how inſeparable the perſons of the Trinitie are, perſwade himſelfe that euery of them may haue their ſole and ſeuerall poſſeſſions, or that [d] wee being not partakers of all, can haue fellowſhip with any one? The Father as goodneſſe, the Sonne as wiſedome, the Holie Ghoſt as power, doe all concurre in euery particular, outwardly iſſuing from that one onely glorious deitie which they all are. For that which mooueth God to worke is goodneſſe, and that which ordereth his worke is wiſedome, and that which perfecteth his worke is power. All things which God in their times and ſeaſons hath brought foorth, were eternally and before all times in God, as a worke vnbegun is in the artificer which afterward bringeth it vnto effect. Therefore whatſoeuer wee doe behold now in this preſent world, it was inwrapped within the bowels of diuine mercy, written in the Booke of eternall wiſedome, and held in the hands of omnipotent power, the firſt foundation of the world being as yet vnlayd. So that all things which God hath made are in that reſpect the [e] offſpring of God, they are in him as effects in their higheſt cauſe, hee likewiſe actually is in them, the aſſiſtance and influence of his deitie is their life. Let heereunto ſauing efficacie bee added, and it bringeth foorth a ſpe-

[a] *Luk.*3.22. *Iohn* 3.34.35. 5.20.10.17. 14.31.15.10.

[b] *Sap.*7.23.

[c] *Hebr.*1.3.

[d] *Iohn* 14.23.

[e] *Act.*17.28.29. *Iohn* 1.1.4.10. *Iſa.*40.26.

ciall offspring amongst men, containing them to whome God hath himselfe giuen the gracious and amiable name of [a] sonnes. Wee are by nature the sonnes of *Adam*. When God created *Adam* hee created vs, and as many as are descended from *Adam*, haue in themselues the roote out of which they spring. The sonnes of God wee neither are all nor any one of vs otherwise then onely by grace and fauour. The sonnes of God haue Gods owne naturall Sonne as a [b] second *Adam* from heauen, whose race and progenie they are by spirituall and heauenly birth. God therefore louing eternally his Sonne, he must needes eternally [c] in him haue loued and preferred before all others them which are spiritually sithence descended and sprung out of him. These were in God as in their Sauiour, and not as in their Creator onely. It was the purpose of his *sauing* goodnes, his *sauing* wisedome, and his *sauing* power which inclineth it selfe towards them. They which thus were in God eternally by their intended admission to life, haue by vocation or adoption God actually now in them, as the artificer is in the worke which his hand doth presently frame. Life as all other gifts and benefits groweth originally from the Father, and commeth not to vs but [d] by the Sonne, nor by the Sonne to any of vs in particular but * through the Spirit. For this cause the Apostle wisheth to the Church of Corinth [e] the grace of our Lord Iesus Christ, and the loue of God, and the fellowship of the holie Ghost. Which three Saint *Peter* comprehendeth in one, [f] the *participation of diuine nature*. Wee are therefore in God through Christ eternally according to that intent and purpose, whereby we were chosen to be made his in this present world before the world it selfe was made, wee are in God through the knowledge which is had of vs, and the loue which is borne towards vs from euerlasting. But in God wee actually are no longer then onely from the time of our actuall adoption into the body of his true Church, into the fellowship of his children. For his Church hee knoweth and loueth, so that they which are in the Church, are thereby knowne to be in him. Our being in Christ by eternall foreknowledge, saueth vs not without our actuall and reall adoption into the fellowship of his Saints in this present world. For in him wee actually are by our actuall [g] incorporation into that societie which hath him for their head; and doth make together with him one bodie, (hee and they in that respect hauing [h] one name) for which cause by vertue of this mysticall coniunction, wee are of him and in him, euen [i] as though our very flesh and bones should be made continuate with his. Wee are in Christ, because hee [k] knoweth and loueth vs euen as parts of himselfe. No man actually is in him but they [l] in whome he actually is. For he which hath not the Sonne of God, hath not life: [m] I am the Vine, and you are the branches: Hee which abideth in mee, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruite, but the branch seuered from the vine withereth. We are therefore adopted sonnes of God to eternall life by participation of the onely begotten Sonne of God, whose life is in the [n] welspring and cause of ours. It is too cold an interpretation, whereby some men expound our beeing in Christ to import nothing else, but onely that the selfe-same nature which maketh vs to bee men, is in him, and maketh him man as wee are.

a 1.*Iohn* 3.1.
b 1.*Cor*.15.47.
c *Ephe*.1.3.4.
d 1.*Iohn* 15.11.
* *Rom*.8.10.
e 2.*Cor*.13.13.
f 2.*Pet*.1.4.
g *Col*.2.10.
h 1.*Cor*.12.12.
i *Ephes*.5.30.
k *Iohn* 15.9.
l 1.*Iohn* 5.12.
m *Iohn* 15.5.6.
n *Iohn* 14.19. *Ephes*.5.23.

For

For what man in the world is there which hath not ſo farre-forth communion with Ieſus Chriſt? It is not this that can ſuſtaine the weight of ſuch ſentences as ſpeake of the myſterie of our [a] coherence with Ieſus Chriſt. The Church is in Chriſt as *Eue* was in *Adam*. Yea by grace wee are euerie of vs in Chriſt and in his Church, as by nature wee are in thoſe our firſt Parents. God made *Eue* of the rib of *Adam*. And his Church hee frameth out of the very fleſh, the very wounded and bleeding ſide of the Sonne of man. His bodie crucified and his bloud ſhed for the life of the world, are the true element of that heauenly being, which maketh vs [b] ſuch as himſelfe is of whome wee come. For which cauſe the words of *Adam* may be fitly the words of Chriſt concerning his Church, *Fleſh of my fleſh, and bone of my bones*, a true nature extract out of mine owne bodie. So that in him euen according to his manhood, wee according to our heauenly beeing are as branches in that roote out of which they growe. To [c] all things hee is life, and to men light *as the Sonne of God*; to the Church both life and light, [d] eternall by beeing made the ſonne of man for vs, and by beeing in vs a Sauiour, whether wee reſpect him as God, or as man. *Adam* is in vs as an originall cauſe of our nature, and of that corruption of nature which cauſeth death, Chriſt as the [e] cauſe originall of reſtauration to life; The perſon of *Adam* is not in vs but his nature, and the corruption of his nature deriueth into all men by propagation, Chriſt hauing *Adams* nature as wee haue, but incorrupt, deriueth not nature but incorruption, and that immediatly from his owne perſon into all that belong vnto him. As therefore wee are really partakers of the bodie of ſinne and death receiued from *Adam*, ſo except wee bee truely partakers of Chriſt, and as really poſſeſſed of his Spirit, all wee ſpeake of eternall life is but a dreame. That which [f] quickneth vs, is the Spirit of the ſecond *Adam*, and his fleſh that wherewith hee quickneth. That which in him made our nature vncorrupt, was the vnion of his Deitie with our nature. And in that reſpect the ſentence of death and condemnation, which onely taketh hold vpon ſinfull fleſh, could no way poſſibly extend vnto him. This cauſed his voluntarie death for others to preuaile with God, and to haue the force of an expiatorie ſacrifice. The bloud of Chriſt, as the Apoſtle witneſſeth, doth therefore take away ſinne, becauſe [g] *through the eternall Spirit hee offereth himſelfe vnto God without ſpot*. That which ſanctified our nature in Chriſt, that which made it a ſacrifice auaileable to take away ſinne, is the ſame which quickneth it, raiſed it out of the graue after death, and exalted it vnto glorie. Seeing therefore that Chriſt is in vs as a quickning Spirit, the firſt degree of Communion with Chriſt muſt needes conſiſt in the participation of his Spirit, which *Cyprian* in that reſpect well termeth [h] *germaniſſimam ſocietatem*, the higheſt and trueſt ſocietie that can bee betweene man and him which is both God and man in one. Theſe things [i] S[t]. *Cyrill* duely conſidering, reprooueth their ſpeeches, which taught that onely the Deitie of Chriſt is the Vine whereupon we by faith doe depend as branches, and that neither his fleſh nor our bodies are compriſed in this reſemblance. For doth any man doubt but that euen from the fleſh of Chriſt our very bodies doe receiue that life which ſhall make them glorious at the latter

a *Iohn* 14.20. *Iohn* 15.4.
b 1.*Cor*.15.48.
c *Iohn* 1.
d *Iohn* 6.57.
e *Hebr*.5.9.
f 1.*Cor*.15.45. 22.
g *Hebr*.9.4.
h *Cypr*.*de cœna Dom*.*cap*.6.
i *Cyril*.*in Iob*. *lib*.10.*cap*.13.

latter day, and for which they are alreadie accompted parts of his bleſſed body? Our corruptible bodies could neuer liue the life they ſhall liue, were it not that heere they are ioyned with his bodie which is incorruptible, and that his is in ours as a cauſe of immortalitie, a cauſe by remoouing through the death and merit of his owne fleſh that which hindred the life of ours. Chriſt is therefore both as God and as man, that true Vine whereof wee both ſpiritually and corporally are branches. The mixture of his bodily ſubſtance with ours is a thing which the ancient [a] Fathers diſclaime. Yet the mixture of his fleſh with ours they [b] ſpeake of, to ſignifie what our very bodies through myſticall coniunction receiue from that vitall efficacy which we know to be in his, and frō bodily mixtures they borrow diuers [c] ſimilitudes rather to declare the truth, then the manner of coherence betweene his ſacred and the ſanctified bodies of Saints. Thus much no Chriſtian man will denie, that when Chriſt ſanctified his owne fleſh, giuing as God, and taking as man the Holy Ghoſt, he did not this for himſelfe onely, but for our ſakes, that the grace of ſanctification and life which was firſt receiued in him, might paſſe from him to his whole race as malediction came from *Adam* vnto all mankinde. Howbeit, becauſe the worke of his Spirit to thoſe effects is in vs preuented by ſinne and death poſſeſſing vs before, it is of neceſſitie that as well our preſent ſanctification vnto newneſſe of life, as the future reſtauration of our bodies ſhould preſuppoſe a participation of the grace, efficacie, merit or vertue of his bodie and bloud, without which foundation firſt layd there is no place for thoſe other operations of the Spirit of Chriſt to enſue. So that Chriſt imparteth plainely himſelfe by degrees. It pleaſeth him in mercie to accompt himſelfe incomplete and maimed [d] without vs. But moſt aſſured wee are that wee all receiue of his fulneſſe, becauſe he is in vs as a mouing and working cauſe, from which many bleſſed effects are really found to enſue, and that in ſundry both kindes and degrees, all tending to eternall happineſſe. It muſt bee confeſt that of Chriſt, working as a Creator, and a gouernour of the world by prouidence, all are partakers; not all partakers of that grace wherby he inhabiteth in whom he ſaueth. Againe, as he dwelleth not by grace in all, ſo neither doth hee equally worke in all them in whom hee dwelleth. [c] *Whence is it* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) *that ſome be holier then others are, but becauſe God doth dwell in ſome more plentifully then in others?* And becauſe the diuine ſubſtance of Chriſt is equally in all, his humane ſubſtance equally diſtant from all, it appeareth that the participation of Chriſt wherein there are many degrees and differences, muſt needs conſiſt in ſuch effects as being deriued from both natures of Chriſt really into vs, are made our owne, and wee by hauing them in vs, are truely ſayd to haue him from whom they come, Chriſt alſo more or leſſe to inhabit and impart himſelfe as the graces are fewer or more, greater or ſmaller, which really flow into vs from Chriſt. Chriſt is whole with the whole Church, and whole with euery part of the Church, as touching his perſon which can no way diuide it ſelfe,

a *Noſtra quippe & ipſius coniunctio nec miſcet perſonas nec vnit ſubſtantias, ſed affectus conſociat & confœderat voluntates.* Cyprian. de cœn. Dom. b *Quomodo dicunt carnem in corruptionem deuenire, & non percipere vitam, quæ à corpore Domini & ſanguine alitur?* Iræn. lib. 4. aduerſ. hæreſ. cap. 34. c *Vnde conſiderandum eſt non ſolum σχέσεις ſeu conformitate affectionum Chriſtum in nobis eſſe, verum etiam participatione naturali (id eſt reali & vera) quemadmodum ſi quis igne liquefactam ceram aly ceræ ſimiliter liquefactæ ita miſcuerit vt vnum quid ex vtriſque factum videatur, ſic communicatione corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti ipſe in nobis eſt & nos in ipſo.* Cyrill in Ioh. lib. 10. cap. 13.

d *Ephe.* 1. 23. *Eccleſia complementum eius qui implet omnia in omnibus.* τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου.

e *Aug. Epiſt.* 57.

ſelfe, or be poſſeſt by degrees and portions. But the participation of Chriſt importeth, beſides the preſence of Chriſts perſon, and beſides the myſticall copulation thereof with the parts and members of his whole Church, a true actuall influence of grace whereby the [a] life which we liue according to godlines is his, and from him we receiue thoſe perfections wherein our eternall happines conſiſteth. Thus we participate Chriſt partly by imputation, as when [b] thoſe things which he did and ſuffered for vs are imputed vnto vs for righteouſneſſe; partly by habituall and reall infuſion, as when grace is inwardly beſtowed while we are on earth, and afterwards more fully both our ſoules and bodies made like vnto his in glorie. The firſt thing of his ſo infuſed into our hearts in this life is the [c] Spirit of Chriſt, whereupon becauſe the reſt of what kinde ſo euer doe all both neceſſarily depend and infallibly alſo inſue, therefore the Apoſtles terme it ſometimes [d] the ſeede of God, ſometime the [e] pledge of our heauenly inheritance, ſometime the [f] hanſell or earneſt of that which is to come. From hence it is, that they which belong to the myſticall bodie of our Sauiour Chriſt, and be in number as the ſtarres of heauen, diuided ſucceſſiuely by reaſon of their mortall condition into many generations, are notwithſtanding coupled [g] euery one to Chriſt their head, and [h] all vnto euery particular perſon amongſt themſelues, in as much as the ſame Spirit, which anointed the bleſſed ſoule of our Sauiour Chriſt, doth ſo formalize, vnite, and actuate his whole race, as if both he and they were ſo many limmes compacted into one body, by being quickned all with one and the ſame ſoule. That wherein we are partakers of Ieſus Chriſt by imputation, agreeth equally vnto all that haue it. For it conſiſteth in ſuch actes and deeds of his, as could not haue longer continuance then while they were in doing, nor at that very time belong vnto any other but to him from whome they come, and therefore how men either then, or before or ſithence ſhould be made partakers of them, there can be no way imagined, but only by imputation. Againe, a deede muſt either not be imputed to any, but reſt altogether in him whoſe it is, or if at all it be imputed, they which haue it by imputation, muſt haue it ſuch as it is whole. So that degrees being neither in the perſonal preſence of Chriſt, nor in the participation of thoſe effects which are ours by imputation only, it reſteth that we wholy apply them to the participation of Chriſts infuſed grace, although euen in this kinde alſo the firſt beginning of life, the ſeede of God, the firſt fruites of Chriſts Spirit be without latitude. For we haue hereby onely the being of the Sonnes of God, in which number how farre ſoeuer one may ſeeme to excell another, yet touching this that all are ſonnes, they are all equals, ſome happily better ſonnes then the reſt are, but none any more a ſonne then another. Thus therefore we ſee how the Father is in the Sonne, and the Sonne in the Father, how they both are in all things, and all things in them, what communion Chriſt hath with his Church and euery member thereof, is in him by originall deriuation, and he perſonally in them by way of myſticall aſſociation wrought through the gift of the holy Ghoſt, which they that are his, receiue from him, and together with the ſame, what benefit ſoeuer the vitall force of his body and bloud may yeeld, yea by ſteps and degrees they receiue the complete meaſure of all ſuch diuine grace, as doth ſanctifie & ſaue throughout, till the day of their finall exaltation to a ſtate of fellowſhip in glorie with him,

a *Gal.2.20.*
b *Eſa.53.5. Ephe.1.7.*
c *Rom.8.9. Gal.4.6.*
d *1.Iohn3.9.*
e *Ep^h.1.14.*
f *Rom.8.23.*
g *1.Cor.12.27. Epheſ.4.15.*
h *Rom.12.5. Epheſ.4.25.*

him whose partakers they are now in those things that tend to glorie. As for any mixture of the substance of his flesh with ours, the participation which we haue of Christ includeth no such kind of grosse surmize.

The necessitie of Sacraments vnto the participation of Christ.

57 It greatly offendeth, that some, when they labour to shew the vse of the holie Sacraments, assigne vnto them no end but onely *to teach* the mind, by other senses, that which the word doth teach by hearing. Whereupon, how easily neglect and careless regard of so heauenly mysteries may follow, we see in part by some experience had of those men with whome that opinion is most strong. For where the word of God may be heard, which teacheth with much more expedition and more full explication any thing we haue to learne, if all the benefits we reape by Sacraments be instruction, they which at all times haue oportunitie of vsing the better meanes to that purpose, will surely hold the worse in lesse estimation. And vnto Infants which are not capable of instruction, who would not thinke a meere superfluitie that any Sacrament is administred, if to administer the Sacraments be but to teach receiuers what God doth for them? There is of Sacraments therefore vndoubtedly some other more excellent and heauenly vse. Sacraments, by reason of their mixt nature, are more diuersly interpreted and disputed of then any other part of Religion besides, for that in so great store of properties belonging to the selfesame thing, as euery mans wit hath taken hold of some especiall consideration aboue the rest, so they haue accordingly seemed one to crosse another as touching their seuerall opinions about the necessitie of Sacraments, whereas in truth their disagreement is not great. For let respect be had to the dutie which euery communicant doth vndertake, and we may well determine concerning the vse of Sacraments, that they serue as bonds of obedience to God, strict obligations to the mutuall exercise of Christian charity, prouocations to godlines, preseruations from sinne, memorials of the principall benefits of Christ; respect the time of their institution, and it thereby appeareth that God hath annexed them for euer vnto the new Testamēt, as other rites were before with the old; regard the weakenes which is in vs, and they are warrants for the more securitie of our beliefe; compare the receiuers of them with such as receiue them not, and Sacraments are marks of distinction to separate Gods owne from strangers, so that in all these respects they are found to be most necessarie. But their chiefest force and vertue consisteth not herein so much, as in that they are heauenly Ceremonies, which God hath sanctified and ordeined to be administred in his Church, first, as marks whereby to know when God doth impart the vitall or sauing grace of Christ vnto all that are capable thereof, and secondly, as meanes conditionall which God requireth in them vnto whome he imparteth grace. For sith God in himselfe is inuisible, and cannot by vs be discerned working, therefore when it seemeth good in the eyes of his heauenly wisedome, that men for some speciall intent and purpose should take notize of his glorious presence, he giueth them some plaine and sensible token wherby to know what they cannot see. For *Moses* to see God and liue was impossible, yet [a] *Moses* by fire knew where the glorie of God extraordinarily was present. The [b] Angell, by whom God indued the waters of the Poole called *Bethesda* with supernatural vertue to heale, was not seene of any, yet the time of the Angels presence knowne by the troubled

a *Exod.* 3. 2.

b *Iohn* 5. 4.

troubled motions of the waters themſelues. The Apoſtles [a] by fierie tongues which they ſaw, were admoniſhed whē the ſpirit, which they could not behold, was vpon them. In like manner it is with vs. Chriſt and his holy Spirit with all their bleſſed effects, though entring into the ſoule of man wee are not able to apprehend or expreſſe how, do notwithſtanding giue notize of the times when they vſe to make their exceſſe, becauſe it pleaſeth Almightie God to communicate by ſenſible meanes thoſe bleſſings which are incomprehenſible. Seeing therefore that grace is a conſequent of Sacraments, a thing which accompanieth them as their end, a benefit which he that hath receiued from God himſelfe the author of Sacraments, and not from any other naturall or ſupernaturall quality in them, it may be hereby both vnderſtood that Sacraments are neceſſarie, and that the manner of their neceſſitie to life ſupernaturall is not in all reſpects as foode vnto naturall life, becauſe they containe *in themſelues* no vitall force or efficacie, they are not phyſicall but *morall inſtruments* of ſaluation, duties of ſeruice and worſhip, which vnleſſe we performe as the author of grace requireth, they are vnprofitable. For all receiue not the grace of God which receiue the ſacrament of his grace. Neither is it *ordinarily* his will to beſtow the grace of ſacraments on any, but by the Sacraments; which grace alſo they that receiue by ſacraments or with ſacrament, receiue it from him and not from them. For of Sacraments the very ſame is true which Salomons wiſdome obſerueth in the brazen Serpent: [b] *Hee that turneth towards it, was not healed by the thing he ſaw, but by thee, ô Sauiour of all.* This is therfore the neceſſitie of ſacraments. That ſauing grace which Chriſt originally is, or hath for the generall good of his whole Church, by ſacraments he ſeuerally deriueth into euery member therof. Sacraments ſerue as the inſtruments of God to that end and purpoſe, morall inſtruments the vſe whereof is in our hands the effect in his; for the vſe we haue his expreſſe commandement, for the effect his conditionall promiſe; ſo that without our obedience to the one, there is of the other no apparant aſſurance, as contrarywiſe where the ſignes and ſacraments of his grace are not either through contempt vnreceiued, or receiued with contempt, we are not to doubt but that they really giue what they promiſe, and are what they ſignifie. For we take not baptiſme nor the Euchariſt for bare *reſemblances* or memorials of things abſent, neither for *naked ſignes* and teſtimonies aſſuring vs of grace receiued before, but (as they are indeed and in verity) for meanes effectuall, whereby God, when we take the ſacraments, deliuereth into our hands that grace auailable vnto eternall life, which grace the ſacraments [c] repreſent or ſignifie. There haue growne in the doctrine concerning ſacraments many difficulties, for want of diſtinct explication what kind or degree of grace doth belong vnto each ſacrament. For by this it hath come to paſſe, that the true immediate cauſe why Baptiſme, and why the Supper of our Lord is neceſſary, few do rightly and diſtinctly conſider. It cannot be denyed but ſundry the ſame effects and benefits which grow vnto men by the one Sacrament, may rightly be attributed vnto the other. Yet then doth baptiſme challenge to it ſelfe but the inchoation of thoſe graces, the conſummation whereof dependeth on myſteries enſuing. We receiue Chriſt Ieſus in baptiſme once as the firſt beginner, in the Euchariſt often, as being by continuall degrees the finiſher of our life. By baptiſme therefore we receiue Chriſt Ieſus,

a *Acts* 2. 3.

b Wiſd. 16. 17. *Spiritus Sancti munus eſt gratiam implere myſterij.* Ambr. in Luc. cap. 3. *Sanctificatis elementis effectum, non propria ipſorum natura præbet, ſed virtutis diuinæ potentius operatur.* Cypr. de Chriſm.

c *Dum homini bonum inuiſibile redditur foris ei eiuſdem ſignificatio per ſpecies viſibiles adhibetur, vt foris excitetur & intus reparetur. In ipſa vaſis ſpecie virtus exprimitur medicinæ.* Hugo de Sacram. li. 1. ca. 3. *Si ergo vaſa ſunt ſpiritualis gratiæ ſacramenta, non ex ſuo ſanant, quia vaſa ægrotum non curant, ſed medicina.* Idem li. 1. ca. 4.

Ieſus, and from him that ſauing grace which is proper vnto baptiſme. By the other ſacrament wee receiue him alſo, imparting therein himſelfe and that grace which the Euchariſt properly beſtoweth. So that each ſacrament hauing both that which is generall or common, and that alſo which is peculiar vnto it ſelfe, we may hereby gather that the participation of Chriſt, which properly belongeth to any one ſacrament, is not otherwiſe to be obteined but by the ſacrament whereunto it is proper.

The ſubſtance of Baptiſme; the rites or ſolemnities therunto belonging; and that the ſubſtance thereof being kept, other things in Baptiſme may giue place to neceſſitie.

58 Now euen as the ſoule doth organize the bodie, and giue vnto euery member therof that ſubſtance, quantitie and ſhape which nature ſeeth moſt expedient, ſo the inward grace of ſacraments may teach what ſerueth beſt for their outward forme, a thing in no part of Chriſtian Religion, much leſſe here to be neglected. Grace intended by ſacraments was a cauſe of the choice, and is a reaſon of the fitnes of the elements themſelues. Furthermore, ſeeing that the grace which here we receiue, doth no way depend vpon the natural force of that which we preſently behold, it was of neceſſitie that words of expreſſe declaration taken from the very mouth of our Lord himſelfe ſhould be added vnto viſible elements, that the one might infallibly teach what the other doe moſt aſſuredly bring to paſſe. In writing and ſpeaking of the bleſſed Sacrament, we [a] vſe for the moſt part vnder the name of their *ſubſtance*, not onely to compriſe that whereof they outwardly and ſenſibly conſiſt, but alſo the ſecret grace which they ſignifie and exhibit. This is the reaſon wherefore commonly in [b] definitions, whether they be framed larger to augment, or ſtricter to abridge the number of ſacraments, we finde grace expreſly mentioned as their true eſſentiall forme, elements as the matter whereunto that forme doth adioyne it ſelfe. But if that be ſeparated which is ſecret, and that conſidered alone which is ſeene, as of neceſſity it muſt in all thoſe ſpeeches that make diſtinction of ſacraments from ſacramentall grace, the name of a ſacrament in ſuch ſpeeches can imply no more then what the *outward ſubſtance* thereof doth comprehend. And to make complete the outward ſubſtance of a ſacrament, there is required an outward forme, which forme ſacramentall elements receiue from ſacramentall words. Hereupon it groweth that many [c] times there are three things ſaid to make vp the ſubſtance of a Sacrament, namely, the grace which is thereby offered, the element which ſhadoweth or ſignifieth grace, and the word which expreſſeth what is done by the element. So that whether we conſider the outward by it ſelfe alone, or both the outward and inward ſubſtance of any Sacraments, there are in the one reſpect but two eſſentiall parts, and in the other but three that concurre to giue Sacraments their full being. Furthermore, becauſe definitions are to expreſſe but the moſt immediat and neereſt parts of nature, whereas other principles farther off, although not ſpecified in defining, are notwithſtanding in nature implyed and preſuppoſed, we muſt note that in as much as ſacraments are actions religious and myſticall, which nature they haue not vnleſſe they proceede from a ſerious meaning; and what euery mans priuate

a *Eucharistia duabus ex rebus constat, terrena & cœlesti.* Irenæ. aduerſ. hæreſ. l. 4. c. 34. *Arcanarum rerum symbola non nudis signis, sed signis simul & rebus constant.* Heluet. confeſſ. prior. Art. 2.

b *Sacramentum est cum res gesta visibilis longè aliud inuisibile intus operatur.* Iſidor. Etymol. lib. 1. *Sacramentum est per quod sub tegumento rerum visibilium diuina virtus salutem secretius operatur.* Gregor. mag. *Sacramentum est signum significans efficaciter effectum Dei gratuitum.* Occa. ſent. lib. 4. d. 1. *Sacramentum propriè non est signum cuiuslibet rei sacræ, sed tantum rei sacræ sanctificantis homines.* Th. 12. q. 101. 4. & q. 102. 5. *Sacramentum est signum passionis Christi, gratiæ & gloriæ. Ideo est commemoratio præteriti, demonstratio præsentis, & prognosticon futuri.* Th. 3. q. 60. 3. *Sacramenta sunt signa & symbola visibilia rerum internarum & inuisibilium, per quæ, seu per media Deus virtute spiritus sancti in nobis agit.* Conf. Belg. Art. 33. Idem Bœm. confeſſ. ca. 11. c *Sacramenta constant verbo, signis, & rebus significatis.* Confeſſ. Heluet. poſt. cap. 10.

uate minde is, as we cannot know, ſo neither are wee bound to examine: therefore alwayes in theſe caſes the knowne intent of the Church generally doth ſuffice, and where the contrarie is not [a] manifeſt, we may preſume that he which outwardly doth the worke, hath inwardly the purpoſe of the Church of God. Concerning all other Orders, Rites, Praiers, Leſſons, Sermons, Actions, and their Circumſtances whatſoeuer, they are to the outward ſubſtance of Baptiſme but things acceſſory, which the wiſedome of the Church of Chriſt is to order according to the exigence of that which is principall. Againe, conſidering that ſuch Ordinances haue beene made to adorne the Sacrament, [b] not the Sacrament to depend on them; ſeeing alſo that they are not of the ſubſtance of Baptiſme, and that Baptiſme is farre more neceſſarie then any ſuch incident Rite or Solemnitie ordained for the better adminiſtration thereof, [c] if the caſe bee ſuch as permitteth not Baptiſme to haue the decent Complements of Baptiſme, better it were to inioy the body without his Furniture, then to wait for this, till the oportunitie of that for which we deſire it be loſt. Which Premiſes ſtanding, it ſeemeth to haue beene no abſurd collection, that in caſes of neceſſitie which will not ſuffer delay till Baptiſme bee adminiſtred with vſual ſolemnities (to ſpeake the leaſt) it may be tolerably giuen without them, rather then any man without it ſhould be ſuffred to depart this life.

a *Si aliud Miniſtri agere intendant, putà ſacris illudere myſterijs, vel aliud quod Eccleſiæ non conſentiat, nihil agitur. Sine fide enim ſpiritualis poteſtas exerceri quidem poteſt, ſine Eccleſiæ intentione non poteſt.* Lācel. inſt. iur. Can. lib. 2. tit 2. 5. hoc tamen.

b *Acceſſorium non regulat principale, ſed ab eo regulatur,* 42. De regul. iur. in Sext. l 3. ff. quod iuſſu.

c *Etſi nihil facile mutandum eſt ex ſolennibus, tamen vbi equitas euidens poſcit ſubueniendum eſt.* Lib. 183. de reg iur.

59 They which denie that any ſuch caſe of neceſſitie can fall, in regard wherof the Church ſhould tolerate Baptiſme, without the decent Rites & Solemnities thereunto belonging, pretend that ſuch tolerations haue riſen from a falſe Interpretation which *certaine men* haue made of the Scripture, grounding a neceſſitie of externall Baptiſme vpon the words of our Sauiour Chriſt, *Vnleſſe a man be borne againe of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdome of Heauen.* For by *Water and the Spirit*, wee are in that place to vnderſtand (as they imagine) no more then if the Spirit alone had beene mentioned, and water not ſpoken of. Which they thinke is plaine, becauſe elſewhere it is not improbable that *the Holy Ghoſt and fire*, doe but ſignifie the Holy Ghoſt in operation reſembling fire. Whereupon they conclude, that ſeeing fire in one place may bee, therefore water in another place is but a Metaphor, Spirit the interpretation thereof, and ſo the words doe only meane, that vnleſſe a man bee borne againe of the Spirit, he can not enter into the Kingdome of Heauen. I hold it for a moſt infallible rule in Expoſitions of Sacred Scripture, that where a literall conſtruction will ſtand, the fartheſt from the Letter is commonly the worſt. There is nothing more dangerous then this licentious and deluding Art, which changeth the meaning of words, as Alchymie doth or would doe the ſubſtance of Metals, maketh of any thing what it liſteth, and bringeth in the end all Truth to nothing. Or howſoeuer ſuch voluntary exerciſe of wit might be borne with otherwiſe, yet in places which vſually ſerue, as this doth concerning Regeneration by water and the

The ground in Scripture, whereupon a neceſſitie of outward Baptiſme hath beene built.

T. C. l. 1. p. 143. Priuate Baptiſme firſt roſe vpon a falſe interpretation of the place of Saint *Iohn* 3. 5. *Vnleſſe a man bee borne againe of Water and of the Spirit:* and where certaine doe interpret the word *Water* for the materiall and elementall Water, when as our Sauiour Chriſt taketh Water there by a borrowed ſpeech for the Spirit of God, the effect whereof it ſhadoweth out. For euen as in another place, *Matthew* 3. 11. by fire and the Spirit, he meaneth nothing but the Spirit of God, which purgeth and purifieth as the fire doth: So in this place by Water and the Spirit, hee meaneth nothing elſe but the Spirit of God which clenſeth the filth of ſinne, and cooleth the broyling heat of an vnquiet Conſcience, as Water waſheth the thing which is foule, and quencheth the heate of the fire.

Holy Ghoſt, to be alleaged for grounds and principles, leſſe is permitted. To hide the generall conſent of Antiquitie agreeing in the literall interpretation, they cunningly affirme, that *certaine* haue taken thoſe words as meant of materiall water, when they know, that of all the ancient there is not one to bee named, that euer did otherwiſe either expound or alleage the place, then as implying externall Baptiſme. Shall that which hath alwaies [a] receiued this and no other conſtruction be now diſguiſed with a toy of noueltie? Muſt we needs at the only ſhew of Criticall conceit without any more deliberation, vtterly condemne them of errour, which will not admit that fire in the words of *Iohn*, is quenched with the Name of the Holy Ghoſt, or with the name of the Spirit, water dryed vp in the words of Chriſt? When the letter of the Law hath two things plainely and expreſly ſpecified, *Water*, and the *Spirit*; Water as a dutie required on our parts, the Spirit as a gift which God beſtoweth; there is danger in preſuming ſo to interpret it, as if the clauſe which concerneth our ſelues were more then needeth. We may by ſuch rare expoſitions attaine perhaps in the end to be thought wittie, but with ill aduice. Finally, if at [b] the time, when that Baptiſme which was meant by *Iohn*, came to be really and truly performed by Chriſt himſelfe, wee find the Apoſtles that had bin, as wee are, before baptized, new baptized with the Holy Ghoſt, and in this their later Baptiſme as well [c] a viſible deſcent of fire, as a ſecret miraculous infuſion of the Spirit; if on vs he accompliſh likewiſe the heauenly worke of our new birth, not with the Spirit alone, but with water thereunto adioyned, ſith the faithfulleſt Expounders of his words are his owne deeds, let that which his hand hath manifeſtly wrought, declare what his ſpeech did doubtfully vtter.

a *Minimè ſunt mutanda quæ interpretationem certam ſemper habuerunt.* D. lib. 1. tit. 2. lib. 23.

b *Acts* 1. 3. *Iohn* baptized with Water, but you ſhall within few dayes bee baptized with the Holy Ghoſt.

c *Acts* 2. 3.

60. To this they adde, that as wee erre by following a wrong conſtruction of the place before alleaged, ſo our ſecond ouerſight is, that wee thereupon inferre a neceſſitie ouer-rigorous and extreme. The true neceſſitie of Baptiſme, a few propoſitions conſidered will ſoone decide. All things which either are knowne [d] *cauſes*, or ſet *meanes*, whereby any great good is vſually procured, or men deliuered from grieuous euill, the ſame wee muſt needs confeſſe neceſſary. And if *Regeneration* were not in this very ſenſe a thing neceſſary to eternall life, would Chriſt himſelfe haue taught *Nicodemus* that to ſee the Kingdome of God is * impoſſible, ſauing onely for thoſe men which are borne from aboue? His words following in the next ſentence, are a prooſe ſufficient, that to our Regeneration [f] *his Spirit* is no leſſe neceſſary, then Regeneration it ſelfe neceſſarie vnto life. Thirdly, vnleſſe as the Spirit is a neceſſary inward cauſe, ſo *Water* were a neceſſary outward meane to our Regeneration, what conſtruction ſhould wee giue vnto thoſe words wherein we are ſaid to be new borne, and that ἐξ ὕδατος, euen

What kind of neceſſitie in outward Baptiſme hath beene gathered by the words of our Sauiour Chriſt, and what the true neceſſitie thereof indeed is. *T.C. lib.* 1. *p.* 143. Secondly, this errour [of priuate Baptiſme] came by a falſe and vnneceſſary concluſion drawne of that place. For although the Scripture ſhould ſay, that none can bee ſaued but thoſe which haue the Spirit of God, and are baptized with materiall and elementall Water, yet ought it to bee vnderſtanded of thoſe which can conueniently and orderly bee brought to Baptiſme, as the Scripture, ſaying, that whoſo doth not beleeue the Goſpel is condemned already, *Ioh.* 3. 18 meaneth this ſentence of thoſe which can heare the Goſpel, and haue diſcretion to vnderſtand it when they heare it, & cannot here ſhut vnder this cõdemnation, either thoſe that be borne deafe, and ſo remaine, or little Infants, or naturall Fooles that haue no wit to conceiue what is preached.

d Ἀναγκαῖον λέγεται οὗ ἄνευ ἐκ ἐνδέχεται ζῆν ὡς σωστίον: ἢ οὗ ἄνευ τὸ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ἐνδέχεται ἢ εἶναι ἢ γίνεσθαι, ἢ τι κακὸν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἢ σερηθῆναι. *Neceſſarium id dicitur ſine quo vt concauſa fieri non poteſt vt viuatur: & ea ſine quibus fieri nequit vt bonum aut ſit aut fiat; vel malum aliquod amoueatur, aut non adſit.* Ariſt. Metaph. 5. cap. 5. * *Iohn* 3. 3.

f 5.

euen of *Water?* Why are we taught that [m] with water God doth purifie and cleanſe his Church? Wherefore doe the Apoſtles of Chriſt terme baptiſme [n] a bath of Regeneration? What purpoſe had they in giuing men aduice to receiue outward Baptiſme, and in perſwading them it did auaile [o] to remiſſion of ſinnes? If outward Baptiſme were a cauſe in it ſelfe poſſeſſed of that power either naturall or ſupernaturall, without the preſent operation whereof no ſuch effect could poſſibly grow, it muſt then follow, that ſeeing effects doe neuer preuent the neceſſarie cauſes out of which they ſpring, no man could euer receiue grace before Baptiſme: which being apparently both knowne and alſo confeſt to bee otherwiſe in many particulars, although in the reſt we make not Baptiſme a cauſe of grace, yet the grace which is giuen them with their [p] Baptiſme, doth ſo farre-forth depend on the verie outward Sacrament, that God will haue it imbraced not only as a ſigne or token what wee receiue, but alſo as an inſtrument or meane whereby wee receiue grace, becauſe Baptiſme is a Sacrament which God hath inſtituted in his Church, to the end that they which receiue the ſame, might thereby be [q] incorporated into Chriſt, and ſo through his moſt precious Merit obtaine as well that ſauing grace of imputation which taketh away [r] all former guiltines, as alſo that [s] infuſed Diuine vertue of the Holy Ghoſt, which giueth to the powers of the Soule their firſt diſpoſition towards future newneſſe of life. There are that eleuate too much the ordinary and immediate meanes of life, relying wholly vpon the bare conceit of that eternall Election, which notwithſtanding includeth a ſubordination of meanes, without which we are not actually brought to inioy what God ſecretly did intend, & therefore to build vpon Gods Election, if wee keepe not our ſelues to the waies which hee hath appointed for men to walke in, is but a ſelfe-deceiuing vanitie. When the Apoſtle ſaw men called to the participation of Ieſus Chriſt, after the Goſpell of God embraced and the Sacrament of life receiued, he feareth not [t] then to put them in the number of Elect Saints, he [u] then accounteth them deliuered from death, and cleane purged from all ſinne. Till then, notwithſtanding their preordination vnto life which none could know of ſauing God, what were they in the Apoſtles owne [x] account, but Children of wrath as well as others, plaine Aliens, altogether without hope, ſtrangers vtterly without God in this preſent World? So that by Sacraments and other ſenſible tokens of grace we may boldly gather that hee, whoſe mercie vouchſafeth now to beſtow the meanes, hath alſo long ſithence intended vs that whereunto they lead. But let vs neuer thinke it ſafe to preſume of our owne laſt end, by bare coniecturall collections of his intent and purpoſe, the meanes failing that ſhould come betweene. Predeſtination bringeth

m *Epheſ.*5. 26
n *Tit.*3.5.
o *Act.*2.38.
d *Fide'es ſalutem ex iſtis e'ementis non quærunt, etiamſi in iſtis quærunt. Non enim iſta tribuunt quod per iſta tribuitur.* Hugo de Sacram. li. 1. c. 3.
q *Susceptus à Chriſto Chriſtumq; ſuſcipiens non idem fit poſt lauacrum qui ante baptiſmum fuit, ſed corpus regenerati ſit caro crucifixi.* Leo Serm 4. de Paſ. Dom.
r *Caro abluitur vt anima emaculetur.* Tert. de carn. reſur. *Homo per aquam baptiſmi licet à foris idem eſſe videatur intus, tamen alter efficitur, cum peccato natus ſine peccato renaſcitur, prioribus perit, ſuccedentibus proficit, deterioribus exuitur, in meliora innouatur, perſona tingitur & natura mutatur.* Euſeb. Emiſ. de Epiphan. homil. 2. Τριαλῶ γέννησιν ἡμῖν εἶ δεν ὁ λογὸς, τλῶ ἐκ σώματος, τλῶ ἐκ βαπτίσματος, τλῶ ἐξ ἀνασάσεως. Αὐτη μὲν ἡ τῦ βαπτίσματος χάρις ϗ δωάμις ἐ κόσμι καθαλυσμὸν ὡς πάλαι, τῆς δὲ τῦ καθ' ἑκασον ἁμαρτίας καθάρσιν ἔχουσα. Greg. Homil. de ſanct. bapt.
ſ *Vnde genitalis auxilio ſuperioris aui labe deterſa in expiatũ pectus ac purum deſuper ſe lumen infundit.* Cyp. Ep. ad Dona. Οὐ μόνον τῶν παλαιῶν ἁμαρτημάτων δωρεῖται τλῶ ἄφεσιν, ἀλλ' ϗ τλῶ ἐλπίδα τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων ἐντίθησιν ἀγαθῶν, ϗ τῦ δεσπότικῦ θανάτυ ϗ τῆς ἀνασάσεως καθίσησι κοινωνὸς, ϗ τῆς τῦ πνεύματος δωρεᾶς τλῶ μετοσίαν χαρίζεται, Theodoret. Epito. diuin. dogmat. *Baptiſari, eſt purgari à ſordibus peccatorum, & donari varia Dei gratia ad vitam nouam & innocentem.* Confeſſ. Heluet. cap. 20.
t *Epheſ.*1.1.
u 5.8.
x 2.3.12.

bringeth not to life, without the grace of externall [a] vocation, wherein our Baptiſme is implyed. For as wee are not naturally men without birth, ſo neither are we Chriſtian men in the eye of the Church of God but by new birth, nor according to the manifeſt ordinarie courſe of Diuine Diſpenſation new borne, but by that Baptiſme which both declareth and maketh vs Chriſtians. In which reſpect we iuſtly hold it to bee the doore of our actuall entrance into Gods Houſe, the firſt apparent [b] beginning of life, a ſeale perhaps to the [c] grace of *Election* before receiued, but to our Sanctification, heere a ſtep that hath not any before it. There were of the olde *Valentinian* Heretikes ſome, which had knowledge in ſuch admiration, that to it they aſcribed all, and ſo deſpiſed the Sacraments of Chriſt, pretending that as ignorance had made vs ſubiect to all miſerie, ſo the full Redemption of the inward man, and the worke of our Reſtauration, muſt needs belong vnto [d] *Knowledge only*. They draw verie neere vnto this errour, who fixing wholly their minds on the knowne neceſſitie of Faith, [e] imagine that nothing but Faith is neceſſarie for the attainement of all Grace. Yet is it a branch of Beliefe that Sacraments are in their place no leſſe required then Beliefe it ſelfe. For when our Lord and Sauiour promiſeth eternall life, is it any otherwiſe then as hee promiſed reſtitution of health vnto *Naaman* the Syrian, namely, with this condition, [f] *Waſh and bee cleane?* or as to them which were ſtung of Serpents, health by [g] beholding the Brazen Serpent? If Chriſt himſelfe which giueth Saluation doe [h] require Baptiſme, it is not for vs that looke for Saluation, to ſound and examine him whether vnbaptized men may be ſaued, but ſeriouſly to [i] doe that which is required, and religiouſly to feare the danger which may grow by the want thereof. Had Chriſt only declared his wil to haue all men baptized, and not acquainted vs with any cauſe why Baptiſme is neceſſarie, our ignorance in the reaſon of that hee inioyneth, might perhaps haue hindred ſomwhat the forwardnes of our obedience thereunto: whereas now being taught, that Baptiſme is neceſſarie to take away ſinne, how haue we the feare of God in our hearts, if care of deliuering mens Soules from ſinne, doe not mooue vs to vſe all meanes for their Baptiſme? [k] *Pelagius* which denyed vtterly the guilt of originall ſinne, and *in that reſpect* the neceſſitie of Baptiſme, did notwithſtanding both baptize Infants, and acknowledge their Baptiſme neceſſarie for *entrance into the Kingdome of God*. Now the Law of Chriſt, which in theſe conſiderations maketh Baptiſme neceſſarie, muſt bee conſtrued and vnderſtood according to rules of [l] naturall equitie. Which rules if they themſelues did not follow in expounding the Law of God, would they euer be able to proue that [m] the Scripture in ſaying, *Whoſo beleeueth not the Goſpell of Chriſt, is condemned alreadie, meaneth this ſentence of thoſe which can heare the Goſpell, and haue diſcretion when they heare to vnderſtand it, neither ought it to bee applyed vnto Infants, Deafe men and fooles?* That which teacheth them thus to interpret the Law of Chriſt, is naturall equitie. And (becauſe equitie ſo teacheth) it is on all parts gladly confeſt

[a] *Rom.* 8. 30.

[b] Ἀρχή μοι ζωῆς τὸ βαπτισμα. Baſil. de Sp. S. ca 10.

[c] *T.C. l.* 3. *p.* 134 He which is not a Chriſtian before hee come to receiue Baptiſme, cannot bee made a Chriſtian by Baptiſme; which is only the ſeale of the grace of God before receiued.

[d] *Iren. contra Hæreſ. l.* 1. *c.* 18.

[e] *Hic ſceleſtiſſimi illi prouocant quæſtiones. Adeo dicunt baptiſmus non eſt neceſſarius quibus fide ſatis eſt.* Tert. de baptiſ. *Huic nulla proderit fides, qui eum poſſit non percipit Sacramentum.* Bern. Epiſt. 70. ad Hugon.

[f] 2. *Reg.* 5. 14.

[g] *Num* 21. 8.

[h] *Marc.* 16. 16.

[i] *Inſtitutio Sacramentorum quantum ad Deum authorem diſpenſationis eſt, quantum vero ad hominem obedientem neceſſitatis. Quoniam in poteſtate Dei eſt præter iſta hominem ſaluare, ſed in poteſtate hominis non eſt, ſine iſtis ad ſalutem peruenire.* Hug. de Sacra. *l.* 1. *c.* 5.

[k] Pelagius *aſſerere arrepta impietate præſumit non propter vitam ſed propter regnum cœlorum baptiſmum paruulis conferendum.* Euſeb. Emiſſ. Hom. 5. de Paſch.

[l] *Benignius leges interpretande ſunt, quò voluntas earum conſeruetur. l.* Benign. D. de legib. & Senatuſc.

[m] *T.C. l.* 1. *p.* 143.

that

that *there may bee in diuers caſes* life by vertue of inward Baptiſme, euen where outward is not found. So that if any queſtion bee made, it is but about the bounds and limits of this poſſibilitie. For example, to thinke that a man whoſe Baptiſme the Crowne of Martyrdome preuenteth, doth loſe, in that caſe, the happineſſe which ſo many thouſands enioy, that only haue had the grace to beleeue, and not the honour to ſeale the teſtimonie thereof with death, were almoſt barbarous. Againe, [n] when ſome certaine opinatiue men in Saint *Bernards* time beganne priuately to hold that, becauſe our Lord hath ſaid, *Vnleſſe a man be borne againe of water*, therefore life, without either actuall Baptiſme *or Martyrdome* in ſtead of Baptiſme, cannot *poſsibly* bee obtained at the hands of God: *Bernard* conſidering that the ſame equitie which had mooued them to thinke the neceſſitie of Baptiſme no barre againſt the happie eſtate of vnbaptized Martyrs, is as forcible for the warrant of their Saluation, in whom, although there bee not the ſufferings of Holy Martyrs, there are the vertues which ſanctified thoſe ſufferings and made them precious in Gods ſight, profeſſed himſelfe an enemie to that ſeueritie and ſtrictneſſe which admitteth no exception but of Martyrs only. For, ſaith he, if a man deſirous of Baptiſme bee ſuddainely cut off by death, in whom there wanted neither ſound Faith, deuout Hope, nor ſincere Charitie (God bee mercifull vnto mee and pardon me if I erre) but verily of ſuch a ones Saluation in whom there is no other defect beſides his faultleſſe lacke of Baptiſme, deſpaire I cannot, nor induce my minde to thinke his Faith void, his Hope confounded, and his Charitie falne to nothing, only becauſe hee hath not that which not contempt but impoſſibilitie withholdeth. *Tell me I beſeech you* (ſaith AMBROSE) *what there is in any of vs more then to will, and to ſeeke for our owne good. Thy Seruant* VALENTINIAN, *O Lord, did both.* (For *Valentinian* the Emperour dyed before his purpoſe to receiue Baptiſme could take effect.) *And is it poſſible that hee which had purpoſely thy Spirit giuen him to deſire grace, ſhould not receiue thy grace which that Spirit did deſire? Doth it moone you that the outward accuſtomed Solemnities were not done? As though Conuerts that ſuffer Martyrdome before Baptiſme, did thereby forfeit their right to the Crowne of eternall glorie in the Kingdome of Heauen. If the bloud of Martyrs in that caſe be their Baptiſme, ſurely his religious deſire of Baptiſme ſtandeth him in the ſame ſtead.* It hath beene therefore conſtantly held as well touching other Beleeuers as Martyrs, that Baptiſme taken away by neceſſity, is ſupplyed by deſire of Baptiſme, becauſe with [o] equitie this opinion doth beſt ſtand. Touching Infants which dye vnbaptized, ſith they neither haue the Sacrament it ſelfe, nor any ſenſe or conceit thereof, the iudgement of many hath gone hard againſt them. But yet ſeeing grace is not abſolutely tyed vnto Sacraments, and beſides ſuch is the lenitie of God that vnto things altogether impoſſible hee bindeth no man, but where we cannot doe what is inioyned vs, accepteth our will to doe in ſtead of the deed it ſelfe; Againe, for as much as there is in their Chriſtian Parents and in the Church of God a preſumed deſire that the Sacrament of Baptiſme might be giuen them, yea a purpoſe alſo that it ſhall be giuen, remorſe of equity hath moued diuers of the [p] Schoole-diuines in theſe conſiderations ingenuouſly to grant, that God all-mercifull to ſuch as are not in themſelues able to deſire Baptiſme, imputeth the ſecret deſire that o-

n *Bern. Epiſt. 70. ad Hugon.*

o *Qui ad tolerandam omnem pro Dei gloria iniuriam ſemel dicauit animum in Martyrium mihi videtur implêſſe. Summi ergo meriti eſt ſemel fixiſſe ſententiam, atque ideo vt dixi ratio principatum obtinet paſſionis, & ſi ſors perpetiendi deneget facultatem, pertulit tamen cuncta quæ voluit pati. Ioſeph. l. de imper. ration.*

p *Gerſ. Serm. in Natiuit. Beatæ Mariæ. Caietan. in 3. Tho. 9. 68. art. 1. & 2. Biel. in 4. Senten. d. 4. q. 2. Tilman. Segeberg. de ſacr. c. 1. Eliſius Neapol. in Clyp. aduerſ. hereſ. c. de bapti.*

thers haue in their behalfe, and accepteth the ſame as theirs rather then caſteth away their Soules for that which no man is able to helpe. And of the will of God to impart his grace vnto Infants without Baptiſme, in that caſe the verie circumſtance of their naturall birth may ſerue as a iuſt Argument, whereupon it is not to bee miſliked that men in charitable preſumption doe gather a great likelihood of their Saluation, to whom the benefit of Chriſtian Parentage being giuen, the reſt that ſhould follow is preuented by ſome ſuch caſualtie as man hath himſelfe no power to auoid. For wee are plainely taught of God, m that the Seed of faithfull Parentage is holy from the very birth. Which albeit we may not ſo vnderſtand, as if the Children of Beleeuing Parents were without ſinne, or grace from baptized Parents deriued by Propagation, or God by Couenant and Promiſe tyed to ſaue any in meere regard of their Parents Beliefe: yet ſeeing that to all Profeſſors of the Name of Chriſt, this preeminence aboue Infidels is freely giuen, the fruit of their bodies bringeth into the World with it a preſent intereſt and right to thoſe meanes wherewith the Ordinance of Chriſt is that his Church ſhall bee ſanctified, it is not to bee thought that hee which as it were from Heauen hath nominated and deſigned them vnto holineſſe by ſpeciall priuiledge of their verie birth, will himſelfe depriue them of Regeneration and inward grace, only becauſe neceſſitie depriueth them of outward Sacraments. In which caſe it were the part of Charitie to hope, and to make men rather partiall then cruell Iudges, if wee had not thoſe faire apparancies which heere we haue. Wherefore a neceſſitie there is of receiuing, and a neceſſitie of adminiſtring the Sacrament of Baptiſme; the one peraduenture not ſo abſolute as ſome haue thought, but out of all peraduenture the other more ſtraight and narrow, then that the Church which is by office a Mother vnto ſuch as craue at her hands the Sacred Myſterie of their new Birth, ſhould repell them and ſee them dye vnſatisfied of theſe their Ghoſtly Deſires, rather then giue them their Soules Rites, with omiſſion of thoſe things that ſerue n but only for the more conuenient and orderly Adminiſtration thereof. For as on the one ſide we grant that thoſe ſentences of Holy Scripture which make Sacraments moſt neceſſarie to eternall life, are no preiudice to their Saluation that want them by ſome inculpable neceſſitie, and without any fault of their owne; ſo it ought in reaſon to bee likewiſe acknowledged, that for as much as our Lord himſelfe maketh Baptiſme neceſſarie, neceſſarie whether wee reſpect the good receiued by Baptiſme, or the Teſtimonie thereby yeelded vnto God of that humilitie and meeke obedience, which repoſing wholly it ſelfe on the abſolute authoritie of his Commandement, and on the truth of his Heauenly Promiſe, doubteth not but from Creatures deſpicable in their owne condition and ſubſtance to obtaine grace of ineſtimable value, or rather not from them but from him, yet by them as by his appointed meanes, howſoeuer hee by the ſecret wayes of his owne incomprehenſible mercie may be thought to ſaue without Baptiſme, this cleereth not the Church from guiltineſſe of bloud, if through her ſuperfluous ſcrupuloſitie, lets and impediments of leſſe regard ſhould cauſe a grace of ſo great moment to bee withheld, wherein our mercileſſe ſtrictneſſe may bee our owne harme, although not theirs towards whom wee ſhew it;

m 1. Cor. 7. 12.

n T. C. l. 3. p. 218. It is in queſtion whether there bee any ſuch neceſſitie of Baptiſme as that for the miniſtring thereof the common decent orders ſhould bee broken.

and

and we for the hardneſſe of our hearts may periſh, albeit they through Gods vnſpeakeable mercy doe liue. God which did not afflict that innocent, whoſe Circumciſion *Moſes* had ouer-long deferred, tooke reuenge vpon * *Moſes* himſelfe for the iniurie, which was done through ſo great neglect, giuing vs thereby to vnderſtand, that they whom Gods owne mercy ſaueth without vs, are on our parts notwithſtanding, and as much as in vs lyeth euen deſtroyed, when vnder vnſufficient pretences wee defraude them of ſuch ordinarie outward helpes as wee ſhould exhibit. Wee haue for Baptiſme no day ſet as the Iewes had for Circumciſion, neither haue wee by the Law of God, but onely by the Churches diſcretion, a place thereunto appointed. Baptiſme therefore, euen in the meaning of the Law of Chriſt, belongeth vnto Infants capable thereof, from the * very inſtant of their birth. Which if they haue not howſoeuer, rather then loſe it by being put off, becauſe the time, the place, or ſome ſuch like circumſtance, doth not ſolemnely enough concurre, the Church as much as in her lyeth, wilfully caſteth away their ſoules.

* Exod. 4. 24.

* *In omnibus obligationibus in quibus dies non ponitur, præſenti die debetur*, lib. 14. D. de Reg. Iur.

61 The Ancient it may bee were too ſeuere, and made the neceſſitie of Baptiſme more abſolute then reaſon would, as touching Infants. But will [a] any man ſay that they, notwithſtanding their too much rigour herein, did not in that reſpect ſuſtayne and tolerate defects of locall or of perſonall ſolemnities, belonging to the Sacrament of Baptiſme? The Apoſtles themſelues did neither vſe nor appoint for Baptiſme any certayne time. The Church for generall Baptiſme heretofore made choice of two chiefe dayes in the yeere, the feaſt of Eaſter, and the feaſt of Pentecoſt. Which cuſtome, when certayne Churches in Sicily beganne to violate without cauſe, they were by [b] *Leo* Biſhop of Rome aduiſed, rather to conforme themſelues to the reſt of the World in things ſo reaſonable, then to offend mens mindes through needleſſe ſingularitie: howbeit, alwayes prouiding that neuertheleſſe in apparent perill of death, danger of ſiege, ſtreights of perſecution, feare of ſhipwracke, and the like exigents, no reſpect of times ſhould cauſe this ſingular defence of true ſafetie to be denyed vnto any. This of *Leo* did but confirme that ſentence which [c] *Victor* had many yeeres before giuen, extending the ſame exception as well vnto *places* as times. That which Saint *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh of Women, haſting to bring their children to the Church when they ſaw danger, is a weake proofe, that *when neceſſitie did not leaue them ſo much time*, it was not then permitted them neither to make a Church of their owne home. Which anſwere diſchargeth likewiſe their example of a ſicke Iew, carried in bed to the place of Baptiſme, & not baptized at home in priuate. The cauſe why ſuch kind of baptiſme barred men afterwards from entring into holy orders, the reaſon wherefore it was obiected againſt *Nouatian*, in what reſpect

What things in Baptiſme haue been diſpenced with by the Fathers, reſpecting neceſſitie.

[a] *T. C. l. 1. p. 146.* The Authors themſelues of that error, that they cannot be ſaued which are not baptized, did neuer ſeeke no remedie of the miſchiefe in Womens or priuate Baptiſme. *T. C. lib. 3. pag. 219.* What playner teſtimonie can there be, then that of *Auguſtine*, which noteth the vſe of the Church to haue beene, to come to the Church with their children in danger of death, and that when ſome had opinion that their children could not be ſaued if they were not baptized, *Cont. lit. Parm. lib. 2. cap. 13.* I would alſo know of him what he will anſwere to that, which is noted of a Chriſtian Iew deſperately ſicke of the palſey, that was with his bed carryed to the place of Baptiſme, *Socr. lib. 7. cap 4.* What will he anſwere to this, that thoſe which were baptized in their beds, were thereby made vnapt to haue any place amongſt the Clergie [as they call them] doth it not leaue a note of infamie in thoſe, which had procured that Baptiſme ſhould be miniſtred in priuate houſes? *Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 43.* What vnto the Emperours decree, which vpon authoritie of the ancient Lawes, and of the Apoſtles, forbiddeth that the holy things ſhould be adminiſtred in any mans priuate houſe? *Iuſt. Nouel. 57.* [b] *Leo Epiſt. 4. and Epiſc. Sicil.* [c] *Vict. Epiſt. ad Theoph. Alexand. in Pontif. Damaſ.*

reſpect and how farre-forth it did diſable, may be gathered by the twelfth Canon, ſet downe in the Councell of Neocæſarea, after this manner. *A man which hath beene baptized in ſickneſſe, is not after to be ordayned Prieſt.* For it may be thought, *that ſuch doe rather at that time, becauſe they ſee no other remedie, then of a voluntarie minde lay hold on the Chriſtian faith, vnleſſe their true and ſincere meaning be made afterwards the more manifeſt, or elſe the ſcarcitie of others inforce the Church to admit them.* They bring in *Iuſtinians* imperiall Conſtitution, but to what purpoſe, ſeeing it only forbiddeth men to haue the myſteries of God adminiſtred in their priuate Chappels, leſt vnder that pretence Heretikes ſhould doe ſecretly thoſe things which were vnlawfull? In which conſideration hee therefore commandeth, that if they would vſe thoſe priuate Oratories otherwiſe then only for their priuate Prayers, the Biſhop ſhould appoint them a Clarke, whom they might entertayne for that purpoſe. This is plaine by later Conſtitutions, made in the time of LEO: [a] *It was thought good* (ſaith the Emperor) *in their iudgement which haue gone before, that in priuate Chappels none ſhould celebrate the holy Communion, but Prieſts belonging vnto greater Churches. Which order they tooke as it ſeemeth for the cuſtodie of Religion, leſt men ſhould ſecretly receiue from Heretikes, in ſtead of the food, the bane of their ſoules, pollution in place of expiation.* [b] Againe, *whereas a ſacred Canon of the ſixt reuerend Synode requireth Baptiſme, as others haue likewiſe the holy Sacrifices and Myſteries, to be celebrated only in Temples hallowed for publike vſe, and not in priuate Oratories; which ſtrict decrees appeare to haue beene made heretofore in regard of Heretikes, which entered cloſely into ſuch mens houſes as fauoured their opinions, whom, vnder colour of performing with them ſuch religious offices, they drew from the ſoundneſſe of true Religion: now that peruerſe opinions through the grace of Almightie God are extinct and gone, the cauſe of former reſtraints being taken away, we ſee no reaſon but that priuate Oratories may hencefoward inioy that libertie, which to haue granted them heretofore, had not beene ſafe.* In ſumme, all theſe things alleaged are nothing, nor will it euer be proued while the world doth continue, but that the practice of the Church in caſes of extreme neceſſitie, hath made for priuate Baptiſme alwayes more then againſt it. Yea, *Baptiſme by any man in caſe of neceſſitie*, was the [c] voice of the whole world heretofore. Neither is *Tertullian*, *Epiphanius*, *Auguſtine*, or any other of the ancient againſt it. The boldneſſe of ſuch as pretending *Teclaes* example, tooke openly vpon them both Baptiſme, and all other publique functions of Prieſt-hood, *Tertullian* ſeuerely controlleth, ſaying: [d] *To giue Baptiſme is in truth the Biſhops right. After him it belongeth vnto Prieſts and Deacons, but not to them without authoritie from him receiued. For ſo the honour of the Church requireth, which being kept, preſerueth peace. Were it not in this reſpect, the Laytie might doe the ſame, all ſorts might giue euen as all ſorts receiue.* But becauſe Emulation is the mother of Schiſmes, *let it content thee* (which art of the order of Lay men) *to doe it in neceſſitie, when the ſtate of time, or place, or perſon thereunto compelleth. For then is their boldneſſe priuiledged that helpe, when the circumſtance of other mens dangers craueth it.* What hee granteth generally to Lay perſons of the houſe of God, the ſame wee cannot ſuppoſe hee denyeth to any ſort or ſexe contayned vnder that name, vnleſſe himſelfe did reſtrayne the limits of his owne ſpeech, eſpecially ſeeing that *Tertullians* rule of interpretation

is

a *Leo Conſt.* 4.
b *Idē Conſt.* 15.
c *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 145. To allow of Womens baptizing, is not only contrarie to the learned Writers now, but alſo contrarie to all learned Antiquitie, and contrarie to the practice of the Church whileſt there was any tolerable eſtate, *Tertull. de Virgin. veland. & lib. de Baptiſ. Epiphan. lib.* 1. *& lib.* 2. *cont. Hereſ.* S. *Auguſtine*, although he ſeeme to allow of a Lay mans Baptiſme in time of neceſſitie, *Cont. Epiſt. Parmen. lib.* 2. *c.* 13. yet there he mentioneth not Womens Baptiſme: and in the fourth Councell of Carthage, *cap.* 100. it is ſimply without exception decreed, that a woman ought not to baptize.
d *Tertull. de Baptiſ.*

is [a] elſewhere, *Specialties are ſignified vnder that which is generall, becauſe they are therein comprehended.* All which *Tertullian* doth [b] denie, is, that women may be called to beare, or publikely take vpon them to execute Offices of Eccleſiaſticall order, whereof none but men are capable. As for *Epiphanius*, he ſtriketh on the very ſelfe-ſame anuill with *Tertullian*. And in neceſſitie if S. *Auguſtine* allow as much vnto Lay-men as *Tertullian* doth, his *not mentioning* of women, is but a ſlender proofe that his meaning was to exclude women. Finally, the Councell of Carthage likewiſe, although it make no expreſſe ſubmiſſion, may bee very well preſumed, willing to ſtoupe as other Poſitiue ordinances doe, to the countermands of neceſſitie. Iudge therefore what the ancient would haue thought, if in their dayes it had beene heard which is publiſhed in ours, [c] that becauſe, *The ſubſtance of the Sacrament doth chiefly depend on the inſtitution of God, which is the forme, and as it were the life of the Sacrament*, therefore firſt, *if the whole inſtitution be not kept, it is no Sacrament*; and ſecondly, if Baptiſme be priuate his inſtitution is broken, in as much as *according to the orders which he hath ſet for Baptiſme, it ſhould be done in the Congregation*, from whoſe ordinance in this point *we ought not to ſwarue, although we know that Infants ſhould be aſſuredly damned without Baptiſme.* O ſir, you that would ſpurne thus at ſuch, as in caſe of ſo dreadfull extremitie ſhould lie proſtrate before your feete, you that would turne away your face from them at the houre of their moſt neede, you that would damme vp your eares, and harden your hearts as Iron, againſt the vnreſiſtable cryes of Supplicants, calling vpon you for mercy with termes of ſuch inuocation, as that moſt dreadfull perplexitie might miniſter, if God by miracle did open the mouthes of Infants, to expreſſe their ſuppoſed neceſſitie, ſhould firſt imagine your ſelfe in their caſe, and them in yours. This done, let their ſupplications proceede out of your mouth, and your anſwere out of theirs. Would you then contentedly heare, *My ſonne, the Rites and Solemnities of Baptiſme muſt be kept, we may not* [d] *doe ill that good may come of it, neither are ſoules to be deliuered from eternall death and condemnation, by breaking orders which Chriſt hath ſet*, would you in their caſe your ſelfe be ſhaken off with theſe anſweres, and not rather imbrace incloſed with both your armes a ſentence, which now is no Goſpell vnto you, [e] *I will haue mercy and not ſacrifice*? To acknowledge Chriſts inſtitution the ground of both Sacraments, I ſuppoſe, no Chriſtian man will refuſe: for it giueth them their very nature, it appointeth the matter whereof they conſiſt, the forme of their adminiſtration it teacheth, and it bleſſeth them with that grace whereby to vs they are both pledges and inſtruments of life. Neuertheleſſe, ſeeing Chriſts inſtitution contayneth, beſides that which maketh complete the Eſſence or Nature, other things that onely are parts as it were of the furniture of Sacraments, the difference betweene theſe two muſt vnfold that which the generall termes of indefinite ſpeech would confound. If the place appointed for Baptiſme be a part of Chriſts inſtitution, it is but his inſtitution as *ſacrifice*, Baptiſme his inſtitution as *mercy*, in this caſe. Hee which requireth both Mercy and Sacrifice, reiecteth his owne inſtitution of Sacrifice, where the offering of ſacrifice

a *Subiectum eſt generali ſpeciale. In ipſo ſignificatur, quia in ipſo cõtinetur*, Tert. de velãd. Virg. *Poſito genere ſupponitur ſpecies*, Azo. in l. 2. C. de Tranſact.

b *Non permittitur mulieri in Eccleſia loqui, ſed nec docere, nec tingere, nec offerre, nec vllius virilis muneris nedum Sacerdotalis officij ſortem ſibi vendicare*, Tertul. de veland Vir.

c *T.C.l.1.p.144* The ſubſtance of the Sacrament dependeth chiefly of the inſtitution and Word of God, which is the forme, and as it were the life of the Sacrament.

T.C.lib.1.p.144. Although part of the inſtitution be obſerued, yet if the whole inſtitution be not it is no Sacrament.

T.C.lib.1. p.146 The orders which God hath ſet, are, that it ſhould be done in the Congregation and by the Miniſter.

T.C.lib.1.p.146. And I will further ſay, that although that the Infants which die without Baptiſme ſhould be aſſuredly damned, (which is moſt falſe) yet ought

not the orders which Gods hath ſet in his Church, be broken after this ſort. d *Noſtro peccato alterius ſaluti conſulere non debemus*, Aug. lib. cont. Menda. c. 17. e *Matth. 9. 13.*

would

would hinder mercy from being ſhewed. Externall circumſtances euen in the holieſt and higheſt actions, are but the [a] *leſſer things of the Law*, wherunto thoſe actions themſelues being compared are *the greater*; and therefore as the greater are of ſuch importance that they *muſt be done*, ſo in that extremitie before ſuppoſed, if our accompt of the leſſer which are *not to be omitted*, ſhould cauſe omiſſion of that which is more to be accompted of, were not this our ſtrict obedience to Chriſts inſtitution touching *Mint and Commin*, a diſobedience to his inſtitution concerning loue? But ſith no inſtitution of Chriſt hath ſo ſtrictly tyed Baptiſme to publique Aſſemblies, as it hath done all men vnto Baptiſme, away with theſe mercileſſe and bloudie ſentences, let them neuer be found ſtanding in the bookes and writings of a Chriſtian man, they ſauour not of Chriſt, nor of his moſt gracious and meeke Spirit, but vnder colour of exact obedience, they nouriſh crueltie and hardneſſe of heart.

a *Matth.*23.23.

Whether Baptiſme by Women be true Baptiſme, good and effectuall to them that receiue it.

62 To leaue priuate Baptiſme therefore, and to come vnto Baptiſme by women, which [b] they ſay, is no more a Sacrament, then any other ordinarie waſhing or bathing of a mans body; the reaſon whereupon they ground their opinion herein is ſuch, as making Baptiſme by Women void, becauſe Women are no Miniſters in the Church of God, muſt needes generally annihilate the Baptiſme of all vnto whom their conceit ſhall apply this exception, whether it be in regard of ſexe, of qualitie, of inſufficiencie, or whatſoeuer. For if want of calling doe fruſtrate Baptiſme, they that baptize without calling doe nothing, be they Women or Men. To make women Teachers in the houſe of God, were a groſſe abſurditie, ſeeing the Apoſtle hath ſaid, [c] *I permit not a Woman to teach*: And againe, [d] *Let your Women in Churches be ſilent.* Thoſe extraordinarie gifts of ſpeaking with tongues and prophecying, which God at that time did not onely beſtow vpon men, but on women alſo, made it the harder to hold them confined with priuate bounds. Whereupon the Apoſtles ordinance was neceſſarie againſt womens publique admiſſion to teach. And becauſe when Law hath begun ſome one thing or other well, it giueth good occaſion either to draw by iudicious expoſition out of the very Law it ſelfe, or to annexe to the Law by authoritie and iuriſdiction things of like conueniencie, therefore [e] *Clement* extendeth this Apoſtolike Conſtitution to Baptiſme. For (ſaith he) *If we haue denyed them leaue to teach, how ſhould any man diſpence with nature, and make them Miniſters of holy things, ſeeing this vnskilfulneſſe is a part of the Grecians impietie, which for the ſeruice of women goddeſſes, haue women Prieſts?* I ſomewhat maruell, that men which would not willingly be thought to ſpeake or write, but with good conſcience, dare hereupon openly auouch *Clement* for a [f] witneſſe, that *as when the Church beganne not onely to decline, but to fall away from the ſinceritie of Religion, it borrowed a number of other prophanations of the Heathens, ſo it borrowed this, and would needes haue women Prieſts as the Heathens had, and that this was one occaſion of bringing Baptiſme by Women into the Church of God.* Is it not plaine in their owne eyes, that firſt by an euidence which forbiddeth women to be Miniſters of Baptiſme, they

b *T. C. lib.*1. *pag.*144. On this point, whether he be a Miniſter or no, dependeth not onely the dignitie, but alſo the being of the Sacrament. So that I take the Baptiſme of Women to be no more the holy Sacrament of Baptiſme, then any other daily or ordinarie waſhing of the child.

c 1.*Tim.* 2. 12.

d 1.*Tim.*14.34

e *Clem. Conſt. Apoſtol. lib.*2. *cap.*9.

f *T.C.l.*1.*p.*144.

they endeuour to ſhew how Women were admitted vnto that function in the waine and declination of Chriſtian pietie: Secondly, that by an euidence reiecting the Heathens, and condemning them of impietie, they would prooue ſuch affection towards Heathens, as ordereth the affaires of the Church by the patterne of their example: and thirdly, that out of an euidence which nameth the Heathens as being in ſome part a reaſon why the Church had no Women Prieſts, they gather the Heathens to haue beene one of the firſt occaſions why it had? So that throughout euery branch of this teſtimonie their iſſue is, *yea*, and their euidence directly *no*. But to womens Baptiſme in priuate by occaſion of vrgent neceſſitie, the reaſons that onely concerne ordinarie Baptiſme in publike are no iuſt preiudice, neither can we by force thereof diſproue the practice of thoſe Churches, which (neceſſitie requiring) allow Baptiſme in priuate to be adminiſtred by Women. Wee may not from Lawes that prohibit any thing with reſtraint, conclude abſolute and vnlimited prohibitions: Although wee denie not but they which vtterly forbid ſuch Baptiſme, may haue perhaps wherewith to iuſtifie their orders againſt it. For euen things lawfull are [a] well prohibited, when there is feare leſt they make the way to vnlawfull more eaſie. And it may be, the libertie of Baptiſme by Women at ſuch times, doth ſometimes embolden the raſher ſort to doe it where no ſuch neceſſitie is. But whether of permiſſion beſides Law, or in preſumption againſt Law they doe it, is it thereby altogether fruſtrate, void, and as though it were neuer giuen? They which haue not at the firſt their right Baptiſme, muſt of neceſſitie bee rebaptized, becauſe the Law of Chriſt tyeth all men to receiue Baptiſme. Iteration of Baptiſme once giuen hath beene alwayes thought a manifeſt contempt of that auncient Apoſtolique Aphoriſme, [b] *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſme*, Baptiſme not onely one in as much as it hath euery-where the ſame ſubſtance, and offereth vnto all men the ſame grace, but one alſo for that it ought not to bee receiued by any one man aboue once. Wee ſerue that Lord which is but one, becauſe no other can be ioyned with him: wee embrace that Faith which is but one, becauſe it admitteth no innouation: that Baptiſme wee receiue which is but one, becauſe it cannot be receiued often. For how ſhould we practiſe iteration of Baptiſme, and yet teach that wee are by Baptiſme borne anew, that by Baptiſme wee are admitted into the heauenly ſocietie of Saints, that thoſe things bee really and effectually done by Baptiſme, which are no more poſſible to bee often done, [c] then a man can naturally be often borne, or ciuilly be often adopted into any ones ſtocke and family? This alſo is the cauſe why they that preſent vs vnto Baptiſme, are intitled for euer after our Parents in God, and the reaſon why there wee receiue new names, in token that by Baptiſme wee are made new creatures. As Chriſt hath therefore dyed and riſen from the dead but once, ſo the Sacrament which both extinguiſheth in him our former ſinne, and beginneth in vs a new condition of life, is by one onely actuall adminiſtration for euer auaileable, according to that in the Nicene Creede, *I beleeue one Baptiſme for remiſſion of ſinnes*. And becauſe ſecond Baptiſme was euer [d] abhord in the Church of God as a kinde of inceſtuous birth, they that iterate Baptiſme, are driuen vnder ſome pretence or other to make the former Baptiſme void.

a *Licita prohibentur, ne ſi permitterentur, eorum occaſione perueniatur ad illicita. l. neque tamen*, Iuſt. de Aſuth. tut. l. Officium. D. de rei vind.

b *Epheſ.* 4. 5.

c *Vna eſt natiuitas de terra, alia de cœlo; vna de carne, alia de Spiritu; vna de æternitate, alia de mortalitate: vna de maſculo & fœmina, alia de Deo & Eccleſia. Sed ipſæ duæ ſingulares ſunt. Quomodo enim vterus non poteſt repeti, ſic nec baptiſmus iteruri*, Proſp. Senten. 331. *Eia fratres lacteum genitalis fontis ad laticem conuolate, vt ſemper vobis aqua ſufficiat, hoc ante omnia ſcientes, quia hanc nec effundere licet nec rurſus hauſire*, Zeno Iuuit. ad font.

d *Auguſt. de Baptiſ. cont. Don. l. 2. c. 14.*

[a] *Tertullian*

[a] *Tertullian* the first that proposed to the Church, [b] *Agrippinus* the first in the Church that accepted, and against the vse of the Church *Nouatian* the first that publikely began to practise rebaptization, did it therefore vpon these two grounds, a true perswasion that Baptisme is necessarie, and a false, that the Baptisme which others administred was no Baptisme. *Nouatianus* his conceit was, that none can administer true Baptisme but the true Church of Iesus Christ, that hee and his followers alone were the Church, and for the rest hee accounted them wicked and prophane persons, such as by Baptisme could cleanse no man, vnlesse they first did purifie themselues, and reforme the faults wherewith hee charged them. At which time [c] S. *Cyprian* with the greatest part of African Bishops, because they likewise thought that none but only the true Church of God can baptize, and were of nothing more certaynely perswaded, then that Heretikes are as rotten branches cut off from the life and body of the true Church, gathered hereby that the Church of God both may with good consideration, and ought to reuerse that Baptisme which is giuen by Heretikes. These held and practised their owne opinion, yet with great protestations often made that they neither loued a whit the lesse, nor thought in any respect the worse of them that were of a contrarie minde. In requitall of which ingenious moderation, the rest that withstood them, did it in peaceable sort with very good regard had of them as of men in error, but not in heresie. The Bishop of Rome against their nouelties, vp-held as beseemed him, the ancient and true Apostolike Customes, till they which vnaduisedly before had erred, became in a manner all [d] reconciled friends vnto Truth, and saw that Heresie in the Ministers of Baptisme, could no way euacuate the force thereof; [e] such Heresie alone excepted, as by reason of vnsoundnes in the highest Articles of Christian Faith, presumed to change, and by changing to mayme the substance, the forme of Baptisme. In which respect the Church did neither simply disanull, nor absolutely ratifie Baptisme by Heretikes. For the Baptisme which Nouatianists gaue, stood firme, whereas they whom [f] Samosatenians had baptized, were rebaptized. It was likewise ordered in the [g] Councell of Arles, that if any Arrian did reconcile himselfe to the Church, they should admit him without new baptisme, vnlesse by examination they found him not baptized in the name of the Trinitie. *Dionysius* Bishop of Alexandria [h] maketh report, how there liued vnder him a man of good reputation, and of very ancient continuance in that Church, who being present at the Rites of Baptisme, and obseruing with better consideration then euer before what was there done, came, and with weeping submission craued of his Bishop not to denie him Baptisme, the due of all which professe Christ, seeing it had beene so long sithence his euill hap to bee deceiued by the fraude of Heretikes, and at their hands (which till now hee neuer throughly and duely waighed) to take a Baptisme full fraught with blasphemous impieties, a Baptisme in nothing like vnto that

a *Tertull. de Baptism.*
b *Cypr. Epist. 71.*
c *Euseb lib. 7. cap. 1, 2, 3. Cypr. Epist. 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76.*
d *Illi ipsi Episcopi qui rebaptizandos Hæreticos cum Cypriano statuerant, ad antiquam consuetudinem reuoluti nouum emisére decretum*, Hieron. cont. Lucifer. *Vide &* Augustin. cont. Crescon. lib. 3. cap. 2, 3. *&* Epist. 48.
e *Dixisti fieri non posse vt in falso baptismate inquinatus abluat, immundus emundet, supplantator erigat, perditus liberet, reus veniam tribuat, damnatus absoluat. Benè hæc omnia poterunt ad solos hæreticos pertinere, qui falsauerunt symbolum, dum alter dixerit duos Deos, cum Deus vnus sit, alter Patrem vult in persona Filij cognosci, alter carnem subducens Filio Dei per quam Deo reconciliatus est mundus: & cæteri huiusmodi, qui à Sacramentis Catholicis alieni noscuntur*, Optat. lib. 1.
f *Synod. Nicæ. cap. 19.*
g *Synod. 1. Arelat. cap. 8.*
h *Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 7. cap. 8.*

that which the true Church of Chriſt vſeth. The Biſhop greatly moued thereat, yet durſt not aduenture to rebaptize, but did the beſt hee could to put him in good comfort, vſing much perſwaſion with him not to trouble himſelfe with things that were paſt and gone, nor after ſo long continuance in the fellowſhip of Gods People, to call now in queſtion his firſt entrance. The poore man that ſaw himſelfe in this ſort anſwered but not ſatisfied, ſpent afterwards his life in continuall perplexitie, whereof the Biſhop remained fearefull to giue releaſe: perhaps too fearefull, if the Baptiſme were ſuch as his owne Declaration imporeth. For that the ſubſtance thereof was rotten at the verie firſt, is neuer by tract of time able to recouer ſoundneſſe. And where true Baptiſme was not before giuen, the caſe of rebaptization is cleere. But by this it appeareth that Baptiſme is not void in regard of Hereſie, and therefore much leſſe through any *other morall* defect in the Miniſter thereof. Vnder which ſecond pretenſe, Donatiſts notwithſtanding tooke vpon them to make fruſtrate the Churches Baptiſme, and themſelues to rebaptize their owne frye. For whereas ſome fortie yeeres after the Martyrdome of bleſſed *Cyprian*, the Emperour *Dioclefian* beganne to * perſecute the Church of Chriſt, and for the ſpeedier abolifhment of their Religion, to burne vp their Sacred Bookes, there were in the Church it ſelfe *Traditors*, content to deliuer vp the Bookes of God by compoſition, to the end their owne liues might bee ſpared. Which men growing thereby odious to the reſt, whoſe conſtancie was greater, it fortuned that after, when one *Cæcilian* was ordained Biſhop in the Church of Carthage, whom others endeuoured in vaine to defeate by excepting againſt him as a *Traditor*, they whoſe accuſations could not preuaile, deſperately ioyned themſelues in one, and made a Biſhop of their owne crue, accounting from that day forward their factron the onely true and ſincere Church. The firſt Biſhop on that part was *Maiorinus*, whoſe ſucceſſour *Donatus* being the firſt that wrote in defence of their Schiſme, the Birds that were hatched before by others haue their names from him. Arrians and Donatiſts beganne both about one time. Which Hereſies according to the different ſtrength of their owne ſinewes, wrought as hope of ſucceſſe led them, the one with the choiceſt wits, the other with the multitude ſo farre, that after long and troubleſome experience, the perfecteſt view men could take of both was hardly able to induce any certaine determinate reſolution, whether errour may doe more by the curious ſubtletie of ſharpe Diſcourſe, or elſe by the meere appearance of zeale and deuout affection, the later of which two aides, gaue Donatiſts beyond all mens expectation, as great a ſway as euer any Schiſme or Hereſie had within that reach of the Chriſtian World where it bred and grew: the rather perhaps becauſe the Church which neither greatly feared them, and beſides had neceſſarie cauſe to bend it ſelfe againſt others that aimed directly at a farre higher mark the Deitie of Chriſt, was contented to let Donatiſts haue theirs foorth by the ſpace of threeſcore yeeres and aboue, euen from tenne yeeres before *Conſtantine*, till the time that [b] *Optatus* Biſhop of Milcuis publiſhed his Bookes againſt *Parmenian*. During which terme and the ſpace of that Schiſmes continuance afterwards, they had, beſides many other Secular and worldly meanes to helpe them forward, theſe ſpeciall aduantages. Firſt, the verie occaſion of

* *Circa an.* 300

b *Circa an.* 370

their breach with the Church of God, a iuſt hatred and diſlike of *Traditors* ſeemed plauſible, they eaſily perſwaded their hearers that ſuch men could not be holy as held cõmunion & fellowſhip with them that betray Religion. Againe, when to dazle the eies of the ſimple, and to proone that it can bee no Church which is not holy, they had in ſhew and ſound of words the glorious pretenſe of the Creed Apoſtolike, *I beleeue the Holy Catholike Church*, we need not thinke it any ſtrange thing that with the multitude they gained credit. And auouching that ſuch as are not of the true Church can adminiſter no true Baptiſme, they had for this point whole Volumes of Saint *Cyprians* owne writing, together with the iudgement of diuers Affrican Synods, whoſe ſentence was the ſame with his. Whereupon, the Fathers were likewiſe in defence of their iuſt cauſe verie greatly preiudiced, both for that they could not enforce the dutie of mens communion with a Church confeſt to be in many things blameworthy, vnleſſe they ſhould oftentimes ſeeme to ſpeake as halfe defendors of the faults themſelues, or at the leaſt not ſo vehement accuſers therof as their aduerſaries; and to withſtand iteration of Baptiſme, the other branch of the Donatiſts Hereſie was impoſſible, without manifeſt and profeſt reiection of *Cyprian*, whom the World vniuerſally did in his life time admire as the greateſt amongſt Prelates, & now honor as the loweſt in the Kingdome of Heauen. So true we find it by experience of all Ages in the Church of God, that the Teachers errour is the peoples triall, harder and heauier by ſo much to beare, as he is in worth and regard greater that miſperſwadeth them. Although there was oddes between *Cyprians* cauſe and theirs, he differing from others of ſounder vnderſtanding in that point, but not diuiding himſelfe from the body of the Church by Schiſme as did the Donatiſts. For which cauſe, [a] ſaith VINCENTIVS, *Of one and the ſame opinion we iudge (which may ſeeme ſtrange) the Authors Catholike, and the followers hereticall; we acquit the Maſters, and condemne the Schollers; they are heires of Heauen which haue written thoſe Bookes, the defendors whereof are troden downe to the pit of Hell.* The inuectiues of Catholike Writers therefore againſt them are ſharp; the words of [b] Imperiall Edicts by *Honorius* and *Theodoſius* made to bridle thẽ very bitter, the puniſhments ſeuere in reuenge of their folly. Howbeit for feare (as we may coniecture) leſt much ſhould bee derogated from the Baptiſme of the Church, and Baptiſme by Donatiſts be more eſteemed of then was meete, if on the one ſide that which Heretikes had done ill ſhould ſtand as good, on the other ſide that be reuerſed which the Catholike Church had well and religiouſly done, diuers better minded then aduiſed men, thought it fitteſt to meete with this inconuenience, by rebaptizing Donatiſts as well as they rebaptized Catholikes. For ſtay whereof, the [c] ſame Emperours ſaw it meet to giue their Law a double edge, whereby it might equally on both ſides cut off not only Heretikes which rebaptized whom they could peruert, but alſo Catholike and Chriſtian Prieſts which did the like vnto ſuch as before had taken Baptiſme at the hands of Heretikes, and were afterwards reconciled to the Church of God. Donatiſts were therefore in proceſſe of time, though with much adoe, wearied, and at the length worne out by the conſtancie of that truth which teacheth, that euill Miniſters of good things are as torches, a light to others, a waſte to none but themſelues onely, and that the foulneſſe of their hands can neither

a *Vincent. Lirin aduerſ. hæreſ. c. 11.*

b *Vide C. Theo. lib. 16. tit. 6. l. Aduerſarios & l. Nullus. circa an. 405.*

c *Siquis C. Ne. ſanct. baptiſ. circa an. 413.*

neither any whit impaire the vertue, nor ſtaine the glorie of the Myſteries of Chriſt. Now that which was done amiſſe by vertuous and good men, as *Cyprian* carried aſide with hatred againſt Hereſie, and was ſecondly followed by Donatiſts, whom enuie and rancor couered with ſhew of godlineſſe, made obſtinate to cancell whatſoeuer the Church did in the Sacrament of Baptiſme, hath of later dayes, in another reſpect, farre different from both the former, beene brought freſhly againe into practice. For the Anabaptiſt rebaptizeth, becauſe, in his eſtimation the Baptiſme of the Church is fruſtrate, for that we giue it vnto Infants which haue not Faith, whereas, according vnto Chriſts Inſtitution as they conceiue it, true Baptiſme ſhould alwayes preſuppoſe actuall Beliefe in Receiuers, and is otherwiſe no Baptiſme. Of theſe three errours, there is not any but hath beene able at the leaſt to alleage in defence of it ſelfe many faire probabilities. Notwithſtanding, ſith the Church of God hath hitherto alwayes conſtantly maintained, that to rebaptize them which are knowne to haue receiued true Baptiſme is vnlawfull; that if Baptiſme ſeriouſly be adminiſtred in the ſame Element, and with the ſame forme of words which Chriſts Inſtitution teacheth, there is no other defect in the World that can make it fruſtrate, or depriue it of the nature of a true Sacrament; and laſtly, that Baptiſme is onely then to be readminiſtred, when the firſt deliuerie thereof is void, in regard of the forealleaged imperfections and no other, ſhall wee now in the caſe of Baptiſme, which hauing both for matter and forme the ſubſtance of Chriſts Inſtitution, is by a fourth ſort of men voided, for the onely defect of Eccleſiaſticall authoritie in the Miniſter, thinke it enough that they blow away the force thereof with the bare ſtrength of their very breath, by ſaying, *Wee take ſuch Baptiſme to be no more the Sacrament of Baptiſme, then any other ordinarie bathing to be a Sacrament?* * It behoueth generally all ſorts of men to keepe themſelues within the limits of their owne vocation. And ſeeing God, from whom mens ſeuerall degrees and preeminences doe proceed, hath appointed them in his Church, at whoſe hands his pleaſure is that wee ſhould receiue both Baptiſme and all other publike medicinable helpes of ſoule, perhaps thereby the more to ſettle our hearts in the loue of our ghoſtly Superiors, they haue ſmall cauſe to hope that with him their voluntarie ſeruices will be accepted, who thruſt themſelues into Functions, either aboue their capacitie or beſides their place, and ouerboldly intermeddle with duties, whereof no charge was euer giuen them. They that in any thing exceed the compaſſe of their owne order, doe as much as in them lyeth to diſſolue that order which is the harmonie of Gods Church. Suppoſe therefore, that in theſe and the like conſiderations the Law did vtterly prohibit Baptiſme to bee adminiſtred by any other then perſons thereunto ſolemnely conſecrated; what neceſſitie ſoeuer happen. Are not * many things firme being done, although in part done otherwiſe then Poſitiue rigor and ſtrictneſſe did require? Nature as much as is poſſible inclineth vnto validities and preſeruations. Diſſolutions and nullities of things done are not onely not fauoured, but hated, when either vrged without cauſe, or extended beyond their reach: if therefore at any time it come to paſſe, that in teaching publikely, or priuately in deliuering this Bleſſed Sacrament of Regeneration, ſome vnſanctified hand, contrarie to Chriſts ſuppoſed

* *Num.16.10. Leuit.10.1. 1.Sam.13.11. 2.Sam.6.6. 2.Chron.26.16. Heb.5.4.*

* *Quæ nec Lugdunenſis c. ex literis Decretal. de matrim. cõtract. Damaſ. Burchar. reg.109. Prohibita fieri ſi fiant non tenent. In prohibitionibus autem circa res fauourabiles cõtrarium obtinet.*

Ordinance, do intrude it ſelfe to execute that, whereupon the Lawes of God & his Church haue deputed others, which of theſe two opinions ſeemeth more agreeable with Equitie, ours that diſallow what is done amiſſe, yet make not the force of the Word and Sacraments, much leſſe their nature and very ſubſtance to depend on the Miniſters authoritie and calling, or elſe [m] theirs which defeate, diſanull, and annihilate both, in reſpect of that one onely perſonall defect, there being not any Law of God which ſaith, that if the Miniſter bee incompetent, his Word ſhall be no Word, his Baptiſme no Baptiſme? He which teacheth and is not ſent, loſeth the reward, but yet retaineth the name of a Teacher; his vſurped actions haue in him the ſame nature which they haue in others, although they yeeld him not the ſame comfort. And if theſe two caſes be peeres, the caſe of Doctrine and the caſe of Baptiſme both alike, ſith no defect in their vocation that teach the truth, is able to take away the benefit thereof from him which heareth, wherefore ſhould the want of a lawfull calling in them that baptize, make Baptiſme to be vaine? They [n] grant that the matter and the forme in Sacraments are the onely parts of ſubſtance, and that if theſe two bee retained, albeit other things beſides bee vſed which are inconuenient, the Sacrament notwithſtanding is adminiſtred but not ſincerely. Why perſiſt they not in this opinion? when by theſe faire ſpeeches they haue put vs in hope of agreement, wherefore ſup they vp their words againe, interlacing ſuch friuolous Interpretations and Gloſes as diſgrace their ſentence? What ſhould moue them, hauing named the *matter* and the *forme* of the Sacrament, to giue vs preſently warning, that they meane by *the forme* of the Sacrament *the inſtitution*, which expoſition darkneth whatſoeuer was before plaine? For whereas in common vnderſtanding, that *forme*, which added to the Element doth make a Sacrament, and is of the outward ſubſtance thereof, containeth onely the words of vſuall application, they ſet it downe (leſt common Dictionaries ſhould deceiue vs) that *the forme* doth ſignifie in their Language *the inſtitution*, which inſtitution in truth comprehendeth both forme and matter. Such are their fumbling ſhifts to incloſe the Miniſters vocation within the compaſſe of ſome eſſentiall part of the Sacrament. A thing that can neuer ſtand with ſound and ſincere conſtruction. For what if the [p] Miniſter bee *no circumſtance, but a ſubordinate efficient cauſe in the* worke of Baptiſme? What if the Miniſters vocation be a matter [q] *of perpetuall neceſſitie, and not a Ceremonie variable as times and occaſions require? What if his calling bee a principall part of the Inſtitution of Chriſt?* Doth it therefore follow that the Miniſters authoritie is [r] *of the ſubſtance of the Sacrament*, and as incident into the nature thereof as the matter and the forme it ſelfe, yea more incident? For whereas in caſe of neceſſitie the greateſt amongſt them profeſſeth the change of the Element of Water lawfull, and others which like not ſo well this opinion, could be better content that voluntarily the *words* of Chriſts Inſtitution were altered, and

m *T.C.l.1.p.144* As S. *Paul* ſaith that a man cannot preach which is not ſent, *Rom.*10.15 no not although hee ſpeake the words of the Scripture & interpret them: So I cānot ſee how a man can baptize vnleſſe hee bee ſent to that end, although hee powre water & rehearſe the words which are to bee rehearſed in the Miniſterie of Baptiſme.

n *T.C.l.1 p.165* If eyther the matter of the Sacrament, or the forme of it, which is the inſtitution [which things are onely ſubſtantiall parts] were wanting, there ſhould then haue bin no Sacrament at al miniſtred. But they being retained & yet other things ved which are not conueniēt, the Sacrament is miniſtred, but not ſincerely.

o *T.C.l.3.p.117*

p *T.C.l.3.p.121.*

q *T.C l.3 p.135.* The Miniſter is of the ſubſtance of the Sacrament, conſidering that it is a principall part of Chriſts inſtitution. *Bez. Epiſt.2. Deſit aqua, & tamen baptiſmus alicuius differri cum edificatione non poſſit nec debeat, ego certè quouis alio liquore non minus ritè quàm aqua baptiſarim. T.C.l.3.p.139.* Shew mee why the breach of the inſtitution in the forme ſhould make the Sacrament vnauaileable, and not the breach of this part [which concerneth the Miniſter.] *T.C.ibid.* Howſoeuer ſome learned and godly giue ſome libertie in the change of the Elements of the Holy Sacrament, yet I doe not ſee how that can ſtand. *Idem p.*137. I would rather iudge him baptized into the Name of Chriſt, without adding the Father and the Holy Ghoſt when the Element of Water is added, then when the other words being duely kept, ſome other liquor is vſed.

men

men baptized in *the Name of Chriſt*, without either mention made of the Father or of the Holy Ghoſt, neuertheleſſe, in denying that Baptiſme adminiſtred by priuate perſons, ought to be reckoned of as a Sacramẽt, they both agree. It may therefore pleaſe them both to conſider, that Baptiſme is an action in part Morall, in part Eccleſiaſticall, and in part Myſticall: Morall, as being a dutie which men performe towards God; Eccleſiaſticall, in that it belongeth vnto Gods Church as a publike dutie; finally Myſticall, if wee reſpect what God doth thereby intend to worke. The greateſt Moral perfection of Baptiſme conſiſteth in mens deuout obedience to the Law of God, which Law requireth both the outward act or thing done, and alſo that Religious affection which God doth ſo much regard, that without it whatſoeuer we doe is hatefull in his ſight, who therefore is ſaid to reſpect *Aduerbes* more then *Verbes*, becauſe the end of his Law in appointing what we ſhall doe is our owne perfection, which perfection conſiſteth chiefely in the vertuous diſpoſition of the minde, and approoueth it ſelfe to him not by *doing*, but by doing *well*. Wherein appeareth alſo the difference betweene Humane and Diuine Lawes, the one of which two are content with *opus operatum*, the other require *opus operantis*, the one doe but claime the deed, the other eſpecially the minde. So that according to Lawes which principally reſpect the heart of men, workes of Religion being not religiouſly performed, cannot morally be perfect. Baptiſme as an Eccleſiaſticall worke, is for the manner of performance ordered by diuers Eccleſiaſticall Lawes, prouiding that as the Sacrament it ſelfe is a gift of no meane worth, ſo the Miniſterie thereof might in all circumſtances appeare to bee a Function of no ſmall regard. All that belongeth to the Myſticall perfection of Baptiſme outwardly, is the Element the Word, and the ſerious application of both vnto him which receiueth both, whereunto if wee adde that ſecret reference which this action hath to life and remiſſion of ſinnes, by vertue of Chriſts owne compact ſolemnely made with his Church, to accompliſh fully the Sacrament of Baptiſme, there is not any thing more required. Now put the queſtion whether Baptiſme adminiſtred to Infants without any Spirituall calling, bee vnto them both a true Sacrament and an effectuall inſtrument of grace, or elſe an act of no more account then the ordinarie Waſhings are. The ſumme of all that can be ſaid to defeat ſuch Baptiſme is, that thoſe things which haue no being can worke nothing, and that Baptiſme without the power of Ordination, is as a iudgement without ſufficient Iuriſdiction, void, fruſtrate, and of no effect. But to this we anſwere, that the fruit of Baptiſme dependeth onely vpon the Couenant which God hath made; that God by Couenant requireth in the elder ſort, Faith and Baptiſme, in Children the Sacrament of Baptiſme alone, whereunto hee hath alſo giuen them right by ſpeciall priuiledge of birth, within the boſome of the Holy Church; that Infants therefore, which haue receiued Baptiſme complete, as touching the Myſticall perfection thereof, are by vertue of his owne couenant and promiſe cleanſed from all ſinne, for as much as all other Lawes concerning that which in Baptiſme is eyther Morall or Eccleſiaſticall, doe bind the Church which giueth Baptiſme, and not the Infant which receiueth it of the Church. So that if any thing bee therein amiſſe, the harme which groweth by violation of Holy Ordinances, muſt altoge-

ther reſt where the bonds of ſuch Ordinances hold. For that in actions of this Nature it fareth not as in Iuriſdictions may ſomewhat appeare by the very opinion which men haue of them. The nullitie of that which a Iudge doth by way of authoritie without authoritie, is knowne to all men, and agreed vpon with full conſent of the whole World, euery man receiueth it as a generall Edict of Nature, whereas the nullitie of Baptiſme in regard of the like defect, is onely a few mens new vngrounded and as yet vnapprooued imagination. Which difference of generalitie in mens perſwaſions on the one ſide, and their paucitie whoſe conceit leadeth them the other way, hath riſen from a difference ealie to obſerue in the things themſelues. The exerciſe of vnauthorized iuriſdiction is a grieuance vnto them that are vnder it, whereas they that without authoritie preſume to baptize, offer nothing but that which to all men is good and acceptable. Sacraments are food, and the Miniſters thereof as Parents or as Nurſes, at whoſe hands when there is neceſſitie but no poſſibilitie of receiuing it, if that which they are not preſent to doe in right of their Office, be of pitie and compaſſion done by others, ſhall this be thought to turne Celeſtiall Bread into grauell, or the medicine of ſoules into poyſon? Iuriſdiction is a yoke which Law hath impoſed on the neckes of men in ſuch ſort, that they muſt indure it for the good of others, how contrarie ſoeuer it bee to their owne particular appetites and inclinations, Iuriſdiction bridleth men againſt their wils, that which a Iudge doth preuaile by vertue of his verie power; and therefore not without great reaſon, except the Law haue giuen him authoritie, whatſoeuer he doth, vaniſheth. Baptiſme on the other ſide being a fauour which it pleaſeth God to beſtow, a benefit of ſoule to vs that receiue it, and a grace which they that deliuer are but as meere Veſſels, either appointed by others or offered of their owne accord to this ſeruice; of which two if they be the one, it is but their own honour, their owne offence to be the other; can it poſſibly ſtand with [a] equitie and right, that the faultines of their preſumption in giuing Baptiſme ſhould be able to preiudice vs, who by taking Baptiſme haue no way offended? I know there are many ſentences found in the Bookes and Writings of the ancient Fathers, to prooue both Eccleſiaſticall and alſo Morall defects in the Miniſter of Baptiſme, a barre to the heauenly benefit thereof. Which ſentences we alwaies ſo vnderſtand, as [b] *Auguſtine* vnderſtood in a caſe of like nature the words of *Cyprian*. When Infants baptized were after their Parents reuolt carried by them in armes to the ſtewes of Idols, thoſe wretched creatures, as S. *Cyprian* thought, were not only their owne ruine but their childrens alſo; *Their children*, whom this their Apoſtaſie profaned, *did loſe what Chriſtian Baptiſme had giuē them being newly borne*. They loſt (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) the grace of Baptiſme, *if we conſider to what their Parents impietie did tend*, although the mercie of God preſerued them, and will alſo in that dreadfull Day of account giue them fauourable audience pleading in their owne behalfe, *The harme of other mens perfidiouſneſſe it lay not in vs to auoid*. After the ſame manner, what ſoeuer wee read written, if it ſound to the preiudice of Baptiſme through any either Morall or Eccleſiaſticall defect therein, wee conſter it, as Equitie and Reaſon teacheth, with reſtraint to the offendor onely, which doth, as farre as concerneth himſelfe and them, which wittingly concurre with him, make the Sacrament of God fruitleſſe. S. *Auguſtines*

[a] *Factum alterius alij nocere non debet.* Vlp. l. de pupillo. §. ſi plurimum. Item Alphen. l. Pater familias. De Hære. inſti. *Maleficia tenēt authores ſuos non alios.* L. Sancimus 22 C. de pœn.

[b] *Aug. Epiſt.* 23

guſtines [a] *doubtfulneſſe*, whether Baptiſme by a Lay-man may ſtand, or ought to be re-adminiſtred, ſhould not be mentioned by them which preſume to define peremptorily of that, wherein he was content to profeſſe himſelfe vnreſolued. Albeit in very truth his opinion is plaine enough, but the manner of deliuering his iudgement being modeſt, they make of a vertue an imbecillitie, and impute his calmeneſſe of ſpeech to an irreſolution of minde. His Diſputation in that place is againſt *Parmenian*, which held, that a Biſhop or a Prieſt if they fall into any Hereſie, doe thereby loſe the power which they had before, to baptize, and that therefore Baptiſme by Heretikes is meerely void. For anſwere whereof he firſt denyeth, that Hereſie can more depriue men of power to baptize others, then it is of force to take from them their owne Baptiſme; & in the ſecond place he farther addeth, that if Heretikes did loſe the power which before was giuen them by Ordination, and did therefore vnlawfully vſurpe as oft as they tooke vpon them to giue the Sacramẽt of Baptiſme, it followeth not that Baptiſme, by them adminiſtred without authoritie, is no Baptiſme. For then what ſhould we thinke of Baptiſme by Lay-men, to whom authoritie was neuer giuen? I doubt (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) whether any man which carryeth a vertuous and godly minde will affirme, that the Baptiſme which Lay-men doe in caſe of neceſſitie adminiſter ſhould be iterated. *For to doe it vnneceſſarily, is to execute an other mans office; neceſſitie vrging, to doe it is then either no fault at all* (much leſſe ſo grieuous a crime that it ſhould deſerue to be termed by the name of [b] ſacriledge) *or if any, a very pardonable fault. But ſuppoſe it euen of very purpoſe vſurped and giuen vnto any man by euery man that lifteth, yet that which is giuen cannot poſſibly be denyed to haue beene giuen, how truly ſoeuer we may ſay it hath not beene giuen lawfully. Vnlawfull vſurpation a penitent affection muſt redreſſe. If not, the thing that was giuen ſhall remayne to the hurt and detriment of him, which vnlawfully either adminiſtred or receiued the ſame, yet ſo that in this reſpect it ought not to be reputed, as if it had not at all beene giuen.* Whereby we may plainely perceiue, that S. *Auguſtine* was not himſelfe vncertayne what to thinke, but doubtful, whether any wel-minded men in the whole world, could think otherwiſe then he did. Their [c] Argument taken from a ſtollen ſeale, may returne to the place out of which they had it, for it helpeth their cauſe nothing. That which men giue or grant to others, muſt appeare to haue proceeded of their owne accord. This being manifeſt, their Gifts and Grants are thereby made effectuall, both to barre themſelues from reuocation, and to aſſecure the right they haue giuen. Wherein for further preuention of miſchiefes, that otherwiſe might grow by the malice, trecherie, and fraude of men, it is both equall and meete that the ſtrength of mens deedes, and the inſtruments which declare the ſame, ſhould ſtrictly depend vpon diuers ſolemnities, whereof there cannot be the like reaſon in things that paſſe betweene God and vs, becauſe ſith wee neede not doubt, leſt the treaſures of his heauenly grace ſhould, without his conſent be paſt by forged conueyances, nor leſt hee ſhould denie at any time his owne acts, and ſeeke to reuoke what hath beene conſented vnto before: as there is no ſuch feare of danger through deceit and falſhood in this caſe, ſo neither hath the circumſtance of mens perſons that waight in Baptiſme, which for good and iuſt conſiderations in the cuſtodie of ſeales of Office it ought to haue. The grace of Baptiſme

[a] *T.C.l.1.p.136.* *Auguſtine* ſtandeth in doubt, whether Baptiſme by a Lay-man be auaileable or no. *Cõt. lit. Parmen. l.2.c.13.* where by all likelyhood he was out of doubt, that that which was miniſtred by a Woman, whoſe vnaptneſſe herein is double to that of a Lay-man, was of no effect.

[b] *T.C.l.1.p.116* The ſacriledge of priuate perſons, Women eſpecially in adminiſtring the holy Sacrament of Baptiſme.

[c] *T.C.l.3.p.139* As by the ſeale which the Prince hath ſet apart to ſeale his Grants with, when it is ſtollen and ſet to by him that hath no authoritie, there groweth no aſſurance to the partie that hath it: So if it were poſſible to be the ſeale of God which a woman ſhould ſet to, yet for that ſhee hath ſtollen it and put it to, not only without, but contrarie to the Commandement of God, I ſee not how any can take any aſſurance by reaſon thereof.

Baptiſme commeth by donation from God alone. That God hath committed the miniſterie of Baptiſme vnto ſpeciall men, it is for orders ſake in his Church, and not to the end that their authoritie might giue being, or adde force to the Sacrament it ſelfe. That Infants haue right to the Sacrament of Baptiſme, we al acknowledge. Charge them we cannot as guilefull and wrongfull poſſeſſors of that, whereunto they haue right by the manifeſt will of the Donor, and are not parties vnto any defect or diſorder in the māner of receiuing the ſame. And if any ſuch diſorder be, we haue ſufficiently before declared, that *delictum cum capite ſemper ambulat*, mens owne faults are their owne harmes. Wherefore to counteruaile this & the like miſchoſen reſemblances with that, which more truely and plainely agreeth, the ordinance of God concerning their vocation that miniſter Baptiſme, wherein the miniſterie of our regeneration is wrought, hath thereunto the ſame Analogie which lawes of wedlock haue to our firſt natiuitie and birth. So that if Nature doe effect procreation, notwithſtanding the wicked violation and breach euen of Natures law, made that the entrance of al mankinde into this preſent world might be without blemiſh, may we not iuſtly preſume that Grace doth accompliſh the other, although there be faultineſſe in them that tranſgreſſe the order which our Lord Ieſus Chriſt hath eſtabliſhed in his Church? Some light may be borrowed from Circumciſion, for explication, what is true in this queſtion of Baptiſme. Seeing then, that euen they, which [a] condemne *Sephora* the wife of *Moſes*, for taking vpon her to circumciſe her ſon a thing neceſſarie at that time for her to doe, & as I thinke very hard to reproue in her, conſidering how *Moſes*, becauſe himſelfe had not done it ſooner, was therefore ſtricken by the hand of God, neither could in that extremitie performe the office; whereupon, for the ſtay of Gods indignation, there was no choice, but the action muſt needes fall into her hands; whoſe fact therein whether we interpret, as ſome haue done, that being a Midianite, and as yet not ſo throughly acquainted with the exerciſe of Iewiſh Rites, it much diſcontented her, to ſee her ſelfe through her huſbands ouerſight, in a matter of his owne Religion, brought vnto theſe perplexities and ſtreights, that either ſhe muſt now indure him periſhing before her eyes, or elſe wound the fleſh of her owne Child, which ſhee could not doe but with ſome indignation ſhewed, in that ſhee fumingly both threw downe the fore-skin at his feete, and vpbraided him with the crueltie of his Religion: or if we better like to follow their more iudicious Expoſition, which are not inclinable to thinke that *Moſes* was matcht like *Socrates*, nor that Circumciſion could now in *Eleazer* bee ſtrange vnto her, hauing had *Gerſom* her elder ſonne before circumciſed, nor that any occaſion of choler could riſe from a ſpectacle of ſuch miſerie, as doth [b] naturally moue compaſſion and not wrath, nor that *Sephora* was ſo impious, as in the viſible preſence of Gods deſerued anger, to ſtorme at the ordinance and law of God, nor that the words of the hiſtorie it ſelfe can enforce any ſuch affection, but do onely

a *Exod.*4.24.

T. C. l. 1. *p.*144. I ſay that the vnlawfulnes of that fact doeth appeare ſufficiently, in that ſhee did it before her husband *Moſes*, which was a Prophet of the Lord, to whom that office of circumciſion did appertayne. Beſides, that ſhee did cut off the fore-skin of the Infant, not of minde to obey the Commandement of God, or for the ſaluation of the Child, but in a choler onely, to the end that her husband might be eaſed and haue releaſe: which minde appeareth in her both by her words, and by caſting away in anger the fore-skin which ſhee had cut off. And if it be ſaid, that the euent declared that the act pleaſed God, becauſe that *Moſes* forthwith waxed better, and was recouered of his ſickneſſe, I haue ſhewed before that if we meaſure things by the euent, we ſhall oftentimes iuſtifie the wicked, and take the righteouſneſſe of the righteous from them.

b *Mala paſſis non iraſcimur, ſed compatimur*; Boet. de Conſol.

only declare how after the act performed, ſhe *touched* the feet of *Moſes*, ſaying, [a] *Sponſus tu mihi es ſanguinum*; *Thou art vnto me an husband of bloud*, which might be very well, the one done, and the other ſpoken, euen out of the flowing abundance of commiſeration and loue, to ſignifie with hands laid vnder his feete, that her tender affection towards him, had cauſed her thus to forget woman-hood, to lay all motherly affection aſide, and to redeeme her husband out of the hands of Death with effuſion of bloud; the ſequele thereof, take it which way you will, is a plaine argument that God was ſatisfied with that ſhe did, as may appeare by his owne teſtimonie, declaring how there followed in the perſon of *Moſes* preſent releaſe of his grieuous puniſhment vpon her ſpeedie diſcharge of that duetie, which by him neglected, had offended God, [b] euen as after execution of Iuſtice by the hands of Princes, the plague was immediately taken away, which former impunitie of ſinne had cauſed; in which ſo manifeſt and plaine caſes, not to make that a reaſon of the euent, which God himſelfe hath ſet downe as a reaſon, were falſely to accuſe whom he doth iuſtifie, and without any cauſe to traduce what wee ſhould allow: yet ſeeing they which will haue it a breach of the Law of God, for her to circumciſe in that neceſſitie, are not able to denie, but Circumciſion being in that very manner performed, was to the innocent child which receiued it true Circumciſion, why ſhould that defect whereby Circumciſion was ſo little weakened be to Baptiſme a deadly wound? Theſe premiſſes therefore remayning, as hitherto they haue beene laid, becauſe the cõmandement of our Sauiour Chriſt, which committeth [c] ioyntly to publique Miniſters both Doctrine and Baptiſme, doth no more by linking them together import, that the nature of the Sacrament dependeth on the Miniſters authoritie and power to preach the Word, then the force and vertue of the Word doth on licence to giue the Sacrament; and conſidering that the worke of externall miniſterie in Baptiſme is only a preeminence of honor, which they that take to themſelues and are not thereunto called as *Aaron* was, doe but themſelues in their owne perſons, by meanes of ſuch vſurpation, incurre the iuſt blame of diſobedience to the Law of God, farther alſo in as much as it ſtandeth with no reaſon, that errours grounded on a wrong interpretation of other mens deedes, ſhould make fruſtrate whatſoeuer is miſconceiued, and that Baptiſme by Women ſhould ceaſe to be Baptiſme, as oft as any man will thereby gather that children which die vnbaptized are damned, which opinion if the act of Baptiſme adminiſtred in ſuch manner did enforce, it might be ſufficient cauſe of diſliking the ſame, but none of defeating or making it altogether void; laſt of all, whereas generall and full conſent of the godly learned in all Ages, doth make for validitie of Baptiſme, yea albeit adminiſtred in priuate and euen by Women, which kinde of Baptiſme, in caſe of neceſſitie, diuers reformed Churches do both allow and

a Where the vſuall tranſlation hath *Exod.* 4.25. She cut away the fore-skinne of her ſonne, and caſt it at his feete, and ſaid, Thou art indeed a bloudie husband vnto me. So he departed from him. Then ſhe ſaid, O bloudy husband, becauſe of the circumciſion: the words as they lie in the originall, are rather to bee thus interpreted: And ſhee cut off the fore skinne of her ſonne. Which being done, ſhe touched his feete (the feet of Moſes) and ſaid, Thou art to me an husband of bloud (in the plurall number, thereby ſignifying effuſion of bloud.) And the Lord withdrewe from him at the very time, when ſhe ſaid, A husband of bloud in regard of circumciſion.

b *Pſal.* 106.30.

c *T. C. lib.* 3. *page* 142. Seeing they onely are bidden in the Scripture to adminiſter the Sacraments, which are bidden to preach the Word, and that the publike Miniſters haue onely this charge of the Word; and ſeeing that the adminiſtration of both theſe are linked together, that the deniall of licence to doe one, is a deniall to doe the other, as of the contrary part, licence to one, is licence to the other: conſidering alſo, that to miniſter the Sacraments, is an honour in the Church, which none can take vnto him, but he which is called vnto it, as was Aaron: and further, for as much as the baptizing by priuate perſons, and by women eſpecially, confirmeth the dangerous errour of the condemnation of young children, which die without Baptiſme: laſt of all, ſeeing we haue the conſent of the godly-learned of all times, againſt the Baptiſme by women, and of the reformed Churches now, againſt the Baptiſme by priuate men, we conclude, that the adminiſtration of this Sacrament by priuate perſons, and eſpecially by women, is meerely both vnlawfull and voyde.

defend,

defend, ſome others which doe not defend, tolerate; few, in compariſon, and they without any iuſt cauſe, doe vtterly diſanull and annihilate, ſurely, howſoeuer through defects on either ſide, the Sacrament may be without fruit, aſwell in ſome caſes to him which receiueth, as to him which giueth it, yet no diſabilitie of either part can ſo farre make it fruſtrate and without effect, as to depriue it of the very nature of true Baptiſme, hauing all things elſe which the ordinance of Chriſt requireth. Whereupon we may conſequently inferre, that the adminiſtration of this Sacrament by priuate perſons, be it lawfull or vnlawfull, appeareth not as yet to be meerely void.

Interrogatories in Baptiſme touching Faith, and the purpoſe of a Chriſtian life

63 All that are of the race of Chriſt, the Scripture nameth them, *children of the promiſe*, which God hath made. The promiſe of eternall Life is the ſeede of the Church of God. And becauſe there is no attaynement of life, but through the onely begotten Sonne of God, nor by him otherwiſe then being ſuch as the Creede Apoſtolike deſcribeth, it followeth that the Articles thereof are principles, neceſſarie for all men to ſubſcribe vnto, whom by Baptiſme the Church receiueth into Chriſts Schole. All points of Chriſtian doctrine are either demonſtrable Concluſions, or demonſtratiue Principles. Concluſions haue ſtrong and inuincible proofes, as well in the Schole of Ieſus Chriſt as elſewhere. And Principles be grounds, which require no proofe in any kinde of Science, becauſe it ſufficeth if either their certaynetie be euident in it ſelfe, or euident by the light of ſome higher knowledge, and in it ſelfe ſuch as no mans knowledge is euer able to ouerthrow. Now the principles whereupon wee doe build our ſoules, haue their euidence where they had their originall, and as receiued from thence we adore them, we hold them in reuerend admiration, we neither argue nor diſpute aboue them, we giue vnto them that aſſent which the Oracles of God require. We are not therefore aſhamed of the Goſpell of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, becauſe miſcreants in ſcorne haue vpbraided vs, that the higheſt point of our wiſedome is [a] *Beliefe*. That which is true and neither can be diſcerned by ſenſe, nor concluded by meere naturall principles, muſt haue principles of reuealed Truth whereupon to build it ſelfe, and an habit of Faith in vs wherewith principles of that kinde are apprehended. [b] The myſteries of our Religion are aboue the reach of our vnderſtanding, aboue diſcourſe of mans reaſon, aboue all that any creature can comprehend. Therefore the firſt thing required of him, which ſtandeth for admiſſion into Chriſts Family, is beliefe. Which beliefe conſiſteth not ſo much in knowledge, as in acknowledgement of all things that heauenly wiſedome reuealeth; the affection of Faith is aboue her reach, her loue to God-ward aboue the comprehenſion which ſhee hath of God. And becauſe onely for Beleeuers all things may bee done, he which is goodneſſe it ſelfe, loueth them aboue al. Deſerue we then the loue of God, becauſe we beleeue in the Sonne of God? What more oppoſite then Faith & Pride? When God had created all things, he looked vpon them, & loued them, becauſe they were all as himſelfe had made them. So the true reaſon wherefore Chriſt doth loue beleeues, is, becauſe their beliefe is [c] the gift of God, a gift then which fleſh and bloud in this world cannot poſſibly receiue a greater. And as to loue them of whom we receiue good things is dutie, becauſe they ſatisfie our deſires in that which elſe we ſhould want, ſo to loue them on whom

a *Apoſtata maledictum.* ὃδὲν ὑπερ τὸ πίσευσον τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐσὶ σοφίας, Nazian. Orat. 1. cont. Iulia.

b ὑπερ νοῦ, ὑπερ λόγον, ὑπερ καλάληψιν κλισῆς φύσεως τὰ ἡμέτερα, Iuſt. Mart. Expoſ. Fid.

c *Matth.* 16. 17. *Iohn* 1. 12.

whom we beſtow is nature, becauſe in them we behold the effects of our owne vertue. Seeing therefore no Religion enioyeth Sacraments the ſignes of Gods loue, vnleſſe it haue alſo that Faith whereupon the Sacraments are built, could there be any thing more conuenient then that our firſt admittance to the actuall receit of his grace in the Sacrament of Baptiſme, ſhould be [a] conſecrated with profeſſion of beliefe, which is to the Kingdome of God as a key, the want whereof excludeth Infidels both from that and from all other ſauing grace? We finde by experience, that although Faith be an intellectual habit of the minde, and haue her ſeate in the vnderſtanding, yet an euill morall diſpoſition obſtinately wedded to the loue of darkeneſſe, dampeth the very light of heauenly illumination, and permitteth not the minde to ſee what doth ſhine before it. Men are louers of pleaſure more then louers of God. Their aſſent to his ſauing Truth is many times with-held from it, not that the Truth is too weake to perſwade, but becauſe the ſtreame of corrupt affection carryeth them a cleane contrarie way. That the minde therefore may abide in the light of Faith, there muſt abide in the will as conſtant a reſolution to haue no fellowſhip at all with the vanities and works of darkeneſſe. Two couenants there are which Chriſtian men (ſaith [b] *Iſidore*) doe make in Baptiſme, the one concerning relinquiſhment of Satan, the other touching obedience to the Faith of Chriſt. In like ſort [c] S. Ambrose, *He which is baptized*, forſaketh the intellectuall *Pharao* the Prince of this world, ſaying, *Abrenuncio; Thee, O Satan, and thy Angels, thy works and thy mandates, I forſake vtterly.* [d] Tertvllian hauing ſpeech of wicked ſpirits: *Theſe* (ſaith he) *are the Angels which we in Baptiſme renounce.* The declaration of [e] *Iuſtine* the *Martyr* concerning Baptiſme, ſheweth, how ſuch as the Church in thoſe daies did baptize, made profeſſion of Chriſtian beliefe, & vndertooke to liue accordingly. Neither doe I thinke it a matter eaſie for any man to proue that euer Baptiſme did vſe to be adminiſtred without interrogatories of theſe two kindes. Whereunto [f] S. *Peter* (as it may be thought) alluding, hath ſaid, that the Baptiſme *which ſaueth* vs, is not (as Legall purification were) a clenſing of the fleſh from outward impuritie, but ἐπερώτημα, *an interrogatiue triall of a good conſcience towards God.*

a *Spiritus Sanctus habitator eius Templi non efficitur quod Antiſtitem non habet veram fidem*, Hieron. aduer. Lucifer. cap. 4.

b *Iſid. de Offic. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 24.*

c *Ambroſ. Hexam. l. 1. c. 4.*

d *Tertull. de Spectac.*

e Ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύσωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν ὅτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, ἔυχεσθαι τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν δι' ἡμῶν αἰτοῦντας ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἅπερ ὕδωρ ἐστὶ καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνεγεννήθημεν ἀναγεννᾶνται, Iuſtin. Apol.

f 1. *Pet.* 3. 21.

64 Now the fault which they finde with vs concerning interrogatories, is, our mouing of theſe queſtions vnto Infants which cannot anſwere them, and the anſwering of them by others as in their names. The Anabaptiſt hath many pretenſes to ſcorne at the Baptiſme of children, firſt, becauſe the Scriptures, he ſaith, do no where giue commandement to baptize Infants: ſecondly, for that as there is no commandement, ſo neither any manifeſt example ſhewing it to haue beene done either by Chriſt or his Apoſtles: thirdly, in as much as the Word preached and the Sacraments muſt goe together, they which are not capable of the one, are no fit receiuers of the other: laſt of all, ſith the order of Baptiſme continued from the firſt beginning, hath in it thoſe things which are

Interrogatories propoſed vnto Infants in Baptiſme, and anſwered as in their names by godfathers. They prophane holy Baptiſme in toying fooliſhly, for that they aske queſtions of an Infant which cannot anſwer, and ſpeake vnto them as was wont to be ſpoken vnto men, and vnto ſuch as being conuerted anſwered for themſelues, and were baptized. Which is but a mockerie of God, and therfore againſt the holy Scriptures. *Gal.* 6. 7. Admon. to the Parlia. The ſame defended in *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 168.

vnfit

vnfit to be applyed vnto ſucking children, it followeth in their conceit that the Baptiſme of ſuch is no Baptiſme but plaine mockerie. They with whom we contend are no enemies to the Baptiſme of Infants; it is not their deſire that the Church ſhould hazzard ſo many ſoules, by letting them runne on till they come to ripeneſſe of vnderſtanding, that ſo they may be conuerted and then baptized, as Infidels heretofore haue beene; they beare not towards God ſo vnthankefull mindes, as not to acknowledge it euen amongſt the greateſt of his endleſſe mercies, that by making vs his owne poſſeſſion ſo ſoone, many aduantages which Satan otherwiſe might take are preuented, and (which ſhould be eſteemed a part of no ſmall happineſſe) the firſt thing wherof we haue occaſion to take notice is, how much hath beene done alreadie to our great good, though altogether without our knowledge; the baptiſme of Infants they eſteeme as an ordinance which Chriſt hath inſtituted, euen in ſpeciall loue and fauour to his owne people; they denie not the practice thereof accordingly to haue beene kept, as deriued from the hands, and continued from the dayes of the Apoſtles themſelues vnto this preſent. Only it pleaſeth them not that to Infants there ſhould be interrogatories propoſed in Baptiſme. This they condemne as fooliſh, toyiſh, and prophane mockerie. But are they able to ſhew that euer the Church of Chriſt had any publique forme of Baptiſme without interrogatories; or that the Church did euer vſe at the ſolemne Baptiſme of Infants, to omit thoſe queſtions as needleſſe in this caſe? * *Boniface* a Biſhop in S. *Auguſtines* time, knowing that the Church did vniuerſally vſe this cuſtome of baptizing Infants with interrogatories, was deſirous to learne from S. *Auguſtine* the true cauſe and reaſon thereof. *If* (ſaith he) *I ſhould ſet before thee a yong Infant, and ſhould aske of thee whether that Infant when he commeth vnto riper age, will be honeſt & iuſt or no, thou wouldeſt anſwere (I know) that to tell in theſe things what ſhall come to paſſe, is not in the power of a mortall man. If I ſhould aske what good or euill ſuch an Infant thinketh, thine anſwere hereunto muſt needes be againe with the like vncertainty. If thou neither canſt promiſe for the time to come, nor for the preſent pronounce any thing in this caſe, how is it that when ſuch are brought vnto Baptiſme, their Parents there vndertake what the child ſhall afterwards doe, yea they are not doubtfull to ſay it doth that which is impoſſible to be done by Infants? at the leaſt there is no man preciſely able to affirme it done. Vouchſafe me hereunto ſome ſhort anſwere, ſuch as not onely may preſſe me with the bare authoritie of cuſtome, but alſo inſtruct me in the cauſe thereof.* Touching which difficultie, whether it may truly be ſaid for Infants at the time of their Baptiſm that they do beleeue, the effect of S. *Auguſtines* anſwere is yea, but with this diſtinction, * a preſent *actuall habit of faith there is not* in them, there is deliuered vnto them that Sacrament, a part of the due celebration whereof conſiſteth in anſwering to the articles of Faith, *becauſe* the habit of faith which afterwards doth come with yeeres, is but *a farther* building vp of the ſame edifice, the *firſt foundation whereof was laid by the Sacrament* of Baptiſme. For that which there we profeſſed without any vnderſtanding, when we afterwards come to acknowledge, doe we any thing elſe but only bring vnto ripeneſſe the very ſeed that was ſowne before? We are *then beleeuers*, becauſe *then we begin to be* that which proceſſe of time doth make perfect. And till we come to actuall beliefe, the very Sacrament of Faith is a ſhield

* *Aug. Epiſt. 23*

* *Sicut credere reſpondetur, ita etiam fidelis vocatur; non rem ipſa mente annuendo, ſed ipſius rei Sacramentum percipiendo,* Auguſt.

as

as ſtrong as after this the Faith of the Sacrament againſt all contrarie infernall powers. Which whoſoeuer doth thinke impoſſible, is vndoubtedly farther off from Chriſtian Beliefe, though he be baptized, then are theſe Innocents, which at their Baptiſme albeit they haue no conceit or cogitation of Faith, are notwithſtanding pure and free from all oppoſite cogitations, whereas the other is not free. If therefore without any feare or ſcruple we may account them and terme them beleeuers only for their outward profeſſions ſake, which inwardly are farther from faith then Infants, why not Infants much more at the time of their ſolemne initiation by Baptiſme the Sacrament of Faith, whereunto they not only conceiue nothing oppoſite, but haue alſo that * grace giuen them, which is the firſt and moſt effectuall cauſe, out of which our Beliefe groweth? In ſumme, the whole Church is a multitude of Beleeuers, all honoured with that title, euen Hypocrites for their profeſſions ſake as well as Saints, becauſe of their inward ſincere perſwaſion, and *Infants as being in the firſt degree of their ghoſtly motion towards the actuall habit of Faith*; the firſt ſort are faithfull in the eye of the World, the ſecond, faithfull in the ſight of God; the laſt in the ready direct way to become both, if all things after bee ſutable to theſe their preſent beginnings. *This* (ſaith S. AVGVSTINE) *would not haply content ſuch perſons as are vncapable or vnquiet, but to them which hauing knowledge are not troubleſome, it may ſuffice. Wherein I haue not for eaſe of my ſelfe obiected againſt you that cuſtome only, then which nothing is more firme, but of a cuſtome moſt profitable, I haue done that little which I could to yeeld you a reaſonable cauſe.* Were Saint *Auguſtine* now liuing, there are which would tell him for his better inſtruction, that [a] to ſay of a Child *it is elect*, and to ſay it doth beleeue, are all one, for which cauſe ſith no man is able preciſely to affirme the one of any Infant in particular, it followeth that *preciſely* and *abſolutely* we ought not to ſay the other. Which *preciſe* and *abſolute* termes are needles in this caſe. We ſpeake of Infants *as the rule of Piety* alloweth both to ſpeake and thinke. They that can take to themſelues in ordinarie talke a charitable kind of libertie, to name men of their owne ſort *Gods deare Children* (notwithſtanding the large raigne of Hypocriſie) ſhould not mee thinkes bee ſo ſtrict and rigorous againſt the Church for preſuming as it doth of a Chriſtian Innocent. For when we know how Chriſt in generall hath ſaid, that *of ſuch* is the Kingdome of Heauen, which Kingdome is the Inheritance of Gods Elect, and doe withall behold how his prouidence hath called them vnto the firſt beginnings of eternall life, and preſented them at the Wel-ſpring of new Birth, wherein originall ſinne is purged, beſides which ſinne there is no hinderance of their Saluation knowne to vs, as themſelues will grant, hard it were that hauing ſo many faire inducements whereupon to ground, wee ſhould not bee thought to vtter at the leaſt a truth as probable and allowable in terming any ſuch particular Infant an Elect Babe, as in preſuming [b] the like of others, whoſe ſafetie, neuertheleſſe, we are not *abſolutely* able to warrant. If any troubled with theſe ſcruples, be only for inſtructions ſake deſirous to know, yet ſome farther reaſon why Interrogatories ſhould bee miniſtred to Infants in Baptiſme, and be anſwered vnto by others as in their names, they may conſider that Baptiſme implyeth a couenant or league betweene God and man, wherein as God doth beſtow preſently remiſſion of ſinnes and the Holy Ghoſt, binding alſo him-

* *Multum mirabilis res eſt quemadmodum quorundam nondum cognoſcentium Deum ſit inhabitator Deus & quorundam cognoſcentium non ſit. Nec illi enim ad Templũ Dei pertinẽt, qui cognoſcentes Deũ non ſicut Deum glorificauerunt: & ad Templum Dei pertinent paruuli ſanctificati Sacramento Chriſti, regenerati Spiritu ſancto, qui per ætatem nondum poſſunt cognoſcere Deũ. Vnde quem potuerunt illi noſſe nec habere iſti potuerunt habere antequam noſſe.* Aug. Epi. 57.

[a] *T. C. l. 1. p. 169.* If Children could haue Faith, yet they that preſent the Child cannot preciſely tell whether that particular Childe hath Faith or no; we are to thinke charitably, and to hope it is one of the Church, but it can bee no more preciſely ſaid that it hath Faith, then it may be ſaid preciſely elected.

[b] *1. Ioh. 1.*

himself to adde in processe of time what grace soeuer shall bee farther necessarie for the attainment of euerlasting life; so euerie baptized Soule receiuing the same grace at the hands of God, tyeth likewise it selfe for euer to the obseruation of his Law, no lesse then the Iewes [m] by Circumcision bound themselues to the Law of *Moses*. The Law of Christ requiring therefore Faith and newnesse of life in all men, by vertue of the Couenant which they make in Baptisme, is it toyish that the Church in Baptisme exacteth at euery mãs hands an expresse profession of Faith, and an irreuocable promise of obedience by way of [n] solemne stipulation? That Infants may contract and couenant with God, [o] the Law is plaine. Neither is the reason of the Law obscure. For sith it tendeth, wee cannot sufficiently expresse how much to their owne good, and doth no way hurt or endanger them to beginne the race of their liues herewith, they are as equitie requireth admitted hereunto, and in fauour of their tender yeeres, such formall Complements of stipulation as being requisite, are impossible by themselues in their owne persons to be performed, leaue is giuen that they may [p] sufficiently discharge by others. Albeit therefore, neither deafe nor dumbe men, neither furious persons, nor children can receiue any ciuill stipulation, yet this kinde of ghostly stipulation they may through his Indulgence, who respecting the singular benefit thereof, accepteth children brought vnto him for that end, entreth into Articles of Couenant with them, and in tender commiseration granteth, that other mens professions and promises in Baptisme made for them, shall availe no lesse then if they had beene themselues able to haue made their owne. None more fit to vndertake this Office in their behalfe, then such as present them vnto Baptisme. A wrong conceit, that none may receiue the Sacrament of Baptisme, but they whose Parents, at the least the one of them, are by the soundnesse of their Religion and by their vertuous demeanour knowne to bee men of God, hath caused [q] some to repell children whosoeuer bring them, if their Parents bee mis-perswaded in Religion, or for other mis-deserts excommunicated; some likewise for that cause to with-hold Baptisme, vnlesse the Father, albeit no such exception can iustly bee taken against him, doe notwithstanding make profession of his Faith, and auouch the childe to bee his owne. Thus whereas God hath appointed the Ministers of holy things, they make themselues Inquisitors of mens persons a great deale farther then need is. They should consider, that God hath ordained Baptisme in fauour of Mankind. To restraine fauours, is an odious thing, to inlarge them, acceptable both to God and man. Whereas therefore the Ciuill Law gaue diuers Immunities to them which were Fathers of three children and had them liuing, those Immunities they held although their children were all dead, if Warre had consumed them, because it seemed in that case not against reason to repute them by a courteous construction of Law, as [r] Liuemen, in that the honour of their seruice done to the Common-wealth would remaine alwayes. Can it hurt vs in exhibiting the graces which God doth bestow on men, or can it preiudice his glorie if the selfe-same equitie guide and direct our hands? When God made his Couenant with such as had *Abraham* to their Father, was only *Abrahams* immediate Issue, or only his Lineall Posteritie according to the flesh

m *Gal.5.3.*

n *Stipulatio est verborum conceptio, quibus is qui interrogatur daturum factumue se quod interrogatus est respondet. li.5.§.1.ff.de oblig.& act. In hac re olim talia verba tradita fuerunt. Spondes? Spondeo. Promittis? Promitto. Fide promittis? Fide promitto. Fide iubes? Fide iubeo. Dabis? Dabo. Facies? Faciam.* Instit. de verb.obl.l.3 tit.15.

o *Gen.17.14.*

p *Accommodat illis mater Ecclesia aliorum pedes vt veniant, aliorum cor vt credant, aliorum linguam vt fateantur; vt quoniam quod aegri sunt alio peccante prægrauatur, sic cum sanificant alio pro eis confitente saluentur.* Aug.Serm 10. de verb.Apost.

q *T.C.l.1.p.172.*

r *Hi enim qui pro Rep. ceciderunt, in perpetuum per gloriam viuere intelliguntur.* Instit. lib.2. tit. 25.§.1.

fleſh included into that Couenant? Were not Proſelites as well as Iewes alwaies taken for the Sonnes of *Abraham?* Yea, becauſe the verie heads of Families are Fathers in ſome ſort, as touching prouidence and care for the meaneſt that belong vnto them, the Seruants which *Abraham* had bought with monie, were as capable of Circumciſion, being newly borne, as any naturall Child that *Abraham* himſelfe begat. Be it then that Baptiſme belongeth to none but ſuch as either beleeue preſently, or elſe being Infants, are the Children of *Beleeuing Parents.* In caſe the Church doe bring Children to the holy Font, whoſe naturall Parents are either vnknowne, or knowne to bee ſuch as the Church accurſeth, but yet forgetteth not in that ſeueritie to take compaſſion vpon their Off-ſpring (for * it is the Church which doth offer them to Baptiſme by the Miniſtery of Preſenters) were it not againſt both equitie and dutie to refuſe the Mother of Beleeuers her ſelfe, and not to take her in this caſe for a faithfull Parent? It is not the vertue of our Fathers, nor the Faith of any other that can giue vs the true holines which we haue by vertue of our new Birth. Yet euē through the common Faith and Spirit of Gods Church (a thing which no qualitie of Parents can preiudice) I ſay through the Faith of the Church of God vndertaking the motherly care of our Soules, ſo far forth we may be, and are in our Infancy ſanctified, as to be thereby made ſufficiently capable of Baptiſme, and to be intereſſed in the Rites of our new Birth for their Pieties ſake that offer vs thereunto. *It commeth ſometime to paſſe* (ſaith S. AVGVSTINE) *that the Children of Bondſlaues are brought to Baptiſme by their Lords; ſometime the Parents being dead, the Friends aliue vndertake that Office; ſometime Strangers or Virgins conſecrated vnto God, which neither haue nor can haue Children of their owne, take vp Infants in the open ſtreets, and ſo offer them vnto Baptiſme, whom the crueltie of vnnaturall Parents caſteth out, and leaueth to the aduenture of vncertaine pittie.* As therefore he which did the part of a Neighbor, was a Neighbor to that wounded man, whom the Parable of the Goſpell deſcribeth: ſo they are Fathers, although Strangers, that bring Infants to him which maketh them the Sonnes of God. In the Phraſe of ſome kind of men, they vſe to be termed *witneſſes*, as if they came but to ſee and teſtifie what is done. It ſauoureth more of Pietie to giue them their old accuſtomed name of Fathers and Mothers in God, whereby they are well put in mind what affection they ought to beare towards thoſe Innocēts, for whoſe religious education the Church accepteth them as pledges. This therefore is their owne durie. But becauſe the anſwere which they make to the vſuall demands of ſtipulation propoſed in Baptiſme is not their owne, the Church doth beſt to receiue it of them in that forme which beſt ſheweth whoſe the act is. That which a Gardian doth in the name of his Guard or Pupill ſtandeth by naturall equitie forcible for his benefit, though it be done without his knowledge. And ſhall we iudge it a thing vnreaſonable, or in any reſpect vnfit, that Infants by wordes which others vtter, ſhould though vnwittingly yet truely and forcibly bind themſelues to that wherby their eſtate is ſo aſſuredly bettered? Herewith * *Nero illud, in eo te baptizatum, in eo te renatum eſſe? Et verè in negotio quamuis improbo non importuna defenſio, & quæ non abſurdè cauſam erroris diceres, ſi pertinaciam non ſociares errori. Nunc autem, cum in Catholica vrbe natus, Catholica fide inſtitutus Catholico baptiſmate regeneratus ſis; nunquid agere tecum quaſi cum Arriano aut Sabelliano poſſum? quod vtinam fuiſſes. Minus dolerem in malis editum quàm de bonis lapſum, minus fidem non habitam quàm amiſſam. Non iniquum autem, hæreticè, non iniquum aut graue aliquid poſtulo. Hoc fac in Catholica fide editus quod fueras pro peruerſitate facturus.* Caſſia. de Incarn. lib. 6. cap. 5.

* *Offeruntur quippe paruuli ad percipiendam ſpiritualem gratiam, non tam ab eis quorum geſtantur manibus, quamuis & ab ipſis ſi & ipſi boni fideles ſint, quam ab vniuerſa ſocietate ſanctorum atq; fidelium.* Auguſt. Epiſt. 23. Ἀξιοῦνται δὲ τῶν διὰ τὸ βαπτίσματος ἀγαθῶν τὰ βρέφη τῇ πίστει τῶν προσφερόντων ἑαυτὰ τῷ βαπτίσματι. Iuſtin. reſp. ad Orthod.

* *Si Arriana aut Sabelliana hæreſeos aſſertor eſſes, & non tuo ipſius Symbolo tecum vterer, conuincerem te tamen teſtimoniorum ſacrorum auctoritate, quid tandem ſi ſic apud te agerem, quid diceres? quid reſponderes? nonne obſe-*

ſtorius the Heretike was charged, as hauing fallen from his firſt profeſſion, and broken the promiſe which hee made to God in the armes of others. Of ſuch as prophaned themſelues being Chriſtians, with irreligious delight in the Enſignes of Idolatrie, Heatheniſh Spectacles, Shewes, and Stage-playes, * *Tertullian* to ſtrike them the more deepe, claimeth the promiſe which they made in Baptiſme. Why were they dumbe, being thus challenged? Wherefore ſtood they not vp to anſwere in their owne defence, that ſuch profeſſions and promiſes made in their names were friuolous, that all which others vndertooke for them, was but mockerie & prophanation? That which no Heretike, no wicked Liuer, no impious Deſpiſer of God, no Miſcreant or Malefactor, which had himſelfe beene baptized, was euer ſo deſperate, as to diſgorge in contempt of ſo fruitfully receiued cuſtomes, is now their voyce that reſtore, as they ſay, the ancient puritie of Religion.

* *Tertull. de ſpectac.*

Of the Croſſe in Baptiſme.

65 In Baptiſme, many things of very ancient continuance are now quite and cleane aboliſht, for that the vertue and grace of this Sacrament had beene therewith ouerſhadowed, as fruit with too great aboundance of leaues. Notwithſtanding, to them which thinke it alwayes imperfect Reformation that doth but ſheare and not flay, our retaining certaine of thoſe former Rites, eſpecially, the *dangerous* ſigne of the Croſſe hath ſeemed almoſt an impardonable ouerſight. *The Croſſe* (they ſay) *ſith it is but a meere inuention of man, ſhould not therefore at all haue bin added to the Sacrament of Baptiſme. To ſigne Childrens foreheads with a Croſſe, in token that hereafter they ſhall not be aſhamed to make profeſſion of the faith of Chriſt, is to bring into the Church a new Word, whereas there ought to bee no Doctor heard in the Church but our Sauiour Chriſt. That reaſon which moued the Fathers to vſe, ſhould moue vs not to vſe the ſigne of the Croſſe. They liued with Heathens which had the Croſſe of Chriſt in contempt, we with ſuch as adore the Croſſe, and therefore we ought to abandon it, euen as in like conſideration* EZECHIAS *did of old the Brazen Serpent.* Theſe are the cauſes of diſpleaſure conceiued againſt the Croſſe, a Ceremonie, the vſe whereof hath beene profitable, although we obſerue it not as the Ordinance of God but of man. For, ſaith [n] TERTVLLIAN, *If of this and the like cuſtomes thou ſhouldeſt require ſome Comandement to be ſhewed thee out of Scriptures, there is none found.* What reaſon there is to iuſtifie Tradition, vſe or cuſtome in this behalfe, *either thou maiſt of thy ſelfe perceiue, or elſe learne of ſome other that doth.* Leſt therefore the name of Tradition ſhould bee offenſiue to any, conſidering how farre by ſome it hath beene, and is abuſed, we meane by [o] Traditions, Ordinances made in the prime of Chriſtian Religion, eſtabliſhed with that authoritie which Chriſt hath left to his Church for matters indifferent; and in that conſideration requiſite to be obſerued, till like authoritie ſee iuſt and reaſonable cauſe to alter them. So that Traditions Eccleſiaſticall are not rudely and in groſſe to be ſhaken off, becauſe the Inuentors of them were men. Such as ſay they allow no [p] inuention of men to bee mingled with the outward adminiſtration of Sacraments, and vnder that pretence condemne our vſing the ſigne of the Croſſe, haue belike ſome ſpeciall diſpenſation

n *Tertull. de Coron. Militis.*

o *Traditiones non ſcriptas ſi doctrinam reſpiciant cum doctrina ſcripta conuenire debere dicimus. Quod ad ritualia & Eccleſiaſticas attinet, ordinis & ædificationis Eccleſiarum in his ſemper habenda ratio eſt; inutiles autem et noxias, nempe ineptas & ſuperſtitioſas patronis ſuis relinquamus.* Goulart. Geneuenſ. annot. in Epiſt. Cypr. 74. p *T. C. lib. 1. p. 171.*

p They ſhould not haue beene ſo bold as to haue brought it into the Holy Sacrament of Baptiſme; and ſo mingle the Ceremonies and Inuentions of men with the Sacraments and Inſtitutions of God.

them.

themſelues to violate their owne Rules. For neither can they indeed decently, nor doe they euer baptize any without manifeſt breach of this their profound axiome, that *Mens inuentions ſhould not be mingled with Sacraments and Inſtitutions of God.* They ſeeme to like very well in Baptiſme the cuſtome of Godfathers, p *becauſe ſo generally all Churches haue receiued it.* Which cuſtome being of God no more inſtituted then the other (howſoeuer they pretend the other hurtfull, and this profitable) it followeth that euen in their owne opinion, if their wordes doe ſhew their mindes, there is no neceſſitie of ſtripping Sacraments out of all ſuch attire of Ceremonies as mans wiſedome hath at any time clothed them withall, and conſequently, that either they muſt reforme their ſpeech as ouer-generall, or elſe condemne their owne practice as vnlawfull. Ceremonies haue more in waight then in ſight, they worke by commonneſſe of vſe much, although in the ſeuerall acts of their vſage wee ſcarcely diſcerne any good they doe. And becauſe the vſe which they haue for the moſt part is not perfectly vnderſtood, Superſtition is apt to impute vnto them greater vertue then indeed they haue. For preuention whereof, when wee vſe this Ceremonie, wee alwaies plainely expreſſe the end whereunto it ſerueth, namely, for a ſigne of remembrance to put vs in minde of our dutie. But by this meane they ſay we make it a great deale q worſe. For why? Seeing God hath no where commanded to draw two lines in token of the dutie which wee owe vnto Chriſt, our practice with this expoſition publiſheth a new *Goſpell*, and cauſeth another *Word* to haue place in the Church of Chriſt, where no voyce ought to bee heard but his. By which good reaſon, the Authours of thoſe graue Admonitions to the Parliament are well holpen vp, which held that *ſitting* at Communions *betokeneth reſt and full accompliſhment of Legall Ceremonies in our Sauiour Chriſt.* For although it bee the Word of God, that ſuch Ceremonies are expired, yet ſeeing it is not the Word of God, that men, to ſignifie ſo much, ſhould ſit at the Table of our Lord, theſe haue their doome as well as others, *Guiltie of a new deuiſed Goſpell in the Church of Chriſt.* Which ſtrange imagination is begotten of a ſpeciall diſlike they haue, to heare that Ceremonies now in vſe, ſhould be thought ſignificant, whereas in truth, ſuch as are not ſignificant muſt needs bee vaine. Ceremonies deſtitute of ſignification, are no better then the idle geſtures of men, whoſe broken wits are not Maſters of that they doe. For if wee looke but into Secular and Ciuill Complements, what other cauſe can there poſſibly bee giuen, why to omit them, where of courſe they are looked for, for where they are not ſo due, to vſe them, bringeth mens ſecret intents oftentimes into great iealouſie, I would know I ſay, what reaſon wee are able to yeeld why things ſo light in their owne nature, ſhould waigh in the opinions of men ſo much, ſauing onely in regard of that which they vſe to ſignifie or betoken? Doth not our Lord Ieſus Chriſt r himſelfe impute the omiſſion of ſome courteous Ceremonies euen in Domeſticall intertainement, to a colder degree of louing affection, and take the contrarie in better part, not ſo much reſpecting what was leſſe done, as what was ſignified leſſe by the one then by the other? For to that very end hee referreth in part of thoſe gracious Expoſtulations, SIMON, *ſeeſt thou this Woman? ſince I entred into thine Houſe, thou gaueſt mee no water for my feet, but ſhee hath waſhed my feet with teares, and wiped them with the haires of her head; thou gaueſt mee*

p *T.C.l.1.p.170*

q *T.C.l.1.p.170* The profitable ſignification of the Croſſe maketh the thing a great deale worſe, & bringeth in a new Word into the Church, whereas there ought to bee no Doctor heard in the Church, but onely our Sauiour Chriſt. For although it be the Word of God that we ſhould not be aſhamed of the Croſſe of Chriſt, yet is it not the Word of God that we ſhould bee kept in remembrance of that by two lines drawne acroſſe one ouer another in the Childes forehead.

r *Luke* 7.44.

no kiſſe, but this Woman, ſince the time I came in, hath not ceaſed to kiſſe my feete; mine head with Oyle thou diddeſt not anoint, but this Woman hath anointed my feet with Oyntment. Wherefore as the vſuall dumbe Ceremonies of common life are in requeſt, or diſlike, according to that they import, euen ſo Religion hauing likewiſe her ſilent Rites, the chiefeſt rule whereby to iudge of their qualitie, is that which they meane or betoken. For if they ſignifie good things (as ſomewhat they muſt of neceſſitie ſignifie, becauſe it is of their verie nature to bee ſignes of intimation, preſenting both themſelues vnto outward ſenſe, and beſides themſelues ſome other thing to the vnderſtanding of beholders) vnleſſe they bee eyther greatly miſchoſen to ſignifie the ſame, or elſe applied where that which they ſignifie agreeth not, there is no cauſe of exception againſt them, as againſt euill and vnlawful Ceremonies, much leſſe of excepting againſt them onely in that they are not without ſenſe. And if euerie religious Ceremonie which hath beene inuented of men, to ſignifie any thing that God himſelfe alloweth, were the publication of another Goſpell in the Church of Chriſt, ſeeing that no Chriſtian Church in the World is or can bee without continuall vſe of ſome Ceremonies which men haue inſtituted, and that to ſignifie good things (vnleſſe they bee vaine and friuolous Ceremonies) it would follow that the World hath no Chriſtian Church which doth not daily proclaime new Goſpels, a ſequell, the manifeſt abſurditie whereof argueth the rawneſſe of that ſuppoſall out of which it groweth. Now the * cauſe why Antiquitie did the more *in actions of common life*, honour the Ceremonie of the Croſſe, might bee for that they liued with Infidels. But that which they did in the Sacrament of Baptiſme, was for the ſelfe-ſame good of Beleeuers which is thereby intended ſtill. The Croſſe is for vs an admonition no leſſe neceſſarie then for them to glorie in the Seruice of Ieſus Chriſt, and not to hang downe our heads as men aſhamed, although it procure vs reproch and obloquie at the hands of this wretched World. Shame is a kind of feare to incurre diſgrace and ignominie. Now whereas ſome things are worthy of reproch, ſome things ignominious onely through a falſe opinion which men haue conceiued of them, Nature that generally feareth opprobrious reprehenſion, muſt by reaſon and Religion bee [a] taught what it ſhould be aſhamed of, and what not. But be we neuer ſo well inſtructed what our duty is in this behalfe, without ſome preſent admonition at the verie inſtant of practice, what wee know is many times not called to minde, till that be done whereupon our iuſt confuſion enſueth. To ſupply the abſence of ſuch as that way might doe vs good when they ſee vs in

* *T.C.lib.1. page 170.* It is knowne to all that haue read the Eccleſiaſticall Stories, that the Heathen did obiect to Chriſtians in times paſt in reproch, that the God which they beleeued on was hanged vpon a Croſſe. And they thought good to teſtifie that they were not aſhamed therefore of the Sonne of God, by the often vſing of the ſigne of the Croſſe. Which carefulneſſe and good mind to keep amongſt them an open profeſſion of Chriſt crucified, although it bee to bee commended, yet is not this meanes ſo. For they might otherwiſe haue kept it and with leſſe danger then by this vſe of croſsing. And as it was brought in vpon no good ground, ſo the Lord left a marke of his Curſe of it, and whereby it might bee perceiued to come out of the Forge of mans braine, in that it beganne forthwith, while it was yet in the ſwadling clowts, to be ſuperſtitiouſly abuſed. The Chriſtians had ſuch a Superſtition in it, that they would doe nothing without Croſſing. But if it were granted, that vpon this conſideration which I haue before mentioned, the ancient Chriſtians did well, yet it followeth not that wee ſhould ſo doe. For wee liue not amongſt thoſe Nations which doe caſt vs in the teeth, or reproch vs with the Croſſe of Chriſt. Now that wee liue amongſt Papiſts that doe not contemne the Croſſe of Chriſt, but which eſteeme more of the woodden Croſſe then of the true Croſſe, which is his Sufferings, wee ought now to doe cleane contrariwiſe to the old Chriſtians, and aboliſh all vſe of theſe Croſſes. For contrarie diſeaſes muſt haue contrarie remedies. If therefore the old Chriſtians, to deliuer the Croſſe of Chriſt from contempt, did often vſe the Croſſe, the Chriſtians now, to take away the Superſtitious eſtimation of it, ought to take away the vſe of it. a *Epheſ.5.12. Rom.6.21.*

in danger of ſliding, there are [a] iudicious and wiſe men which thinke wee may greatly relieue our ſelues by a bare imagined preſence of ſome, whoſe authoritie we feare and would be loth to offend, if indeed they were preſent with vs. Witneſſes at hand are a bridle vnto many offences. Let the minde haue alwayes ſome whom it feareth, ſome whoſe authoritie may keepe euen ſecret thoughts vnder awe. Take *Cato*, or if he be too harſh and rugged, chuſe ſome other of a ſofter mettle, whoſe grauitie of life and ſpeech thou loueſt, his minde and countenance carry with thee, ſet him alwayes before thine eyes, either as a watch or as a patterne. That which is crooked wee cannot ſtreighten, but by ſome ſuch leuell. If men of ſo good experience and inſight in the maymes of our weake fleſh, haue thought theſe fancied remembrances auaileable to awaken ſhamefaſtneſſe, that ſo the boldneſſe of ſinne may be ſtayed ere it looke abroad, ſurely, the wiſedome of the Church of Chriſt, which hath to that vſe conuerted the Ceremonie of the Croſſe in Baptiſme, it is no Chriſtian mans part to deſpiſe, eſpecially ſeeing that by this meane where nature doth earneſtly import aide, Religion yeeldeth her that readie aſſiſtance, then which there can be no helpe more forcible, ſeruing onely to relieue memorie, and to bring to our cogitation that which ſhould moſt make aſhamed of ſinne. The mind, while we are in this preſent life, [b] whether it contemplate, meditate, deliberate, or howſoeuer exerciſe it ſelfe, worketh nothing without continuall recourſe vnto imagination, the only Storehouſe of wit, and peculiar Chaire of memorie. On this anvill it ceaſeth not day and night to ſtrike, by meanes wherof, as the pulſe declareth how the heart doth worke, ſo the very [c] thoughts and cogitations of mans minde, be they good or bad, doe no where ſooner bewray themſelues, then through the creueſſes of that wall wherewith nature hath compaſſed the Cels and Cloſets of fancie. In the forehead nothing more plaine to be ſeene, then the feare of contumely and diſgrace. For which cauſe the Scripture (as with great probabilitie it may be thought) deſcribeth them [d] marked of God in the forehead, whom his mercy hath vnder-taken to keepe from finall confuſion and ſhame. Not that God doth ſet any corporall marke on his choſen, but to note that he giueth his Elect ſecuritie of preſeruation from reproch, the feare whereof doth vſe to ſhew it ſelfe [e] in that part. Shal I ſay that the ſigne of the Croſſe (as we vſe it) is in ſome ſort a meane to worke our [f] preſeruation from reproch? Surely, the minde which as yet hath not hardned it ſelfe in ſinne, is ſeldome prouoked thereunto in any groſſe & grieuous manner, but natures ſecret ſuggeſtion obiected againſt it ignominy as a barre. Which conceit being entred into that Palace of mans fancie, the gates whereof haue imprinted in them that holy ſigne, which bringeth forthwith to minde what ſoeuer Chriſt hath wrought, and we vowed againſt ſinne, it commeth hereby to paſſe, that Chriſtian men neuer want a moſt effectuall, though a ſilent Teacher, to auoid what ſoeuer may deſeruedly procure ſhame. So that in things which we ſhould be aſhamed of, we are by the Croſſe admoniſhed faithfully of our dutie at the very moment, when admonition doth moſt neede. Other things there are which deſerue honor, and yet do purchaſe many times our diſgrace in this preſent world, as of old the very truth of Religion it ſelfe, till God by his owne out-ſtretched arme made the glorie thereof to ſhine ouer all the earth.

Where-

a *Senec. Epiſt.* 11. *lib.* 1.

b Τὸ νοεῖν ἢ φαντασία τις ἢ ἐκ ἄνευ φαντασίας, Ariſt. de Anim. l. 1. c. 1. Ἡ μὲν αἰσθητικὴ φαντασία ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις ὑπάρχει, ἡ δὲ βουλευτικὴ ἐν τοῖς λογιστικοῖς, L. 3. c. 11. Τὰ μὲν οὖν εἴδη τὰ νοητικὸν ἐν τοῖς φαντάσμασι νοεῖ. καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐκείνοις ὥρισαι αὐτῷ τὸ διωκτὸν καὶ φευκτόν, καὶ ἐκλὸς τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὄν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τῶν φαντασμάτων ᾖ, κινεῖται, Lib. 3. cap. 8.

c *Frons hominis triſtitiæ, hilaritatis, clementiæ, ſeueritatis index eſt*, Plin. lib. 11.

d *Ezech.* 9. 4. *Apoc.* 7. 3, 9, 4.

e Ερυθριάνουσι γὰρ οἱ αἰσχυνόμενοι, Ariſt. Eth. 4. c. 9.

f *Caro ſignatur vt & anima muniatur*, Tert. de Reſurrect. car.

* *Cypr. Epiſt. 56. ad Thibaritanos.*

Whereupon * S. *Cyprian* exhorting to Martyrdome, in times of Heathenish perſecution and crueltie, thought it not vaine to alleage vnto them with other arguments, the very Ceremonie of that Croſſe whereof we ſpeake. Neuer let that hand offer ſacrifice to Idols, which hath alreadie receiued the Body of our Sauiour Chriſt, and ſhall hereafter the Crowne of his glorie; *Arme your foreheads* vnto all boldneſſe, that *the ſigne of God* may be kept ſafe. Againe, when it pleaſed God that the furie of their enemies being bridled, the Church had ſome little reſt & quietneſſe, (if ſo ſmall a libertie, but only to breathe between troubles, may bee termed quietneſſe and reſt) to ſuch as fell not away from Chriſt through former perſecutions, hee giueth due and deſerued praiſe in the ſelfe-ſame manner, * *You that were readie to endure impriſonment, and were reſolute to ſuffer death; you that haue courageouſly withſtood the world, yee haue made your ſelues both a glorious ſpectacle for God to behold, and a worthy example for the reſt of your brethren to follow. Thoſe mouthes which had ſanctified themſelues with food comming downe from heauen, lothed, after Chriſts owne body and bloud, to taſte the poyſoned and contagious ſcraps of Idols; thoſe foreheads which the ſigne of God had purified, kept themſelues to be crowned by him, the touch of the* [b] *garlands of Satan they abhorred.* Thus was the memorie of that ſigne, which they had in baptiſme, a kinde of barre or preuention to keepe them euen from apoſtaſie, whereunto the frailtie of fleſh and bloud ouer-much fearing to indure ſhame, might peraduenture the more eaſily otherwiſe haue drawne them. We haue not now through the gracious goodneſſe of Almightie God, thoſe extreme conflicts, which our Fathers had with blaſphemous contumelies euerywhere offered to the name of Chriſt, by ſuch as profeſſed themſelues Infidels & vnbeleeuers. Howbeit, vnleſſe we be ſtrangers to the Age wherein we liue, or elſe in ſome partiall reſpect Diſſemblers of that we hourely both heare and ſee, there is not the ſimpleſt of vs but knoweth, with what diſdayne and ſcorne Chriſt is honored farre and wide. Is there any burthen in the world more heauie to beare then contempt? Is there any contempt that grieueth as theirs doth, whoſe qualitie no way making them leſſe worthy then others are of reputation, only the ſeruice which they doe to Chriſt in the daily exerciſe of Religion treadeth them downe? Doth any contumely which we ſuſtayne for Religions ſake, pierce ſo deepely, as that which would ſeeme euen of meere conſcience religiouſly ſpitefull? When they that honour God are deſpiſed; when the chiefeſt ſeruice of honor that man can doe vnto him, is the cauſe why they are deſpiſed; when they which pretend to honour him, and that with greateſt ſinceritie, doe with more then Heathenish petulancie trample vnder foote almoſt whatſoeuer either wee or the whole Church of God, by the ſpace of ſo many Ages haue beene accuſtomed vnto, for the comelier and better exerciſe of our Religion, according to the ſoundeſt Rules that wiſedome directed by the Word of God, and by long experience confirmed, hath beene able with common aduice, with much deliberation and exceeding great diligence to comprehend; when no man, fighting vnder Chriſts Banner, can bee alwayes exempted from ſeeing or ſuſtayning thoſe indignities, the ſting whereof not to feele, or feeling, not to be mooued thereat, is a thing impoſſible to fleſh and bloud: if this bee any obiect for patience to worke on, the

a *Cypr. de Lapſ.*

b *Erant enim ſupplices coronarij. Tertul. l. de Coron. Mil.* In the ſeruice of Idols, the doores of their Temples, the Sacrifices, the Altars, the Prieſts, and the Supplicats that were preſent, wore garlands.

the ſtricteſt bond that thereunto tyeth vs, is our vowed obedience of Chriſt; the ſolemneſt vow that wee euer made to obey Chriſt, and to ſuffer willingly all reproches for his ſake, was made in Baptiſme; and amongſt other memorialls to keepe vs mindfull of that vow, wee cannot thinke that the ſigne which our new baptized foreheads did there receiue, is either vnfit or vnforcible, the reaſons hitherto alleaged being weighed with indifferent ballance. It is not (you will ſay) the Croſſe in our foreheads, but in our hearts the faith of Chriſt, that armeth vs with patience, conſtancie, and courage. Which as wee grant to be moſt true, ſo neither dare we deſpiſe, no not the meaneſt helps that ſerue, though it be but in the very loweſt degree of furtherance towards the higheſt ſeruices that God doth require at our hands. And if any man denie, that ſuch Ceremonies are auaileable, at the leaſt as memorials of dutie, or do thinke that himſelfe hath no neede to bee ſo put in minde what our duties are, it is but reaſonable, that in the one the publike experience of the World ouer-waigh ſome few mens perſwaſion; and in the other, the rare perfection of a few condeſcend vnto common imbecillitie. Seeing therefore, that to feare ſhame which doth worthily follow ſinne, and to beare vndeſerued reproch conſtantly, is the generall duetie of all men profeſſing Chriſtianitie, ſeeing alſo that our weakeneſſe, while we are in this preſent world, doth neede towards ſpirituall duties the helpe euen of corporall furtherances, and that by reaſon of naturall intercourſe betweene the higheſt and the loweſt powers of mans minde in all actions, his fancie or imagination carrying in it that ſpeciall note of remembrance, then which there is nothing more forcible, where either too weake or too ſtrong a conceit of infamie and diſgrace might doe great harme, ſtandeth alwayes readie to put forth a kinde of neceſſarie helping hand, we are in that reſpect to acknowledge the [a] good and profitable vſe of this Ceremonie, and not to thinke it ſuperfluous that Chriſt hath his marke applyed [b] vnto that part where baſhfulneſſe appeareth, in token that they which are Chriſtians ſhould bee at no time aſhamed of his ignominie. But to preuent ſome inconueniences which might enſue, if the ouer-ordinarie vſe thereof (as it fareth with ſuch Rites when they are too common) ſhould cauſe it to be of leſſe obſeruation or regard where it moſt auaileth, we neither omit it in that place, nor altogether make it ſo vulgar as the cuſtome heretofore hath beene: although to condemne the whole Church of God, when it moſt flouriſhed in zeale and pietie, to marke that Age with the brand of error & ſuperſtition only, becauſe they had this Ceremonie more in vſe then wee now thinke needfull, boldly to affirme, that this their practice grew ſo ſoone through a fearefull malediction of God vpon the Ceremonie of the Croſſe, as if we knew that his purpoſe was thereby to make it manifeſt in all mens eyes, how execrable thoſe things are in his ſight, which haue proceeded from humane inuention, is as we take it, a cenſure of greater zeale then knowledge. Men, whoſe iudgements in theſe caſes are growne more moderate, although they retayne not as we do the vſe of this Ceremonie, perceiue notwithſtanding very well ſuch cenſures to bee out of ſquare, and doe therefore not only [c] acquit the Fathers from ſuperſtition therein, but alſo thinke it ſufficient to anſwere in excuſe of themſelues, [d] *This Ceremonie which was but a thing indifferent euen of old, we iudge not at this day a matter neceſſarie*

a Ἔτω δὴ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ φυλακτικὸν τῶν τοίτων καὶ ᾧ ἀκολουθεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κωλυτικὰ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ τὰ ῥᾴδια, Ariſt. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 6.

b *Ozias Rex lepræ varietate in fronte maculatus eſt, ea parte corporis notatus offenſo Domino vbi ſignantur qui Dominum promerentur,* Cypr. de Vnit. Eccleſ. cap. 16.

c Goulart. Annot. in Cyp. lib. ad Demetr. cap.... *Quamuis veteres Chriſtiani externo ſigno crucis vſi ſunt, id tamen fuit ſine ſuperſtitione, & doctrina de Chriſti merito ab errore qui poſtea irrepſit, pios ſeruauit immunes.*

d Idem Annot. in Cypr. Ep. 56. cap. 7.

neceſſarie for all Chriſtian men to obſerue. As for their laſt vpſhot of all towards this marke, they are of opinion, that if the ancient Chriſtians, to deliuer the Croſſe of Chriſt from contempt, did well and with good conſideration vſe often the ſigne of the Croſſe, in teſtimonie of their Faith and Profeſſion before Infidels, which vpbraided them with Chriſts ſufferings, now that we liue with ſuch as contrariwiſe adore the ſigne of the Croſſe (becauſe contrarie diſeaſes ſhould alwayes haue contrarie remedies) we ought to take away all vſe thereof. In which conceit they both wayes greatly ſeduce themſelues, firſt, for that they imagine the Fathers to haue had no vſe of the Croſſe, but with reference vnto Infidels, which miſperſwaſion we haue before diſcouered at large; and ſecondly, by reaſon that they thinke there is not any other way beſides vniuerſall extirpation, to reforme ſuperſtitious abuſes of the Croſſe. Wherein becauſe there are that ſtand very much vpon the example of *Ezechias*, as if his
* 1.*Reg.*18.3. * *breaking to pieces that Serpent* of braſſe, whereunto the children of Iſrael had *burnt incenſe*, did enforce the vtter abolition of this Ceremonie, the fact of that vertuous Prince is by ſo much the more attentiuely to bee conſidered. Our liues in this world are partly guided by rules, and partly directed by examples. To conclude out of generall rules and axiomes, by diſcourſe of wit, our duties in euery particular action, is both troubleſome, and many times ſo full of difficultie, that it maketh deliberations hard and tedious to the wiſeſt men. Whereupon we naturally all incline to obſerue examples, to marke what others haue done before vs, and in fauour of our owne eaſe rather to follow them then to enter into new conſultation, if in regard of their vertue and wiſedome, we may but probably thinke they haue waded without error. So that the willingneſſe of men to be led by example of others, both diſcouereth & helpeth the imbecillitie of our iudgement. Becauſe it doth the one, therefore inſolent and proud wits would alwayes ſeeme to bee their owne guides; and becauſe it doth the other, wee ſee how hardly the vulgar ſort is drawne vnto any thing, for which there are not as well Examples as Reaſons alleaged. Reaſons proouing that which is more particular by things more generall, and farther from ſenſe, are with the ſimpler ſort of men leſſe truſted, for that they doubt of their owne iudgement in thoſe things; but of Examples, which proue vnto them one doubtfull particular, by another more familiarly and ſenſibly knowne, they eaſily perceiue in themſelues ſome better abilitie to iudge. The force of examples therefore is great, when in matter of action being doubtful what to doe, we are informed what others haue commendably done, whoſe deliberations were like. But whoſoeuer doth perſwade by example, muſt as well reſpect the fitneſſe as the goodneſſe of that he alleageth. To *Ezechias*, God himſelfe in this fact giueth teſtimonie of well-doing. So that nothing is here queſtionable, but onely whether the example alleaged be pertinent, pregnant, and ſtrong. The Serpent ſpoken of, was firſt erected for the extraordinarie and *miraculous cure* of the Iſraelites in the Deſart. This vſe hauing preſently an end, when the cauſe for which God ordayned it was once remoued, the thing it ſelfe they notwithſtanding kept for a *monument of Gods mercy*, as in like conſideration they did the Pot of Manna, the Rod of *Aaron*, and the Sword which *Dauid* tooke from *Goliah*. In proceſſe of time they made of a monument of diuine

power

power a plaine Idoll, they burnt Incenſe before it contrarie to the Law of God, and did it the ſeruices of honour due vnto God only. Which groſſe and grieuous abuſe continued, till *Ezechias* reſtoring the puritie of ſound Religion, deſtroyed vtterly that which had bin ſo long, and ſo generally a ſnare vnto them. It is not amiſſe which the [a] Canon Law hereupon concludeth, namely, that *if our Predeceſſors haue done ſome things which at that time might bee without fault, and afterward be turned to Errour and Superſtition, wee are taught by* EZECHIAS *breaking the Brazen Serpent, that Poſterity may deſtroy them without any delay, and with great authority.* But may it be ſimply and without exception hereby gathered, that Poſterity *is bound to deſtroy* whatſoeuer hath bin either at the firſt inuented, or but afterwards turned to like Superſtition and Errour? No, it cannot be. The Serpent therefore, and the ſigne of the Croſſe, although ſeeming equal in this point that Superſtition hath abuſed both, yet being herein alſo vnequal, that neither they haue beene both ſubiect to the like degree of abuſe, nor were in hardnes of redreſſe alike, it may be that euen as the one for abuſe was religiouſly taken away, ſo now, when Religion hath taken away abuſe frō the other, we ſhould by vtter abolition thereof deſerue hardly his commendation, whoſe Example there is offered vs no ſuch neceſſarie cauſe to follow. For by the words of *Ezechias* in terming the Serpent but *a lumpe of Braſſe*, to ſhew that the beſt thing in it now, was the Metall or matter whereof it conſiſted, wee may probably coniecture, that the people whoſe errour is therein controld, had the ſelfe-ſame opinion of it which the Heathens had of Idols, they thought that the power of Deitie was with it, and when they ſaw it diſſolued, haply they might, to comfort themſelues, imagine as *Olympius* the Sophiſter did beholding the diſſipation of Idols, [b] *Shapes and counterfeits they were, faſhioned of matter ſubiect vnto corruption, therefore to grinde them to duſt was eaſie, but thoſe Celeſtiall Powers which dwelt and reſided in them are aſcended into Heauen.* Some difference there is betweene theſe opinions of palpable Idolatrie, and that which the Schooles in Speculation haue boulted out concerning the Croſſe. Notwithſtanding for as much as the Church of Rome hath hitherto practiſed and doth profeſſe the ſame adoration to the ſigne of the Croſſe, and neither leſſe nor other then is due vntō Chriſt himſelfe, howſoeuer they varniſh and qualifie their ſentence, pretending that the Croſſe, which to outward ſenſe preſenteth viſibly it ſelfe alone, is not by them apprehended alone, but hath in their ſecret ſurmiſe or conceit, a reference to the perſon of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, ſo that the honour which they ioyntly doe to both, reſpecteth principally his perſon, and the Croſſe but only for his perſons ſake, the people not accuſtomed to trouble their wits with ſo nice and ſubtle differences in the exerciſe of Religion, are apparently no leſſe inſnared by adoring the Croſſe, then the Iewes by burning Incenſe to the Brazen Serpent. It is by [c] *Thomas* ingenuouſly granted, that becauſe vnto reaſonable Creatures a kinde of reuerence is due for the excellencie which is in them, and whereby they reſemble God, therefore if reaſonable creatures, Angels or men ſhould receiue at our hands holy and diuine honour, as the ſigne of the Croſſe doth at theirs, to pretend that we honor not them alone, but we honor God with them, would not ſerue the turne, neither would this be able to preuent the errour of men, or cauſe them alwaies to reſpect

a *Diſt.6.3.c. Quia.*

b *Sozom.lib.7. cap.15.*

c *Th.p.3.q.25. art.3.reſp.ad ter.*

reſpect God in their adorations, and not to finiſh their intents in the obiect next before them. But vnto this hee addeth, that no ſuch error can grow by adoring in that ſort a dead Image, which euery man knoweth to bee void of excellencie in it ſelfe, and therefore will eaſily conceiue, that the honour done vnto it, hath an higher reference. Howbeit, ſeeing that we haue by ouer-true experience beene taught how often, eſpecially in theſe caſes, the light euen of common vnderſtanding faileth, ſurely, their vſuall adoration of the Croſſe is not hereby freed. For in actions of this kinde we are more to reſpect what the greateſt part of men is commonly prone to conceiue, then what ſome few mens wits may deuiſe in conſtruction of their owne particular meanings. Plaine it is, that a falſe opinion of ſome perſonall diuine excellencie to bee in thoſe things, which either Nature or Arte hath framed, cauſeth alwayes religious adoration. And as plaine, that the like adoration applyed vnto things ſenſible, argueth to vulgar capacities, yea leaueth imprinted in them the very ſame opinion of Deitie, from whence all Idolatrous worſhip groweth. Yea, the meaner and baſer a thing worſhipped is in it ſelfe, the more they incline to thinke, that euery man which doth adore it, knoweth there is in it, or with it, a preſence of diuine power. Bee it therefore true, that Croſſes purpoſely framed or vſed for receit of diuine honour, bee euen as ſcandalous as the brazen Serpent it ſelfe, where they are in ſuch ſort adored: Should wee hereupon thinke our ſelues in the ſight of GOD and in Conſcience charged, to aboliſh vtterly the very *Ceremonie* of the Croſſe, neither meant at the firſt, nor now conuerted vnto any ſuch offenſiue purpoſe? Did the Iewes, which could neuer bee perſwaded, to admit in the Citie of Ieruſalem that [a] Image of *Cæſar*, which the Romanes were accuſtomed [b] to adore, make any ſcruple of [c] *Cæſars* Image in the Coyne, which they knew very well that men were not woont to worſhip? Betweene the Croſſe, which Superſtition honoureth as Chriſt, and that Ceremonie of the Croſſe, which ſerueth onely for a ſigne of remembrance, there is as plaine and as great a difference, as betweene thoſe [d] brazen Images which *Salomon* made to beare vp the Ceſterne of the Temple, and (ſith both were of like ſhape, but of vnlike vſe) [e] that which the Iſraelites in the Wilderneſſe did adore; or betweene the [f] Altars which *Ioſias* deſtroyed, becauſe they were inſtruments of meere Idolatrie, and [g] that which the Tribe of Ruben with others erected neere to the Riuer Iordan, for which alſo they grew at the firſt into ſome diſlike, and were by the reſt of their Brethren ſuſpected, yea hardly charged with open breach of the Law of God, accuſed of backwardneſſe in Religion, vpbraided bitterly with the fact of *Peor*, and the odious example of *Achan*, as if the building of their Altar in that place, had giuen manifeſt ſhew of no better then intended Apoſtaſie, till by a true declaration made in their owne defence, it appeared that ſuch as miſliked miſ-vnderſtood their enterpriſe, in as much as they had no intent to build any Altar for ſacrifice, which GOD would haue no where offered ſauing in Ieruſalem onely, but to a farre other end and purpoſe, which being opened ſatisfied all parts, and ſo deliuered them from cauſeleſſe blame. In this particular ſuppoſe the worſt, imagine

a *Ioſeph. Antiq. lib.* 17. *cap.* 8. & *lib.* 18. *cap.* 3. & *de bell. l.* 2. *c.* 8.

b Their Eagles their Enſignes, and the Images of their Princes they carried with them in all their Armies, and had alwayes a kind of Chappell, wherein they placed and adored them as their Gods, *Dio. lib.* 40. *Herodia. lib.* 4.

c *Matth.* 22. 20.

d 2. *Chron.* 4. 3.

e *Exod.* 32. 4.

f 2. *Chron.* 34. 7.

g *Ioſu.* 22. 10.

imagine that the immateriall Ceremonie of the Croſſe had beene the ſubiect of as groſſe pollution as any Heathenish or prophane Idoll. If wee thinke the Example of *Ezechias* a proofe that things which Errour and Superſtition hath abuſed may in no conſideration bee tolerated, although wee preſently find them not ſubiect to ſo vile abuſe, the plaine Example of *Ezechias* prooueth the contrarie. The Temples and Idols which vnder *Salomon* [a] had beene of very purpoſe framed for the honour of forraine Gods, *Ezechias* deſtroyed not, becauſe they ſtood as forlorne things and did now no harme, although formerly they had done harme. [c] *Ioſias* for ſome inconuenience afterwardes razed them vp. Yet to both there is one commendation giuen euen from God himſelfe, that touching * matter of Religion they walked in the ſteps of *Dauid*, and did no way diſpleaſe God. Perhaps it ſeemeth that by force and vertue of this Example although it bare deteſtation and hatred of Idolatrie, all things which haue beene at any time worſhipped are not neceſſarily to bee taken out of the World, neuertheleſſe for remedie and preuention of ſo great offences, wiſedome ſhould iudge it the ſafeſt courſe to remooue altogether from the eyes of men that which may put them in mind of euill. Some kindes of euill no doubt there are very quicke in working on thoſe affections that moſt eaſily take fire, which euils ſhould in that reſpect no oftner then need requireth be brought in preſence of weake mindes. But neither is the Croſſe any ſuch euill, nor yet the Brazen Serpent it ſelfe ſo ſtrongly poyſoned, that our eyes, eares and thoughts ought to ſhunne them both, for feare of ſome deadly harme to enſue the onely repreſentation thereof by geſture, ſhape, ſound, or ſuch like ſignificant meanes. And for mine owne part I moſt aſſuredly perſwade my ſelfe, that had *Ezechias* (till the dayes of whoſe moſt vertuous Raigne they ceaſed not continually to burne Incenſe to the Brazen Serpent) had he found the Serpent, though ſometime adored, yet at that time recouered from the euill of ſo groſſe abuſe, and reduced to the ſame that was before in the time of *Dauid*, at which time they eſteemed it onely as a memoriall, ſigne or monument of Gods miraculous goodneſſe towards them, euen as wee in no other ſort eſteeme the Ceremonie of the Croſſe, the due conſideration of an vſe ſo harmeleſſe, common to both, might no leſſe haue wrought their equall preſeruation, then different occaſion haue procured, notwithſtanding the ones extinguiſhment, the others lawfull continuance. In all perſwaſions which ground themſelues vpon Example, wee are not ſo much to reſpect what is done, as the cauſes and ſecret inducements leading thereunto. The queſtion being therefore whether this Ceremonie ſuppoſed to haue beene *ſometimes* ſcandalous and offenſiue, ought for that cauſe to bee *now* remooued, there is no reaſon wee ſhould forthwith yeeld our ſelues to bee carried away with Example, no not of them whoſe acts the higheſt iudgement approoueth for hauing reformed in that manner any publike euill: but before wee eyther attempt any thing or reſolue, the ſtate and condition as well of our owne affaires as theirs whoſe Example preſſeth vs, is aduiſedly to bee examined, becauſe ſome things are of their owne nature ſcandalous, and cannot chooſe but breed offence, as thoſe * ſinkes of execrable filth which *Ioſias* did ouerwhelme; ſome things albeit not by nature and of them-

[a] 1. *Reg.* 11. 17.

[c] 2. *Reg.* 23. 13.

* 2. *Reg.* 18. 3. 6. 2. *Reg.* 22. 2.

* 2. *Reg.* 23. 7.

ſelues, are notwithſtanding ſo generally turned to euill, by reaſon of an euill corrupt habit growne, and through long continuance incurably ſettled in the mindes of the greateſt part, that no redreſſe can bee well hoped for, without remouall of that wherein they haue ruined themſelues, which plainely was the ſtate of the Iewiſh people, and the cauſe why *Ezechias* did with ſuch ſuddaine indignation deſtroy what hee ſaw worſhipped; finally, ſome things are as the ſigne of the Croſſe, though ſubiect eyther almoſt or altogether to as great abuſe, yet curable with more facilitie and eaſe. And to ſpeake as the truth is, our very nature doth hardly yeeld to deſtroy that which may be fruitfully kept, and without any great difficultie cleane ſcowred from the ruſt of euill, which by ſome accident hath growne into it. Wherefore to that which they build in this queſtion vpon the Example of *Ezechias*, let this ſuffice. When Heathens deſpiſed Chriſtian Religion becauſe of the ſufferings of Ieſus Chriſt, the Fathers, to teſtifie how little ſuch contumelies & contempts preuailed with them, choſe rather the ſigne of the Croſſe, then any other outward marke, whereby the World might moſt eaſily diſcerne alwayes what they were. On the contrariſide now, whereas they which doe all profeſſe the Chriſtian Religion are deuided amongſt themſelues, and the fault of the one part is, that the zeale to the Sufferings of Chriſt they admire too much, and ouer-ſuperſtitiouſly adore the Viſible ſigne of his Croſſe, if you aske what wee that miſlike them ſhould doe, wee are heere aduiſed to cure one contrarie by another. Which Arte or Methode is not yet ſo currant as they imagine. For if, as their practice for the moſt part ſheweth, it bee their meaning that the ſcope and drift of Reformation when things are faultie, ſhould bee to *ſettle* the Church in the contrarie, it ſtandeth them vpon to beware of this rule, becauſe ſeeing vices haue not onely vertues, but other vices alſo in nature oppoſite vnto them, it may bee dangerous in theſe caſes to ſeeke but that which wee finde contrarie to preſent euils. For in ſores and ſickneſſes of the minde wee are not ſimply to meaſure good by diſtance from euill, becauſe one vice may in ſome reſpect bee more oppoſite to another, then either of them to that vertue which holdeth the meane betweene them both. Liberalitie and Couetouſneſſe, the one a vertue and the other a vice, are not ſo contrarie as the vices of Couetouſneſſe and Prodigalitie; Religion and Superſtition haue more affiance, though the one bee light and the other darkeneſſe, then Superſtition and Prophaneneſſe, which both are vicious extremities. By meanes whereof it commeth alſo to paſſe, that the meane which is vertue ſeemeth in the eyes of each extreme an extremitie; the liberall hearted man is by the opinion of the Prodigall miſerable, and by the iudgement of the miſerable lauiſh; impietie for the moſt part vpbraideth Religion as Superſtitious, which Superſtition often accuſeth as impious, both ſo conceiuing thereof becauſe it doth ſeeme more to participate each extreme, then one extreme doth another, and is by conſequent leſſe contrarie to either of them, then they mutually betweene themſelues. Now if hee that ſeeketh to reforme Couetouſneſſe or Superſtition, ſhould but labour to induce the contrarie, it were but to draw men out of Lime into Cole-duſt. So that their courſe which will remedie

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the ſuperſtitious abuſe of things profitable in the Church is not ſtill to aboliſh vtterly the vſe thereof, becauſe not vſing at all is moſt oppoſite to ill vſing, but rather if it may be, to bring them backe to a right perfect and religious vſage, which albeit leſſe contrarie to the preſent ſore, is notwithſtanding the better and by many degrees the ſounder way of recouerie. And vnto this effect that verie precedent it ſelfe which they propoſe may bee beſt followed. For as the Fathers, when the Croſſe of Chriſt was in vtter contempt, did not ſuperſtitiouſly adore the ſame, but rather declare that they ſo eſteemed it as was meet: in like manner where wee find the Croſſe to haue that honour which is due to Chriſt, is it not as lawfull for vs to retaine it in that eſtimation which it ought to haue, and in that vſe which it had of olde without offence, as by taking it cleane away to ſeeme followers of their Example, which cure wilfully by abſciſion that which they might both preſerue and heale? Touching therefore the Signe and Ceremonie of the Croſſe, wee no way find our ſelues bound to relinquiſh it, neyther becauſe the firſt Inuentors thereof were but mortall men, nor leſt the ſenſe and ſignification wee giue vnto it ſhould burthen vs as Authours of a new Goſpell in the Houſe of God, nor in reſpect of ſome cauſe which the Fathers had more then wee haue to vſe the ſame, nor finally for any ſuch offence or ſcandall as heretofore it hath beene ſubiect vnto by errour now reformed in the minds of men.

66 The ancient cuſtome of the Church was, after they had Baptized, to adde thereunto Impoſition of hands with effectuall Prayer for the * illumination of Gods moſt Holy Spirit, to confirme and perfect that which the grace of the ſame Spirit had alreadie begunne in Baptiſme. For our meanes to obtaine the graces which God doth beſtow, are our prayers. Our Prayers to that intent are auaileable as well for others as for our ſelues. To pray for others, is *to bleſſe* them for whom wee pray, becauſe Prayer procureth the bleſſing of God vpon them, eſpecially the Prayer of ſuch as God eyther moſt reſpecteth for their Pietie and Zeale that way, or elſe regardeth, for that their place and calling bindeth them aboue others vnto this duty, as it doth both naturall and ſpirituall Fathers. With Prayers of ſpirituall and perſonall benediction, the manner hath beene in all Ages to vſe *Impoſition of hands*, as a Ceremonie betokening our *reſtrained deſires* to the partie, whom we preſent vnto God by Prayer. Thus when [a] *Iſrael bleſſed Ephraim* and *Manaſſes Ioſephs* Sonnes, hee *impoſed* vpon them his hands and prayed, *God in whoſe ſight my Fathers* ABRAHAM *and* ISAAC *did walke, God which hath fed me all my life long vnto this day, and the Angell which hath deliuered me from all euill, bleſſe theſe children.* The Prophets which healed diſeaſes by Prayer, vſed therein the ſelfe-ſame Ceremony. And therfore when [b] *Elizeus* willed *Naaman* to waſh himſelfe ſeuen times in Iordan for cure of his foule diſeaſe, it much offended him: *I thought* (ſaith hee) *with my ſelfe, Surely the man will come forth and ſtand and call vpon the Name of the Lord his God, and put his hand on the place, to the end he may ſo heale the Leproſie.* In [d] Conſecrations and Ordinations of men vnto roomes of Diuine calling, the like was vſually done from the time of *Moſes* to Chriſt. Their ſutes that come vnto Chriſt for helpe were alſo tendered oftentimes, and are expreſſed in * ſuch formes or phraſes of ſpeech, as ſhew that hee was himſelfe an obſeruer of the ſame cuſtome. Hee which

Of confirmation after Baptiſme.

* *Caro manus impoſitione adumbratur, vt & anima ſpiritu illuminetur.* Tertull. de Reſur. car.

a *Gen.*48.14.

b 2. *Reg.*5.11.

d *Numb.*27.18.

* *Mat.*9.18. *Mar.*5.23.8.22.

with Impoſition of Hands and Prayer did ſo great Workes of Mercie for reſtauration of bodily health, was worthily iudged as able to effect the infuſion of heauenly grace into them, whoſe age was not yet depraued with that malice which might bee ſuppoſed a barre to the goodneſſe of God towards them. They * brought him therefore yong Children to put *his hands* vpon them and *pray*. After the Aſcenſion of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, that which hee had begunne continued in the daily practice of his Apoſtles, whoſe Prayer and Impoſition of hands, were a meane whereby thouſands became partakers of the wonderfull gifts of God; The Church had receiued from Chriſt 1 a promiſe that ſuch as beleeued in him, theſe ſignes and tokens ſhould follow them, *To caſt out Deuils, to ſpeake with tongues, to driue away Serpents, to be free from the harme which any deadly poyſon could worke, and to cure diſeaſes by Impoſition of hands.* Which power, common at the firſt in a manner vnto *all Beleeuers*, all Beleeuers had not power to deriue or communicate vnto all other men, but whoſoeuer was the inſtrument of God to inſtruct, conuert and baptize them, m the gift of miraculous operations by the power of the Holy Ghoſt they had not, but onely at the Apoſtles owne hands. For which cauſe n *Simon Magus* perceiuing that power to bee in none but them, and preſuming that they which had it might ſell it, ſought to purchaſe it of them with money. And as miraculous graces of the Spirit continued after the Apoſtles times (for ſaith o *Irenæus*) *They which are truely his Diſciples, doe in his Name and through grace receiued from him, ſuch workes for the benefit of other men, as euery of them is by him inabled to worke; Some caſt out Deuils, in ſo much as they which are deliuered from wicked ſpirits haue beene thereby wonne vnto Chriſt, and doe conſtantly preſeuere in the Church and ſocietie of faithfull men; Some excell in the knowledge of things to come, in the grace of Viſions from God and the gift of Propheticall predictions; Some by laying on their hands, reſtore them to health which are grieuouſly afflicted with ſickneſſe; yea there are that of dead haue beene made aliue, and haue afterwardes many yeeres conuerſed with vs; What ſhould I ſay? the gifts are innumerable wherewith God hath enriched his Church throughout the World, and by vertue whereof in the Name of Chriſt crucified vnder* PONTIVS PILATE, *the Church euery day doth many Wonders for the good of Nations, neyther fraudulently nor in any reſpect of lucre and gaine to her ſelfe, but as freely beſtowing as God on her hath beſtowed his Diuine graces*: ſo it no where appeareth, that euer any did by Prayer and Impoſition of hands ſithence the Apoſtles times make others partakers of the like *miraculous gifts* and graces as long as it pleaſed God to continue the ſame in his Church, but onely Biſhops the Apoſtles Succeſſors for a time, euen in that power. * Saint *Auguſtine* acknowledgeth, that ſuch gifts were not permitted to laſt alwaies, leſt men ſhould waxe cold with the commonneſſe of that, the ſtrangeneſſe whereof at the firſt inflamed them. Which wordes of Saint *Auguſtine* declaring how the vulgar vſe of theſe Miracles was then expired, are no preiudice to the like extraordinarie graces more rarely obſerued in ſome, either then or of later dayes. Now whereas the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles had but onely for a time ſuch power as by Prayer and Impoſition of hands to beſtow the Holy Ghoſt; The reaſon wherefore Confirmation, neuertheleſſe by Prayer and Laying on of hands hath hitherto alwaies continued, is for other very ſpeciall benefits which

* *Mat.*19.13: *Mar.*10.13. *Luk.*18.15.

1 *Mar.*16.17.

m *Act.*19.6.

n *Act.*8.17.18

o *Iren.*l.2.c.57.

* *Aug.de vera Relig.cap.*25.

which the Church thereby inioyeth. The Fathers euery where impute vnto it that giſt or grace of the Holy Ghoſt, not which maketh vs firſt Chriſtian men, but when wee are made ſuch, aſſiſteth vs in all vertue, armeth vs againſt temptation and ſinne. For after Baptiſme adminiſtred, *there followeth* (ſaith [a] TERTVLLIAN) *Impoſition of hands with inuocation and inuitation of the Holy Ghoſt, which willingly commeth downe from the Father to reſt vpon the purified and bleſſed boaties, as it were acknowledging the waters of Baptiſme a fit ſeat.* S. [b] CYPRIAN in more particular manner alluding to that effect of the Spirit which here eſpecially was reſpected, *How great* (ſaith hee) *is that power and force wherewith the mind is here* (hee meaneth in Baptiſme) *inabled, being not onely withdrawne from that pernicious hold which the World before had of it, nor onely ſo purified and made cleane that no ſtaine or blemiſh of the Enemies inuaſion doth remaine, but ouer and beſides* (namely, through Prayer and impoſition of hands) *becommeth yet greater, yet mightier in ſtrength, ſo farre as to raigne with a kind of Imperiall dominion ouer the whole Band of that roming and ſpoyling Aduerſarie!* As much is ſignified by [c] EVSEBIVS EMISSENVS, ſaying, *The Holy Ghoſt which deſcendeth with ſauing influence vpon the waters of Baptiſme, doth there giue that fulneſſe which ſufficeth for innocencie, and afterwards exhibiteth in confirmation an augmentation of further grace.* The Fathers therefore being thus perſwaded held confirmation as [d] an Ordinance Apoſtolike *alwayes profitable* in Gods Church, although not alwayes accompanied with equall largeneſſe of thoſe externall effects which gaue it countenance at the firſt. The cauſe of ſeuering Confirmation from Baptiſme (for moſt commonly they went together) was ſometime in the Miniſter, which being of inferiour degree might Baptize but not confirme, as in [e] their caſe it came to paſſe whom *Peter* and *Iohn* did confirme, whereas *Philip* had before Baptized them; and in theirs of whom [f] Saint *Ierome* had ſaid, *I denie not but the cuſtome of the Churches is that the Biſhop ſhould goe abroad, and impoſing his hands pray for the gift of the Holy Ghoſt on them whom Presbyters and Deacons farre off in leſſer Cities haue alreadie Baptized.* Which ancient cuſtome of the Church Saint *Cyprian* groundeth vpon the Example of *Peter* and *Iohn* in the eight of the *Acts* before alleaged. The [g] faithfull in Samaria (ſayth hee) *Had alreadie obtained Baptiſme: Onely that which was wanting*, PETER *and* IOHN *ſupplyed by Prayer and impoſition of hands, to the end the Holy Ghoſt might bee powred vpon them. Which alſo is done amongſt our ſelues, when they which bee alreadie Baptized are brought to the Prelates of the Church, to obtaine by our Prayer and impoſition of hands the Holy Ghoſt.* By this it appeareth that when the Miniſters of Baptiſme were perſons of inferiour degree, the Biſhops did after confirme whom ſuch had before Baptized. Sometimes they which by force of Eccleſiaſticall calling might doe as well the one as the other, were notwithſtanding meere whom Hereſie had diſioyned from the fellowſhip of true Beleeuers. Whereupon when any man by them Baptized and confirmed, came afterwardes to ſee and renounce their errour, there grew in ſome Churches verie hot contention about the manner of admitting ſuch into the boſome of the true Church, as hath beene declared alreadie in the queſtion of Rebaptization. But the generall receiued cuſtome was onely to admit them with impoſition of hands and Prayer. Of which cuſtome while ſome imagined the reaſon to bee

a *Tertull. de Baptiſ.*
b *Cypr. Epiſt. 2. ad Donat. c. 2.*
c *Euſeb. Emiſ. Ser. de Pent.*
d *Aug. de Trin. l. 15. c. 26. Heb. 6. 2.*
e *Act. 18. 12. 15*
f *Hieron. aduerſ. Lucif. cap. 4.*
g *Cyp. Epiſt. 73. ad Iubaianum.*

for that Heretikes might giue remiſſion of ſinnes by Baptiſme, but not the Spirit by Impoſition of hands, becauſe themſelues had not Gods Spirit, and that therefore their Baptiſme might ſtand, but Confirmation muſt bee giuen againe: the imbecillitie of this ground gaue *Cyprian* occaſion to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the practice of the Church herein, labouring many wayes to prooue that Heretikes could doe neyther, and conſequently, that their Baptiſme in all reſpects, was as fruſtrate as their Chriſme, for the manner of thoſe times was in confirming to vſe anoynting. On the other ſide, againſt Luciferians which ratified onely the Baptiſme of Heretikes, but diſanulled their Confirmations and Conſecrations, vnder pretenſe of the reaſon which hath beene before ſpecified, *Heretikes cannot giue the Holy Ghoſt*, Saint *Ierome* prooueth at large, that if Baptiſme by Heretikes bee granted auaileable to remiſſion of ſinnes, which no man receiueth without the Spirit, it muſt needs follow that the reaſon taken from diſabilitie of beſtowing the Holy Ghoſt, was no reaſon wherefore the Church ſhould admit Conuerts with any new Impoſition of hands. Notwithſtanding, becauſe it might bee obiected, that if the gift of the Holy Ghoſt doe alwayes ioyne it ſelfe with true Baptiſme, the Church, which thinketh the Biſhops Confirmation after other mens Baptiſme needfull for the obtaining of the Holy Ghoſt, ſhould hold an errour, Saint *Ierome* hereunto maketh anſwere, that the cauſe of this obſeruation is not any abſolute impoſſibilitie of receiuing the Holy Ghoſt by the Sacrament of Baptiſme, vnleſſe a Biſhop adde after it the Impoſition of hands, but rather a certaine congruitie and fitneſſe to honour Prelacie with ſuch preeminences, becauſe the ſafetie of the Church dependeth vpon the dignitie of her chiefe Superiours, to whom if ſome eminent Offices of power aboue others ſhould not be giuen, there would bee in the Church as many Schiſmes as Prieſts. By which anſwere it appeareth his opinion was, that the Holy Ghoſt is receiued in Baptiſme; that Confirmation is onely a Sacramentall complement; that the reaſon why Biſhops alone did ordinarily confirme, was not becauſe the benefit, grace and dignitie thereof is greater then of Baptiſme, but rather for that by the Sacrament of Baptiſme men being admitted into Gods Church, it was both reaſonable and conuenient that if hee baptize them not vnto whom the chiefeſt authoritie and charge of their ſoules belongeth, yet for honors ſake, and in token of his ſpirituall ſuperioritie ouer them, becauſe to * bleſſe is an Act of authoritie, the performance of this annexed Ceremonie ſhould bee ſought for at his hands. Now what effect their Impoſition of hands hath, eyther after Baptiſme adminiſtred by Heretikes or otherwiſe, Saint *Ierome* in that place hath made no mention, becauſe all men vnderſtood that in Conuerts it tendeth to the fruites of Repentance, and craueth in behalfe of the Penitent, ſuch grace as * *Dauid* after his Fall deſired at the hands of God; in others the fruit and benefit thereof is that which hath beene before ſhewed. Finally, ſometime the cauſe of ſeuering Confirmation from Baptiſme, was in the parties that receiued Baptiſme being Infants, at which age they might bee verie well admitted to liue in the Family; but becauſe to fight in the Armie of God, to diſcharge the duties of a Chriſtian man, to bring forth the fruits, and to doe the Workes of the Holy Ghoſt, their time of abilitie was not yet come (ſo that

* *Heb.6.3.*

* *Pſal.51. 10.11.12.*

Baptiſme

Baptiſme were not deferd) there could by ſtay of their Confirmation no harme enſue but rather good. For by this meane it came to paſſe that Children in expectation thereof, were ſeaſoned with the principles of true Religion, before malice and corrupt examples depraued their mindes, a good foundation was laid betimes for direction of the courſe of their whole liues, the ſeede of the Church of God was preſerued ſincere and ſound, the Prelates and Fathers of Gods Familie, to whom the cure of their ſoules belonged, ſaw by tryall and examination of them a part of their owne heauy burthen diſcharged, reaped comfort by beholding the firſt beginnings of true godlineſſe in tender yeeres, glorified him whoſe praiſe they found in the mouthes of Infants, and neglected not ſo fit oportunitie of giuing euery one Fatherly incouragement and exhortation. Whereunto impoſition of hands and prayer being added, our warrant for the great good effect thereof is the ſame which Patriarkes, Prophets, Prieſts, Apoſtles, Fathers, and men of God haue had for ſuch their particular Inuocations and Benedictions, as no man, I ſuppoſe, profeſſing truth of Religion, will eaſily thinke to haue beene without fruit. No, there is no cauſe wee ſhould doubt of the benefit, but ſurely great cauſe to make complaint of the deepe neglect of this Chriſtian duetie, almoſt with all them to whom by right of their place and calling the ſame belongeth. Let them not take it in euill part, the thing is true, their ſmall regard hereunto hath done harme in the Church of God. That which * error raſhly vttereth in diſgrace of good things may peraduenture bee ſpunged out, when the print of thoſe euills which are growne through neglect will remayne behinde.

* *T. C. lib* 1. *p.* 199. Tell me why there ſhould be any ſuch confirmation in the Church, being brought in by the fayned Decretall Epiſtles of the Popes (this is retracted by the ſame, *T.C. l.* 3. *p.* 232. That it is ancienter then the fayned Decretall Epiſtles, I yeeld vnto) and no one title thereof being once found in the Scripture, and ſeeing that it hath beene ſo horribly abuſed, and not neceſſarie, why ought it not to be vtterly aboliſhed? And thirdly, this Confirmation hath many dangerous points in it. The firſt ſtep of Poperie in it is Confirmation, is the laying on of hands vpon the head of the Child, whereby the opinion of it that it is a Sacrament, is confirmed, eſpecially when as the Prayer doth ſay, that it is done according to the example of the Apoſtles, which is a manifeſt vntruth, and taken indeede from the Popiſh Confirmation. The ſecond is, for that the Biſhop, as he is called, muſt be the onely Miniſter of it, whereby the Popiſh opinion, which eſteemeth it aboue Baptiſme, is confirmed. For whileſt Baptiſme may bee miniſtred of the Miniſter, and not Confirmation, but onely of the Biſhop, there is great cauſe of ſuſpition giuen to thinke that Baptiſme is not ſo precious a thing as Confirmation, ſeeing this was one of the principall reaſons whereby that wicked opinion was eſtabliſhed in Poperie. I doe not here ſpeake of the inconuenience, that men are conſtrayned with charges to bring their Children often-times halfe a ſcore miles for that, which if it were needfull might be as well done at home in their owne Pariſhes. The third is, for that the Booke ſaith, a cauſe of vſing Confirmation is, that by impoſition of hands and Prayer the Children may receiue ſtrength and defence againſt all temptations, whereas there is no promiſe that by the laying on of hands vpon Children any ſuch gift ſhall be giuen, and it maintayneth the Popiſh diſtinction, that the Spirit of God is giuen at Baptiſme, vnto remiſſion of ſinnes, and in Confirmation, vnto ſtrength. a *Heb.* 6. 3.

Thus much therefore generally ſpoken, may ſerue for anſwere vnto their demands that require vs to tell them, *Why there ſhould be any ſuch Cõfirmation* in the Church, ſeeing we are not ignorant how earneſtly they haue proteſted againſt it, and how directly (although vntruly, for ſo they are content to acknowledge) it hath by ſome of them bin ſaid, to be *firſt brought in by the fayned decretall Epiſtles of the Popes*; or why it ſhould not be *vtterly aboliſhed, ſeeing that no one title thereof can be once found in the whole Scripture*, except the Epiſtle to the [a] Hebrewes be Scripture, and againe, ſeeing that how free ſoeuer it be now from abuſe, if we looke backe to the times paſt, which wiſe men doe alwayes more reſpect then the preſent, it *hath beene* abuſed, and is found at the length *no* ſuch *profitable Ceremonie* as the whole

whole ſilly Church of Chriſt for the ſpace of theſe ſixteene hundred yeeres hath through want of experience imagined: laſt of all, *ſeeing* alſo beſides the crueltie which is ſhewed towards poore Countrie people, who are faine ſometimes to let their Ploughs ſtand ſtill, and with incredible wearieſome toyle of their feeble bodies to wander ouer Mountaynes and thorough Woods; it may be now and then little leſſe then a whole *halfe ſcore of miles* for a Biſhops bleſſing, *which if it were needfull, might as well be done at home in their owne Pariſhes*, rather then they to purchaſe it with ſo great loſſe and ſo intolerable payne, there are they ſay in Confirmation beſides this, *three* terrible *points*. The firſt is, *laying on of hands with pretence that the ſame is done to the example of the Apoſtles*, which is not onely as they ſuppoſe *a manifeſt vntruth* (for all the world doth know that the Apoſtles did neuer after Baptiſme lay hands on any, and therefore Saint *Luke* which ſaith they did was much deceiued) but farther alſo wee thereby teach men to thinke *impoſition of hands a Sacrament*, belike becauſe it is a principle ingrafted by common light of nature in the mindes of men, that all things done by Apoſtolike example muſt needes be Sacraments: the ſecond high point of danger is, that by *tying Confirmation to the Biſhop alone, there is great cauſe of ſuſpicion giuen to thinke that Baptiſme is not ſo precious a thing as Confirmation*, for will any man thinke that a veluet Cote is of more price then a linnen Coife, knowing the one to be an ordinarie garment, the other an ornament which onely Sergeants at Law doe weare? Finally, to draw to an end of perils, the laſt and the waightieſt hazzard is, where the Booke it ſelfe doth ſay that Children by *impoſition* of hands and prayer may receiue *ſtrength* againſt all temptation; which ſpeech as a two-edged ſword doth both wayes dangerouſly wound, partly, becauſe it aſcribeth grace to impoſition of hands whereby we are able no more to aſſure our ſelues in the warrant of *any promiſe from God* that his heauenly grace ſhall be giuen, then the Apoſtle was that himſelfe ſhould obtayne grace by the bowing of his knees to God; and partly, becauſe by vſing the very word *ſtrength* in this matter, a word ſo apt to ſpread infection, we *maintayne* with Popiſh Euangeliſts an old forlorne *diſtinction* of the holy Ghoſt, beſtowed vpon Chriſts Apoſtles before his Aſcenſion into heauen, and *augmented* vpon them afterwards, a diſtinction of *grace* infuſed into Chriſtian men by degrees, planted in them *at the firſt* by Baptiſme, *after* cheriſhed, watred, and (be it ſpoken without offence) *ſtrengthened* as by other vertuous offices which Pietie and true Religion teacheth, euen ſo by this very ſpeciall Benediction whereof we ſpeake, the Rite or Ceremonie of Confirmation.

Act.8.15,17.

Ephes.3.14.

Iohn 20.22.

Act.1.8.

Of the Sacrament of the body & bloud of Chriſt.

67 The grace which we haue by the holy Euchariſt, doth not beginne but continue life. No man therefore receiueth this Sacrament before Baptiſme, becauſe no dead thing is capable of nouriſhment. That which groweth muſt of neceſſitie firſt liue. If our bodies did not daily waſte, foode to reſtore them were a thing ſuperfluous. And it may be that the grace of Baptiſme would ſerue to eternall life, were it not that the ſtate of our ſpirituall being is daily ſo much hindered and impayred after Baptiſme. In that life therefore where neither body nor ſoule can decay, our ſoules ſhall as little require this Sacrament as our bodies corporall nouriſhment. But as long as the dayes of our warfare laſt, during the time that wee are both ſubiect to diminution and capable of augmen-

augmentation in grace, the wordes of our Lord and Sauiour Chriſt will remayne forceable, *Except yee eate the fleſh of the Sonne of man, and drinke his bloud, yee haue no life in you.* Life being therefore propoſed vnto all men as their end, they which by Baptiſme haue laid the foundation, and attayned the firſt beginning of a new life, haue here their nouriſhment and foode preſcribed for *continuance of life* in them. Such as will liue the life of God, muſt eate the fleſh, and drinke the bloud of the Sonne of man, becauſe this is a part of that dyet which if wee want, wee cannot liue. Whereas therefore in our Infancie wee are incorporated into Chriſt, and by Baptiſme receiue the grace of his Spirit without any ſenſe of feeling of the gift which God beſtoweth, in the Euchariſt wee ſo receiue the gift of God, that wee know by grace what the grace is which God giueth vs, the degrees of our owne increaſe in holineſſe and vertue wee ſee and can iudge of them, we vnderſtand that the ſtrength of our life begunne in Chriſt is Chriſt, that his Fleſh is meate, and his Bloud drinke, not by ſurmiſed imagination, but truely, euen ſo truely that through Faith wee perceiue in the Body and Bloud ſacramentally preſented the very taſte of eternall life, the grace of the Sacrament is here as the foode which wee eate and drinke. This was it that ſome did exceedingly feare, leſt *Zwinglius* and *OEcolampadius* would bring to paſſe, that men ſhould accompt of this Sacrament but onely as of a ſhaddow, deſtitute, emptie, and void of Chriſt. But ſeeing that by opening the ſeuerall opinions which haue beene held, they are growne, for ought I can ſee, on all ſides at the length to a generall agreement, concerning that which alone is materiall, namely, the *reall participation* of Chriſt, and of life in his Body and Bloud *by meanes of this Sacrament*, wherefore ſhould the World continue ſtill diſtracted and rent with ſo manifold contentions, when there remayneth now no Controuerſie ſauing onely about the ſubiect *where* Chriſt is? Yea, euen in this point no ſide denyeth, but that *the ſoule of man* is the receptacle of Chriſts preſence. Whereby the queſtion is yet driuen to a narrower iſſue, nor doth any thing reſt doubtfull but this, whether when the Sacrament is adminiſtred, Chriſt be whole *within man onely*, or elſe his Body and Bloud bee alſo externally ſeated in the very conſecrated Elements themſelues: which opinion they that defend, are driuen either to *Conſubſtantiate* and incorporate Chriſt with elements ſacramentall, or to *Tranſubſtantiate* and change their ſubſtance into his, and ſo the one to hold him really but inuiſibly molded vp with the ſubſtance of thoſe Elements, the other to hide him vnder the onely viſible ſhow of Bread and Wine, the ſubſtance whereof, as they imagine, is aboliſhed, and his ſucceeded in the ſame roome. All things conſidered and compared with that ſucceſſe, which truth hath hitherto had by ſo bitter conflicts with errors in this point, ſhall I wiſh that men would more giue themſelues to meditate with ſilence what wee haue by the Sacrament, and leſſe to diſpute of the manner how? If any man ſuppoſe that this were too great ſtupiditie and dulneſſe, let vs ſee whether the Apoſtles of our Lord themſelues haue not done the like. It appeareth by many examples that they of their owne diſpoſition were very ſcrupulous and inquiſitiue, yea, in other Caſes of leſſe importance and leſſe difficultie alwayes apt to moue queſtions. How commeth it to paſſe that ſo few words of ſo high a myſterie being vttered, they receiue

receiue with gladneſſe the gift of Chriſt, and make no ſhew of doubt or ſcruple? The reaſon hereof is not darke to them which haue any thing at all obſerued how the powers of the minde are wont to ſtirre, when that which wee infinitely long for, preſenteth it ſelfe aboue and beſides expectation. Curious and intricate ſpeculations doe hinder, they abate, they quench ſuch inflamed motions of delight and ioy, as diuine graces vſe to raiſe when extraordinarily they are preſent. The minde therefore feeling preſent ioy, is alwayes maruailous vnwilling to admit any other cogitation, and in that caſe caſteth off thoſe diſputes whereunto the intellectuall part at other times eaſily draweth. A manifeſt effect whereof may bee noted, if wee compare with our Lords Diſciples in the twentieth of *Iohn*, the people that are ſaid in the ſixt of *Iohn* to haue gone after him to Capernaum. Theſe leauing him on the one ſide the Sea of Tiberias, and finding him againe as ſoone as themſelues by ſhip were arriued on the contrarie ſide, whether they knew that by ſhip hee came not, and by Land the iourney was longer then according to the time hee could haue to trauaile, as they wondred, ſo they asked alſo, *Rabbi, when cameſt thou hither?* The Diſciples, when Chriſt appeared to them in farre more ſtrange and miraculous manner, moued no queſtion, but reioyced greatly in that they ſaw. For why? The one ſort beheld onely that in Chriſt which they knew was more then naturall, but yet their affection was not rapt therewith through any great extraordinarie gladneſſe; the other, when they looked on Chriſt, were not ignorant that they ſaw the Well-ſpring of their owne euerlaſting felicitie; the one, becauſe they enioyed not, diſputed; the other diſputed not, becauſe they enioyed. If then the preſence of Chriſt with them did ſo much moue, iudge what their thoughts and affections were at the time of this new preſentation of Chriſt, not before their eyes, but within their ſoules. They had learned before, that his fleſh and bloud are the true cauſe of eternall life, that this they are not by the bare force of their owne ſubſtance, but through the dignitie and worth of his Perſon, which offered them vp by way of Sacrifice for the life of the whole world, and doth make them ſtill effectuall thereunto; finally, that to vs they are life in particular, by being particularly receiued. Thus much they knew, although as yet they vnderſtood not perfectly to what effect or iſſue the ſame would come, till at the length being aſſembled for no other cauſe which they could imagine, but to haue eaten the Paſſeouer onely that *Moyſes* appointeth, when they ſaw their Lord and Maſter with hands and eyes lifted vp to heauen firſt bleſſe and conſecrate for the endleſſe good of all Generations till the worlds end, the choſen Element of Bread and Wine, which elements made for euer the inſtruments of life by vertue of his diuine Benediction, they being the firſt that were commanded to receiue from him, the firſt which were warranted by his promiſe, that not onely vnto them at the preſent time, but to whomſoeuer they and their Succeſſors after them did duely adminiſter the ſame, thoſe myſteries ſhould ſerue as conducts of life and conueyances of his body and bloud vnto them, was it poſſible they ſhould heare that voice, *Take, eate, this is my body, drinke yee all of this, this is my bloud*; poſſible that doing what was required, and beleeuing what was promiſed, the ſame ſhould haue preſent effect in them, and not fill them with

Iohn 6. 26.

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a kinde of fearefull admiration at the heauen which they ſaw in themſelues? They had at that time a Sea of comfort and ioy to wade in, and wee by that which they did are taught, that this heauenly foode is giuen for the ſatisfying of our emptie ſoules, and not for the exerciſing of our curious and ſubtle wits. If wee doubt what thoſe admirable wordes may import, let him bee our Teacher for the meaning of Chriſt, to whom Chriſt was himſelfe a Schoole-maſter, let our Lords Apoſtle bee his Interpreter, content we our ſelues with his explication, MY BODY, *The communion of my Body*; MY BLOVD, *The communion of my Bloud.* Is there any thing more expedite, cleere, and eaſie, then that as Chriſt is termed our life, becauſe through him wee obtayne life, ſo the parts of this Sacrament are his Body and Bloud, for that they are ſo to vs, who receiuing them, receiue that by them which they are termed? The Bread and Cup are his Body and Bloud, becauſe they are cauſes inſtrumentall, vpon the receit whereof the *participation* of his Body and Bloud enſueth. For that which produceth any certayne effect, is not vainely nor improperly ſaid to bee that very effect whereunto it tendeth. Euery cauſe is in the effect which groweth from it. Our ſoules and bodies quickned to eternall Life are effects, the cauſe whereof is the Perſon of Chriſt, his Body and his Bloud are the true Well-ſpring out of which this life floweth. So that his Body and his Bloud are in that very ſubiect whereunto they miniſter life, not onely by effect or operation, euen as the influence of the heauens is in Plants, Beaſts, Men, and in euery thing which they quicken, but alſo by a farre more diuine and myſticall kinde of Vnion, which maketh vs one with him, euen as He and the Father are one. The reall preſence of Chriſts moſt bleſſed Body and Bloud, is not therefore to bee ſought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy Receiuer of the Sacrament. And with this the very order of our Sauiours wordes agreeth, firſt, *Take and eate*; then, *This is my Body which was broken for you*: firſt, *Drinke yee all of this*; then followeth, *This is my bloud of the new Teſtament, which is ſhed for many for the remiſſion of ſinne.* I ſee not which way it ſhould bee gathered by the wordes of Chriſt, when and where the Bread is his Body, or the Cup his Bloud, but onely in the very heart and ſoule of him which receiueth them. As for the Sacraments they really exhibit, but for ought wee can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not really, nor doe really contayne in themſelues that grace which with them or by them it pleaſeth God to beſtow. If on all ſides it bee confeſt, that the grace of Baptiſme is powred into the ſoule of man, that by Water we receiue it, although it be neither ſeated in the water, nor the water changed into it, what ſhould induce men to thinke that the grace of the Euchariſt muſt needes bee in the Euchariſt, before it can bee in vs that receiue it? The fruit of the Euchariſt is the participation of the Body and Bloud of Chriſt. There is no ſentence of holy Scripture which ſaith, that wee cannot by this Sacrament bee made partakers of his Body and Bloud, except they bee firſt contayned in the Sacrament, or the Sacrament conuerted into them. *This is my Body*, and, *This is my Bloud*, being wordes of promiſe, ſith we all agree, that by the Sacrament Chriſt doth really and truely in vs performe his promiſe, why doe wee vainely trouble our ſelues with ſo fierce contentions, whether by Conſubſtantiation, or elſe by Tranſubſtantiation the Sacra-

Marke 14. 22.

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ment it ſelfe bee firſt poſſeſſed with Chriſt or no ? A thing which no way can either further or hinder vs howſoeuer it ſtand, becauſe our participation of Chriſt in this Sacrament dependeth on the cooperation of his Omnipotent power, which maketh it his Body and Bloud to vs, whether with change or without alteration of the Element ſuch as they imagine, wee neede not greatly to care or inquire. Take therefore that wherein all agree, and then conſider by it ſelfe what cauſe why the reſt in queſtion ſhould not rather bee left as ſuperfluous then vrged as neceſſarie. It is on all ſides plainely confeſt, firſt, that this Sacrament is a true and a reall participation of Chriſt, who thereby imparteth himſelfe euen his whole intire perſon *as a myſticall head* vnto euery ſoule that receiueth him, and that euery ſuch Receiuer doth thereby incorporate or vnite himſelfe vnto Chriſt as *a myſticall member* of him, yea of them alſo whom hee acknowledgeth to bee his owne: ſecondly, that to whom *the perſon of Chriſt* is thus communicated, to them hee giueth by the ſame Sacrament his holy Spirit to ſanctifie them, as it ſanctifieth him which is their head: thirdly, that what *merit, force or vertue ſoeuer there is in his ſacrificed body and bloud*, wee freely, fully, and wholly haue it by this Sacrament: fourthly, that *the effect thereof in vs is a reall tranſmutation of our ſoules and bodies* from ſinne to righteouſneſſe, from death and corruption to immortalitie and life: fiftly, that becauſe the Sacrament being of it ſelfe but a corruptible and earthly Creature, muſt needes bee thought an vnlikely inſtrument to worke ſo admirable effects in man, wee are therefore to reſt our ſelues altogether vpon *the ſtrength of his glorious power*, who is able and will bring to paſſe that the Bread and Cup which he giueth vs ſhall be truely the thing he promiſeth. It ſeemeth therefore much amiſſe, that againſt them whom they terme Sacramentaries ſo many inuectiue diſcourſes are made all running vpon two points, that the Euchariſt is not a bare ſigne or figure onely, and that the efficacy of his Body and Bloud is not all wee receiue in this Sacrament. For no man hauing read their bookes and writings which are thus traduced, can bee ignorant that both theſe Aſſertions they plainely confeſſe to be moſt true. They doe not ſo interpret the wordes of Chriſt as if the name of his body did import but the figure of his body, and to be, were onely to ſignifie his bloud. They grant that theſe holy myſteries receiued in due manner, doe inſtrumentally both make vs partakers of the grace of that Body and Bloud which were giuen for the life of the World, and beſides alſo impart vnto vs euen in true and reall, though myſticall manner, the very perſon of our Lord himſelfe whole, perfect, and intire, as hath beene ſhewed. Now whereas all three opinions doe thus farre accord in one, that ſtrong conceit which two of the three haue imbraced as touching a Literall, Corporall and Orall manducation of the very ſubſtance of his fleſh and bloud, is ſurely an opinion no where deliuered in holy Scripture, whereby they ſhould thinke themſelues bound to beleeue it, and (to ſpeake with the ſofteſt termes wee can vſe) greatly preiudiced in that when ſome others did ſo conceiue of eating his fleſh, our Sauiour to abate that errour in them, gaue them directly to vnderſtand how his fleſh ſo eaten could profit them nothing, becauſe the wordes which hee ſpake were Spirit, that is to ſay, they had a reference to a myſticall participation, which myſticall participation

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giueth life. Wherein there is ſmall appearance of likelihood, that his meaning ſhould bee onely to make them Marcionites by inuerſion, and to teach them that as *Marcion* did thinke, Chriſt ſeemed to bee man, but was not, ſo they contrariwiſe ſhould beleeue them that Chriſt in truth would ſo giue them as they thought his fleſh to eate, but yet leſt the horrour thereof ſhould offend them, hee would not ſeeme to doe that hee did. When they which haue this opinion of Chriſt in that bleſſed Sacrament goe about to explane themſelues, and to open after what manner things are brought to paſſe, the one ſort lay the Vnion of Chriſts Deitie with his Manhood, as their firſt foundation and ground; from thence they inferre a power which the body of Chriſt hath *thereby* to preſent it ſelfe in all places; out of which vbiquitie of his bodie they gather the preſence thereof with that ſanctified Bread and Wine of our Lords Table; the coniunction of his bodie and bloud with thoſe Elements they vſe as an Argument, to ſhew how the bread may as well in that reſpect bee termed his bodie, becauſe his bodie is therewith ioyned, as the Sonne of God may bee named man, by reaſon that God and man in the perſon of Chriſt are vnited; to this they adde, how the wordes of Chriſt commanding vs to eate, muſt needs import that as hee hath coupled the ſubſtance of his fleſh, and the ſubſtance of bread together, ſo wee together ſhould receiue both; Which Labyrinth as the other ſort doth iuſtly ſhunne, ſo the way which they take to the ſame Inne is ſomewhat more ſhort, but no whit more certaine. For through Gods Omnipotent power they imagine that Tranſubſtantiation followeth vpon the wordes of Conſecration, and vpon Tranſubſtantiation the participation of Chriſts both bodie and bloud, in the onely ſhape of Sacramentall Elements. So that they all three doe plead Gods Omnipotencie, Sacramentaries to that alteration, which the reſt confeſſe he accompliſheth; the Patrones of Tranſubſtantiation ouer and beſides that to the change of one ſubſtance into another; the followers of Conſubſtantiation, to the kneading vp of both ſubſtances, as it were into one lumpe. Touching the ſentence of Antiquitie in this cauſe: Firſt, for as much as they knew that the force of this Sacrament doth neceſſarily preſuppoſe the veritie of Chriſts both bodie and bloud, they vſed oftentimes the ſame as an Argument to prooue that Chriſt hath as truely the ſubſtance of man as of God, becauſe heere wee receiue Chriſt and thoſe graces which flow from him in that hee is man. So that if he haue no ſuch being, neither can the Sacrament haue any ſuch meaning as wee all confeſſe it hath. Thus [a] *Tertullian*, thus [b] *Ireney*, thus [c] *Theodoret* diſputeth. Againe, as euident it is how they teach that Chriſt is *perſonally* there preſent, yea, preſent whole, albeit a part of Chriſt bee *corporally* abſent from thence, that [d] Chriſt aſſiſting this Heauenly Banquet with his perſonall and true preſence, [e] doth by his owne Diuine power adde to the naturall ſubſtance thereof ſupernaturall efficacie, which [f] addition to the nature of thoſe conſecrated

a *Acceptumpanem & diſtributum Diſcipulis corpus ſuum illum fecit, hoc eſt corpus meum dicendo, id eſt, figura corporis mei. Figura autem non fuiſſet niſi veritatis eſſet corpus, cum vacua res quod eſt phantaſma figuram capere non poſſet.* Tertul. contra Marc. lib 4. cap 40.

b *Secundum hæc* (that is to ſay, it ſhould bee true which Heretikes haue taught, denying that Chriſt tooke vpon him the verie nature of man) *nec Dominus ſanguine ſuo redemit nos, neque calix Euchariſtiæ communicatio ſanguinis eius erit, nec panis quem frangimus communicatio corporis eius eſt. Sanguis enim non eſt, niſi à venis & carnibus & à reliqua quæ eſt ſecundum hominem ſubſtantia.* Irenæus l. 5. ca. 1.

c Εἰ τοίνυν τῦ ὄντος σώματος ἀντίτυπα ἐσὶ τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια σῶμα ἄρα ἐσὶ καὶ νῦν τὸ δεσπότικὸ σῶμα, οὐκ εἰς θεότητος φύσιν μεταβληθὲν ἀλλὰ θείας δόξης ἀναπλησθὲν. *Theodor. Dialog.* Ασυγχυτος.

d *Sacramenta quidem quantum in ſe eſt ſine propria virtute eſſe non poſſunt, nec vllo modo ſe abſentat maieſtas myſterijs.* Cypr. de Cœn. cap.7. e *Sacramento viſibili ineffabiliter diuina ſe infudit eſſentia vt eſſet Religioni circa Sacramenta deuotio.* Idem cap.6. *Inuiſibilis Sacerdos viſibiles creaturas in ſubſtantiam corporis & ſanguinis ſui verbo ſuo ſecreta poteſtate conuertit. In ſpiritualibus Sacramentis verbi præcipit virtus & ſeruit effectus.* Euſeb. Emiſ. Hom.5. de Paſch. f Τὰ σύμβολα τῦ δεσποτικῦ σώματος τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῦ αἵματος ἄλλα μὲν ἐστὶ πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μετὰ δὲ γε τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται. Αλλ' ἐκ οἰκείας ἐξισάται φύσεως. Μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τὸ σχήματος καὶ τὸ εἶδος, καὶ ὁρᾶται τὰ ἐπὶ ἅπερ ἐγένετο καὶ πιστεύεται καὶ προσκυνεῖται ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα ἅπερ πίστευεται. Theodor. *Ex quo à Domino dictum eſt, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, hæc eſt caro mea, & hic eſt ſanguis meus, quotieſcunq; his verbis & hac fide actum eſt, panis iſte ſuperſubſtantialis, & calix benedictione ſolenni ſacratus, ad totius hominis vitam ſalutemq; proficit.* Cypr. de Cœn. cap.3. *Immortalitatis alimonia datur, à communibus cibis differens, corporalis ſubſtantiæ retinens ſpeciem, ſed virtutis diuinæ inuiſibili efficientia probans adeſſe præſentiam.* Ibid. cap.2. g *Senſibilibus Sacramentis ineſt vitæ æternæ effectus, & non tam corporali quàm ſpirituali tranſitione Chriſto vnimur. Ipſe enim & panis & caro & ſanguis, idem cibus & ſubſtantia & vita factus eſt Eccleſiæ ſuæ quam corpus ſuum appellat, dans ei participationem ſpiritus.* Ibid. cap.5. *Noſtra & ipſius coniunctio nec miſcet perſonas, nec vnit ſubſtantias, ſed effectus conſociat & confederat voluntates,* ca.6. *Manſio noſtra in ipſo eſt manducatio, & potus quaſi quædam incorporatio.* c.9. *Ille eſt in patre per naturam diuinitatis, nos in eo per corporalem eius natiuitatem, ille rurſus in nobis per Sacramentorum myſterium.* Hilar. de Trinit. lib.8. h *Panis hic azymus cibus verus & ſinserus* per ſpeciem & Sacramentum *nos tactu ſanctificat, fide illuminat, veritate Chriſto conformat.* Cypr. de Cœn. cap.6. *Non aliud agit participatio corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti, quam vt in id quod ſumimus tranſeamus, & in quo mortui & ſepulti & correſuſcitati ſumus, ipſum per omnia & ſpiritu & carne geſtemus.* Leo de Paſ. Serm.14. *Quemadmodum qui eſt à terra panis percipiens Dei vocationem* (id eſt, facta inuocatione diuini numinis) *iam non cõmunis panis eſt, ſed Euchariſtia ex duab' rebus conſtans terrena & cœleſti: Sic & corpora noſtra percipientia Euchariſtiam, iam non ſunt corruptibilia ſpem reſurrectionis habentia,* Irenæus l.4.c.34. *Quoniam ſaluatoris caro verbo Dei quod naturaliter vita eſt cõiuncta viuifica effecta eſt, quando eam comedimus, tunc vitam habemus in nobis illi carni coniuncti, quæ vita effecta eſt.* Cyril. in Iohan. lib.4.cap.14.

ſecrated Elements, changeth them and maketh them that vnto vs, which otherwiſe they could not bee; that to vs they are thereby made ſuch inſtruments, as g myſtically, yet truely; inuiſibly, yet really worke our communion or fellowſhip with the perſon of Ieſus Chriſt, as well in that hee is man as God, our participation alſo in the fruit, grace and efficacie of his body and bloud; whereupon there enſueth a kinde of Tranſubſtantiation in vs, a true h change both of ſoule and bodie, an alteration from death to life. In a word, it appeareth not, that of all the ancient Fathers of the Church, any one did euer conceiue or imagine other then onely a myſticall participation of Chriſts both bodie and bloud in the Sacrament, neither are their ſpeeches concerning the change of the Elements themſelues into the bodie and bloud of CHRIST ſuch, that a man can thereby in conſcience aſſure himſelfe it was their meaning to perſwade the World eyther of a corporall Conſubſtantiation of CHRIST with thoſe ſanctified and bleſſed Elements before we receiue them, or of the like Tranſubſtantiation of them into the body and bloud of Chriſt. Which both to our myſticall communion with Chriſt are ſo vnneceſſarie, that the Fathers, who plainely hold but this myſticall Communion, cannot eaſily bee thought to haue meant any other change of ſacramentall elements, then that which the ſame ſpirituall Communion did require them to hold. Theſe things conſidered, how ſhould that minde which louing truth and ſeeking comfort out of Holy Myſteries hath not perhaps the leaſure, perhaps not the wit nor capacitie to tread out ſo endleſſe Mazes, as the intricate Diſputes of this cauſe haue led men into, how ſhould a vertuouſly diſpoſed minde better reſolue with " it ſelfe then thus? Varietie of iudgements and opinions argueth obſcuritie " in thoſe things whereabout they differ. But that which all parts receiue for " truth, that which euery one hauing ſifted, is by no one denied or doubted of, " muſt needes be matter of infallible certaintie. Whereas therefore there are " but three Expoſitions made of, *This is my Bodie*, the firſt, This is in it ſelfe be- " fore participation *really and truly the naturall ſubſtance of my bodie, by reaſon of the coexiſtence*

coexiſtence which my Omnipotent Body hath with the ſanctified element of Bread, which is the Lutherans interpretation: the ſecond, This is in it ſelfe and before participation *the verie true and naturall ſubſtance of my body, by force of that Deitie which with the words of conſecration aboliſheth the ſubſtance of bread, and ſubſtituteth in the place thereof my body which is the Popiſh conſtruction:* the laſt, *This hallowed food, through concurrence of Diuine power, is in veritie and truth, vnto faithfull Receiuers, inſtrumentally a cauſe of that myſticall participation, whereby as I make my ſelfe wholly theirs, ſo I giue them in hand an actuall poſſeſſion of all ſuch ſauing grace as my ſacrificed bodie can yeeld, and as their ſoules doe preſently need: this is* to them, and in them *my body:* of theſe three reherſed Interpretations, the laſt hath in it nothing but what the reſt doe all approue and acknowledge to be moſt true, nothing but that which the wordes of Chriſt are on all ſides confeſt to inforce nothing but that which the Church of God hath alwayes thought neceſſarie, nothing but that which alone is ſufficient for euerie Chriſtian man to beleeue concerning the vſe and force of this Sacrament, finally, nothing but that wherewith the Writings of all Antiquitie are conſonant, and all Chriſtian confeſſions agreeable. And as truth in what kinde ſoeuer is by no kinde of truth gaine-ſaid, ſo the minde which reſteth it ſelfe on this, is neuer troubled with thoſe perplexities which the other doe both finde, by meanes of ſo great contradiction betweene their opinions, and true principles of reaſon grounded vpon experience, nature and ſenſe. Which albeit with boyſterous courage and breath they ſeeme oftentimes to blow away, yet whoſo obſerueth, how againe they labour and ſweate by ſubtletie of wit to make ſome ſhew of agreement betweene their peculiar conceits, and the generall Edicts of Nature, muſt needes perceiue they ſtruggle with that which they cannot fully maſter. Beſides, ſith of that which is proper to themſelues, their Diſcourſes are hungrie and vnpleaſant, full of tedious and irkeſome labour, hartleſſe and hitherto without fruit, on the otherſide reade we them, or heare we others, bee they of our owne or of ancienter times, to what part ſo euer they bee thought to incline touching that whereof there is controuerſie, yet in this where they all ſpeake but one thing, their Diſcourſes are Heauenly, their wordes ſweet as the Honie-Combe, their Tongues melodiouſly tuned Inſtruments, their ſentences meere conſolation and ioy: are we not hereby almoſt euen with voyce from Heauen admoniſhed which wee may ſafelieſt cleaue vnto? Hee which hath ſaid of the one Sacrament, *Waſh and bee cleane*, hath ſaid concerning the other likewiſe, *Eate and liue.* If therefore without any ſuch particular and ſolemne warrant as this is, that poore diſtreſſed woman comming vnto Chriſt for health, could ſo conſtantly reſolue her ſelfe, *May I but touch the skirt of his garment, I ſhall bee whole*, what mooueth vs to argue of the manner how life ſhould come by bread, our dutie being heere but to take what is offered, and moſt aſſuredly to reſt perſwaded of this, that can wee but eate wee are ſafe? When I behold with mine eyes ſome ſmall ſcarce diſcernable Graine or Seed whereof nature maketh promiſe that a tree ſhall come; and when afterwardes of that Tree any skilfull Artificer vndertaketh to frame ſome exquiſite and curious worke, I looke for the euent, I mooue no queſtion about performance either of the one or of the other. Shall I ſimply credit nature in things

" naturall, ſhall I in things artificiall relye my ſelfe on Arte, neuer offering to
" make doubt, and in that which is aboue both Art and Nature refuſe to beleeue
" the Authour of both, except hee acquaint mee with his wayes, and lay the ſe-
" cret of his skill before mee ? Where God himſelfe doth ſpeake thoſe things
" which eyther for height and ſublimitie of matter, or elſe for ſecrecie of per-
" formance wee are not able to reach vnto, as wee may bee ignorant without
" danger, ſo it can bee no diſgrace to confeſſe wee are ignorant. Such as loue
" pietie will as much as in them lyeth, know all things that God commandeth,
" but eſpecially, the duties of ſeruice which they owe to God. As for his darke
" and hidden workes, they preferre, as becommeth them in ſuch caſes, ſimpli-
" citie of faith before that knowledge, which curiouſly ſifting what it ſhould
" adore, and diſputing too boldly of that which the wit of man cannot ſearch,
" chilleth for the moſt part all warmth of zeale, and bringeth ſoundneſſe of be-
" liefe many times into great hazard. Let it therefore bee ſufficient for mee pre-
" ſenting my ſelfe at the Lords Table, to know what there I receiue from him,
" without ſearching or inquiring of the manner how Chriſt performeth his pro-
" miſe; let Diſputes and Queſtions enemies to pietie, abatements of true deuoti-
" on and hitherto in this cauſe but ouer-patiently heard, let them take their reſt;
" let curious and ſharpe-witted men beat their heads about what Queſtions
" themſelues will, the verie letter of the Word of Chriſt giueth plaine ſecuritie,
" that theſe Myſteries doe as nailes faſten vs to his verie Croſſe, that by them
" wee draw out, as touching efficacie, force and vertue, euen the bloud of his
" gored ſide, in the wounds of our Redeemer wee there dip our tongues, wee
" are dyed red both within and without, our hunger is ſatisfied and our thirſt
" for euer quenched, they are things wonderfull which he feeleth, great which
" he ſeeth, and vnheard of which hee vttered, whoſe ſoule is poſſeſt of this Paſ-
" call Lambe, and made ioyfull in the ſtrength of this new Wine, this Bread
" hath in it more then the ſubſtance which our eyes behold, this Cup hallowed
" with ſolemne Benediction, auaileth to the endleſſe life and welfare both of
" Soule and Bodie, in that it ſerueth as well for a medicine to heale our infirmities
" and purge our ſinnes, as for a Sacrifice of Thankeſgiuing, with touching it ſan-
" ctifieth, it enlightneth with beliefe, it truely conformeth vs vnto the Image of
" Ieſus Chriſt; what theſe Elements are in themſelues it skilleth not, it is enough
" that to me which take them, they are the Bodie and Bloud of Chriſt, his pro-
" miſe in witneſſe hereof ſufficeth, his Word he knoweth which way to accompliſh, why ſhould any cogitation poſſeſſe the minde of a faithfull Communicant but this, *O my God thou art true, O my ſoule thou art happy.* Thus therefore wee ſee, that howſoeuer mens opinions doe otherwiſe varie, neuertheleſſe touching Baptiſme and the Supper of the Lord, wee may with conſent of the whole Chriſtian World conclude they are neceſſarie, the one to initiate or begin, the other to conſummate or make perfect our life in Chriſt.

Of faults noted in the forme of adminiſtring the Holy Communion.

68 In adminiſtring the Sacrament of the Bodie and Bloud of Chriſt, the ſuppoſed faults of the Church of England are not greatly materiall, and therefore it ſhall ſuffice to touch them in few wordes. *The firſt is that we doe not vſe in a generalitie once for all to ſay to Communicants*, Take eate, and drinke, *but vnto euerie particular perſon*, Eate thou, drinke thou, *which is according to the*

Popiſh

Popiſh manner, and not the forme that our Sauiour did vſe. Our ſecond ouerſight is by geſture. For in kneeling there hath beene Superſtition; ſitting agreeth better to the action of a Supper; and our Sauiour vſing that which was moſt fit did himſelfe not kneele. A third accuſation is for not examining all Communicants, whoſe knowledge in the myſterie of the Goſpell ſhould that way bee made manifeſt, a thing euery where they ſay vſed in the Apoſtles times, becauſe all things neceſſarie were vſed, and this in their opinion, is neceſſary, yea it is commanded, in as much as the a *Leuites are commanded to prepare the people for the Paſſeouer, and examination is a part of their preparation, our Lords Supper in place of the Paſſeouer. The fourth thing miſliked is, that againſt the Apoſtles* b *prohibition to haue any familiaritie at all with notorious offenders, Papiſts being not of the Church are admitted to our very communion, before they haue by their Religious & Goſpel-like behauiour purged themſelues of that ſuſpition of Popery which their former life hath cauſed. They are Dogges, Swine, vncleane beaſts, forrainers and ſtrangers from the Church of God, and therefore ought not to be admitted though they offer themſelues. We are fiftly condemned, in as much as when there haue beene ſtore of people to heare Sermons and ſeruice in the Church, we ſuffer the Communion to be miniſtred to a few. It is not enough that our Booke of Common Prayer hath godly exhortations to moone all thereunto which are preſent. For it ſhould not ſuffer a few to communicate, it ſhould by Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline and ciuill puniſhment prouide, that ſuch as would withdraw themſelues, might be brought to Communicate according both to the* c *Law of God and the ancient Church Canons. In the ſixt and laſt place commeth the enormitie of imparting this Sacrament priuately vnto the ſicke.* Thus farre accuſed, we anſwere briefly to the d first, that ſeeing God by Sacraments doth apply in particular vnto euery mans perſon the grace which himſelfe hath prouided for the benefit of all Mankind, there is no cauſe, why adminiſtring the Sacraments wee ſhould forbeare to expreſſe that in our formes of ſpeech, which he by his Word and Goſpell teacheth all to beleeue. In the one Sacrament, *I baptize thee* diſpleaſeth them not. If *Eate thou* in the other offend them, their fancies are no rules for Churches to follow. Whether Chriſt at his laſt Supper did ſpeake generally once to all, or to euerie one in particular, is a thing vncertaine. His words are recorded in that forme which ſerueth beſt for the ſetting downe with Hiſtoricall breuitie what was ſpoken, they are no manifeſt proofe that hee ſpake but once vnto all which did then Communicate, much leſſe that we in ſpeaking vnto euery Communicant ſeuerally doe amiſſe, although it were cleere that wee herein doe otherwiſe then Chriſt did. Our imitation of him conſiſteth not in tying ſcrupulouſly our ſelues vnto his ſillables, but rather in ſpeaking by the Heauenly direction of that inſpired Diuine Wiſedome, which teacheth diuers waies to one end, and doth therein controule their boldneſſe, by whom any profitable way is cenſured as reproueable, onely vnder colour of ſome ſmall difference from great Examples going before, to doe throughout euery the like circumſtance, the ſame which Chriſt did in this action, were by following his footſteps in that ſort to erre more from the purpoſe hee aimed at, then wee now doe by not following them with ſo nice and ſeuere ſtrictneſſe. They little waigh with themſelues how dull, how heauie, and almoſt how without ſenſe the greateſt part of the common multitude euery where is, who thinke it either vnmeete or vnneceſſarie to put them e-*

a 2.Chro. 35.6.

b 1.Cor.5.11.

c *Num.9.13. Can.9.Apoſt. Concil.2. Braca. cap.83.*

d *T.C. l.3.p.166.* Beſides that it is good to leaue the Popiſh forme in thoſe things which we may ſo conuenientlie do, it is beſt to come as neere the maner of celebration of the Supper which our Sauiour Chriſt vſed as may bee. And if it be a good Argument to prooue that therefore wee muſt rather ſay Take thou, then Take yee, becauſe the Sacrament is an application of the benefits of Chriſt, it behoueth that the Preacher ſhould direct his admonitions particularly one after another vnto all thoſe which heare his Sermon, which is a thing abſurd.

uen man by man, especially at that time in mind whereabout they are. It is true that in Sermons wee doe not vse to repeate our sentences seuerally to euerie particular hearer, a strange madnesse it were if wee should. The softnesse of Waxe may induce a wise man to set his stampe or Image therein; it perswadeth no man, that because Wooll hath the like qualitie, it may therefore receiue the like impression. So the reason taken from the vse of Sacraments in that they are instruments of grace vnto euery particular man, may with good congruitie lead the Church to frame accordingly her wordes in administration of Sacraments, because they easily admit this forme, which being in Sermons a thing impossible, without apparent ridiculous absurditie, agreement of Sacraments with Sermons in that which is alleaged as a reasonable proofe of conueniencie; for the one prooueth not the same allegation impertinent, because it doth not inforce the other to bee administred in like sort. For equall principles doe then auaile vnto equall conclusions, when the matter whereunto we apply them is equall and not else. l Our kneeling at Communions is the gesture of pietie. If wee did there present our selues but to make some shew or dumbe resemblance of a Spirituall Feast, it may bee that sitting were the fitter Ceremonie; but comming as Receiuers of inestimable grace at the hands of God, what doth better beseeme our bodies at that houre, then to bee sensible Witnesses of mindes vnfainedly humbled? Our Lord himselfe did that which custome and long vsage had made fit; we, that which fitnesse and great decencie hath made vsuall. The tryall of our selues before wee eate of this Bread and drinke of this Cup, is by expresse Commandement euery mans precise dutie. As for necessitie of calling others vnto account besides our selues, albeit wee bee not thereunto drawne by any great strength which is in their Arguments, who first presse vs with it as a thing necessarie, by affirming that the Apostles did vse it, and then prooue m the Apostles to haue vsed it, by affirming it to be necessary; againe, albeit we greatly muse how they can auouch, that God did command the Leuites to prepare their Brethren against the Feast of Passeouer, and that the Examination of them was a part of their preparation, when the place alleaged to this purpose doth but charge the Leuite, saying, *Make ready Laahhechem for your Brethren*, to the end they may do according to the Word of the Lord by *Moses*. Wherefore in the selfesame place it followeth how Lambes, and Kids, and Sheep, and Bullockes were deliuered vnto the Leuites, and that thus *the seruice was made readie*: it followeth likewise how the Leuites hauing in such sort prouided for the people, they made prouision for *themselues, and for the Priests, the Sonnes of Aaron*, so that confidently from hence to conclude the necessity of examination, argueth their wonderfull great forwardnesse in framing all things to serue their turne, neuertheless the Examination of Communicants when need requireth, for the profitable vse it may haue in such cases wee reiect not. Our fault in admitting Popish Communicants, is it in that wee are n forbidden to eate and therefore much more to communicate with notorious Malefactors? The name of a Papist is not giuen vnto any man for being a notorious Malefactor. And the crime wherewith we are charged, is suffering of Papists to communicate, so that bee their life and conuersation whatsoeuer in the sight of man, their Popish opi-

l *T.C.l.1.p.165.* Kneeling carrieth a shew of worship, sitting agreeth better with the action of the Supper. Christ and his Apostles kneeled not.

m *T.C.l.1.p.164* All things necessarie were vsed in the Churches of God in the Apostles times, but examination was a necessarie thing, therefore vsed. In the Booke of *Chronicles*, *2.Chron.35.6.* the Leuites were commanded to prepare the people to the receiuing of the Passeouer, in place whereof wee haue the Lords Supper. Now Examination being a part of preparation, it followeth that here is commandement of the Examination.

n *1.Cor.5.11* *T.C.l.1.p.167.*

opinions

nions are in this caſe laid as barres and exceptions againſt them, yea thoſe opinions which they haue held in former times, * although they now both profeſſe by word, and offer to ſhew by fact the contrarie. All this doth not iuſtifie vs which ought not (they ſay) to admit them in any wiſe, till their Goſpell-like behauiour haue remoued all ſuſpition of Poperie from them, becauſe Papiſts are *Dogs, Swine, Beaſts, Forrayners and Strangers* from the houſe of God, in a word, they are *not of the Church.* What the termes of Goſpell-like behauiour may include, is obſcure and doubtfull. But of the *viſible Church* of Chriſt in this preſent world, from which they ſeparate all Papiſts, wee are thus perſwaded: *Church* is a word which Arte hath deuiſed, thereby to ſeuer and diſtinguiſh that ſocietie of men, which profeſſeth the true Religion from the reſt which profeſſe it not. There haue beene in the world from the very firſt foundation thereof, but three Religions; *Paganiſme*, which liued in the blindneſſe of corrupt and depraued nature; *Iudaiſme*, embracing the Law which reformed Heatheniſh impietie, and taught ſaluation to be looked for through One, whom God in the laſt dayes would ſend and exalt to be Lord of all; finally, *Chriſtian beliefe*, which yeeldeth obedience to the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, and acknowledgeth him the Sauiour whom God did promiſe. Seeing then that *the Church* is a name, which Arte hath giuen to *Profeſſors of true Religion*, as they which will define a man, are to paſſe by thoſe qualities wherein one man doth excell another, and take onely thoſe eſſentiall properties, whereby a man doth differ from creatures of other kindes: ſo he that will teach what *the Church* is, ſhall neuer rightly performe the worke whereabout hee goeth, till *in matter of Religion* hee touch that difference which ſeuereth the *Churches Religion* from theirs, who are not the Church. *Religion* being therefore a matter partly of *contemplation*, partly of *action*, wee muſt define the Church, which is a religious ſocietie, by ſuch differences as doe properly explaine the eſſence of ſuch things, that is to ſay, by the obiect or matter whereabout the contemplations and actions of the Church are properly conuerſant. For ſo all knowledges and all vertues are defined. Whereupon, becauſe the *onely obiect* which ſeparateth ours from other Religions, is *Ieſus Chriſt*, in whom none but the Church doth beleeue, and whom none but the Church doth worſhip, wee finde that accordingly the Apoſtles doe euery-where diſtinguiſh hereby the Church from Infidels and from Iewes, accompting *them which call vpon the name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt to be his Church.* If we goe lower, we ſhall but adde vnto this certayne caſuall and variable accidents, which are not properly of the being, but make onely for the happyer and better being of the Church of God, either indeede, or in mens opinions and conceits. This is the error of all Popiſh definitions that hitherto haue beene brought. They define not the Church by that which the Church eſſentially is, but by that which wherein they imagine their owne more perfect then the reſt are. Touching parts of eminency and perfection, parts likewiſe of imperfection and defect in the Church of God, they are infinite, their degrees and differences no way poſſible to bee drawne vnto any certayne accompt. There is not the leaſt contention and variance, but it blemiſheth ſomewhat the Vnitie that ought to be in the Church of Chriſt, which notwithſtanding may haue not onely without offence or breach

* Although they would receiue the communion, yet they ought to be kept backe, vntil ſuch time as by their Religious and Goſpellike behauiour, they haue purged themſelues of that ſuſpition of Poperie, which their former life and conuerſation hath cauſed to be conceiued, *T.C. l.1. p.167.*

Rom.15.5. *1.Cor.1.10.*

breach of concord her manifold varieties in Rites and Ceremonies of Religion, but also her ſtrifes and contentions many times, and that about matters of no ſmall importance, yea, her ſchiſmes, factions, and ſuch other euils whereunto the body of the Church is ſubiect, ſound and ſicke remayning both of the ſame body, as long as both parts retayne by outward profeſſion that vitall ſubſtance of truth, which maketh Chriſtian Religion to differ from theirs, which acknowledge not our Lord Ieſus Chriſt the bleſſed Sauiour of mankinde, giue no credit to his glorious Goſpell, and haue his Sacraments the ſeales of eternall life in deriſion. Now the priuiledge of the viſible Church of God (for of that wee ſpeake) is to bee herein like the Arke of *Noah*, that, for any thing wee know to the contrary, all without it are loſt ſheepe; yet in this was the Arke of *Noah* priuiledged aboue the Church, that whereas none of them which were in the one could periſh, numbers in the other are caſt away, becauſe to eternall life our profeſſion is not enough. Many things exclude from the Kingdome of God, although from the Church they ſeparate not. In the Church there ariſe ſundrie grieuous ſtormes, by meanes whereof whole Kingdomes and Nations profeſſing Chriſt, both haue beene heretofore, and are at this preſent day diuided about Chriſt. During which diuiſions and contentions amongſt men, albeit each part doe iuſtifie it ſelfe, yet the one of neceſſitie muſt needes erre, if there bee any contradiction betweene them, be it great or little, and what ſide ſoeuer it bee that hath the truth, the ſame wee muſt alſo acknowledge alone to hold *with the true Church in that point*, and conſequently, reiect the other as an enemie, *in that caſe fallen away from the true Church.* Wherefore of Hypocrites and Diſſemblers, whoſe profeſſion at the firſt was but onely from the teeth outward, when they afterwards tooke occaſion to oppugne certayne principall Articles of faith, the Apoſtles which defended the truth againſt them, pronounce them *gone out* from the fellowſhip of ſound and ſincere Beleeuers, when as yet the Chriſtian Religion they had not vtterly caſt off. In like ſenſe and meaning throughout all ages, *Heretikes* haue iuſtly beene hated, as branches cut off from the body of the true Vine, yet onely ſo farre foorth cut off as their Hereſies haue extended. Both Hereſie, *and many other crimes*, which *wholly ſeuer from God*, doe ſeuer from the Church of God in *part onely*. The myſterie of Pietie, ſaith the Apoſtle, is without peraduenture great, *God hath beene manifeſted in the Fleſh, hath beene iuſtified in the Spirit, hath beene ſeene of Angels, hath beene preached to Nations, hath beene beleeued on in the World, hath beene taken vp into Glorie.* The Church a pillar and foundation of this truth, which no where is knowne or profeſt, but onely within the Church, and they all of the Church that profeſſe it. In the meane while it cannot be denyed, that many profeſſe this, who are not therfore cleered ſimply from all either faults or errors, which make ſeparation betweene vs and the Wel-ſpring of our happineſſe. Idolatrie ſeuered of old the Iſraelites; Iniquitie, thoſe Scribes and Phariſies from God, who notwithſtanding were a part of the ſeede of *Abraham*, a part of that very ſeede which God did himſelfe acknowledge to be his Church. The Church of God may therfore containe both them which indeede are not his, yet muſt bee reputed his by vs that know not their inward thoughts, and them whoſe apparent wickedneſſe teſtifieth euen in the ſight

1. *Iohn* 2. 19.

1. *Tim.* 3. 16.

ſight of the whole world that God abhorreth them. For to this and no other purpoſe, are meant thoſe Parables, which our Sauiour in the Goſpell hath concerning mixture of Vice with Vertue, Light with Darkeneſſe, Truth with Error, as well and openly knowne and ſeene as a cunningly cloked mixture. That which ſeparateth therefore *vtterly*, that which cutteth off *cleane* from the viſible Church of Chriſt, is plaine Apoſtaſie, *direct* denyall, vtter reiection of the whole Chriſtian faith, as farre as the ſame is profeſſedly different from Infidelitie. Heretikes, as touching thoſe points of doctrine wherein they faile: Schiſmatikes, as touching the quarrells for which, or the dueties wherein they diuide themſelues from their Brethren: Looſe, licentious and wicked perſons, as touching their ſeuerall offences or crimes, haue all forſaken the true Church of God, the Church which is ſound and ſincere in the doctrine that they corrupt; the Church that keepeth the bond of Vnitie, which they violate; the Church that walketh in the Lawes of righteouſneſſe, which they tranſgreſſe; this very true Church of Chriſt they haue left, howbeit not altogether left, nor forſaken ſimply the Church vpon the mayne foundations whereof they continue built, notwithſtanding theſe breaches whereby they are *rent at the top* aſunder. Now becauſe for redreſſe of profeſſed errors and open Schiſmes it is, and muſt bee the Churches care that all may in outward conformitie bee one, as the laudable Politie of former Ages, euen ſo our owne to that end and purpoſe hath eſtabliſhed diuers Lawes, the moderate ſeueritie whereof is a meane both to ſtay the reſt, and to reclaime ſuch as heretofore haue beene led awry. But ſeeing that the offices which Lawes require are alwayes definite, and when that they require is done they goe no farther, whereupon ſundrie ill affected perſons, to ſaue themſelues from danger of Lawes, pretend obedience, albeit inwardly they carry ſtill the ſame hearts which they did before, by meanes whereof it falleth out, that receiuing vnworthily the bleſſed Sacrament at our hands, they eate and drinke their owne damnation, it is for remedie of this miſchiefe * here determined, that whom the Law of the Realme doth puniſh vnleſſe they communicate, ſuch if they offer to obay Law, the Church notwithſtanding ſhould not admit without probation before had of their Goſpell-like behauiour. Wherein they firſt ſet no time how long this ſuppoſed probation muſt continue; againe, they nominate no certaine iudgement, the verdict whereof ſhall approue mens behauiour to be Goſpell-like; and that which is moſt materiall, whereas they ſeeke to make it more hard for diſſemblers to be receiued into the Church, then Law & Politie as yet

Matt. 13. 24. 47.

* *T.C.l.*1.*p.*167 If the place of the firſt to the Corinthians, doe forbid that wee ſhould haue any familiaritie with notorious offenders, it doth much more forbid that they ſhould be receiued to the Communion. And therefore Papiſts being ſuch as which are notoriouſly knowne to hold hereticall opiniõs, ought not to bee admitted, much leſſe cõpelled to the Supper. For ſeeing that our Sauiour Chriſt did inſtitute his Supper amongſt his Diſciples, and thoſe only which were, as S. *Paul* ſpeaketh, within, it is euident, that the Papiſts being without, & Forrayners & ſtrangers from the Church of God, ought not to be receiued if they would offer themſelues:

and that Miniſter that ſhall giue the Supper of the Lord to him, which is knowne to be a Papiſt, and which hath neuer made any cleere renouncing of Poperie, with which he hath beene defiled, doth prophane the Table of the Lord, and doth giue the meate that is prepared for the Children, vnto Dogs, and he bringeth into the paſture, which is prouided for the Sheepe, Swine and vncleane beaſts, contrarie to the faith and truſt that ought to be in a Steward of the Lords houſe, as he is. For albeit that I doubt not but many of thoſe which are now Papiſts, pertayne to the election of God, which God alſo in his good time will call to the knowledge of his truth: yet notwithſtanding, they ought to be vnto the Miniſter and vnto the Church, touching the miniſtring of Sacraments, as ſtrangers and as vncleane beaſts. The miniſtring of the holy Sacraments vnto them, is a declaration and ſeale of Gods fauour and reconciliation with them, and a plaine preaching, partly, that they be waſhed alreadie from their ſinne, partly, that they are of the houſhold of God, and ſuch as the Lord will feede to eternall life, which is not lawfull to be done vnto thoſe which are not of the houſhold of Faith. And therefore I conclude, that the compelling of Papiſts vnto the Communion, and the diſmiſſing and letting of them goe, when as they be to be puniſhed for their ſtubbornenеſſe in Poperie (with this condition, if they will receiue the Communion) is very vnlawfull, when as although they would receiue it, yet they ought to be kept backe till ſuch time as by their Religious and Goſpell like behauiour, &c.

hath

hath done, they make it in truth more eaſie for ſuch kinde of perſons, to winde themſelues out of the Law, and to continue the ſame they were. The Law requireth at their hands that duetie which in conſcience doth touch them neereſt, becauſe the greateſt difference betweene vs and them is the Sacrament of the Body and Bloud of Chriſt, whoſe name in the ſeruice of our Communion wee celebrate with due honour, which they in the errour of their Maſſe prophane. As therefore on our part to heare Maſſe, were an open departure from that ſincere profeſſion wherein we ſtand, ſo if they on the other ſide receiue our Communion, they giue vs the ſtrongeſt pledge of fidelitie that man can demand. What their hearts are, God doth know. But if they which minde treacherie to God and Man, ſhall once apprehend this aduantage giuen them, whereby they may ſatisfie Law, in pretending themſelues conformable (for what can Law with Reaſon or Iuſtice require more?) And yet bee ſure the Church will accept no ſuch offer, till their Goſpell-like behauiour be allowed, after that our owne ſimplicitie hath once thus fairely eaſed them from ſting of Law, it is to be thought they will learne the myſterie of Goſpell-like behauiour when leaſure ſerueth them. And ſo while without any cauſe we feare to prophane Sacraments, we ſhal not only defeat the purpoſe of moſt wholſome Lawes, but loſe or wilfully hazzard thoſe ſoules, from which the likelieſt meanes of full and perfect recouerie, are by our indiſcretion withheld. For neither doth God thus binde vs to diue into mens conſciences, nor can their fraude and deceit hurt any man but themſelues. To him they ſeeme ſuch as they are, but of vs they muſt bee taken for ſuch as they ſeeme. In the eye of God they are againſt Chriſt, that are not truely and ſincerely with him; in our eyes they muſt bee receiued as with Chriſt, that are not to outward ſhow againſt him. The caſe of impenitent and notorious ſinners is not like vnto theirs, whoſe onely imperfection is error, ſeuered from pertinacy, Error in appearance content to ſubmit it ſelfe to better inſtruction, Error ſo farre alreadie cured, as to craue at our hands that Sacrament, the hatred and vtter refuſall whereof was the waightieſt point wherein heretofore they ſwarued and went aſtray. In this caſe therefore they cannot reaſonably charge vs with remiſſe dealing, or with careleſneſſe to whom wee impart the myſteries of Chriſt, but they haue giuen vs manifeſt occaſion to thinke it requiſite, that wee earneſtly aduiſe rather and exhort them to conſider as they ought, their ſundrie ouer-ſights, firſt, in equalling vndiſtinctly crimes with errors, as touching force to make vncapable of this Sacrament: ſecondly, in ſuffering indignation at the faults of the Church of Rome, to blinde and with-hold their iudgements, from ſeeing that which withall they ſhould acknowledge, concerning ſo much neuertheleſſe ſtill due to the ſame Church, as to bee held and reputed a part of the houſe of God, a limme of the viſible Church of Chriſt: thirdly, in impoſing vpon the Church a burthen to enter farther into mens hearts, and to make a deeper ſearch of their conſciences, then any Law of God or reaſon of Man inforceth: fourthly and laſtly, in repelling vnder colour of longer triall ſuch from the myſteries of heauenly grace, as are both capable thereof by the Lawes of God, for any thing we heare to the contrarie, and ſhould in diuers conſiderations bee cheriſhed according to the mercifull examples

amples and Precepts whereby the Goſpell of Chriſt hath taught vs towardes ſuch to ſhew compaſſion, to receiue them with lenitie and all meekeneſſe, if any thing bee ſhaken in them to ſtrengthen it, not to quench with delayes and ielouſies that feeble ſmoke of conformitie which ſeemeth to breathe from them, but to build whereſoeuer there is any foundation, to adde perfection vnto ſlender beginnings, and that as by other offices of pietie, euen ſo by this very foode of Life, which Chriſt hath left in his Church, not onely for preſeruation of ſtrength, but alſo for reliefe of weakeneſſe: but to returne to our owne ſelues, in whom the next thing ſeuerely reprooued is the paucitie of Communicants, if they require at Communicants frequencie, we wiſh the ſame, knowing how acceptable vnto God ſuch ſeruice is, when multitudes cheerefully concurre vnto it; if they encourage men thereunto, wee alſo (themſelues acknowledge it) are not vtterly forgetfull to doe the like; if they require ſome publike coaction for remedie of that, wherein by milder and ſofter meanes little good is done, they know our Lawes and Statutes prouided in that behalfe, whereunto whatſoeuer conuenient helpe may bee added more by the wiſedome of man, what cauſe haue wee giuen the world to thinke that wee are not readie to hearken to it, and to vſe any good meane of ſweet compulſion, to haue this high and heauenly Banquet largely furniſhed? Onely wee cannot ſo farre yeeld as to iudge it conuenient, that the holy deſire of a competent number ſhould bee vnſatisfied, becauſe the greater part is careleſſe and vndiſpoſed to ioyne with them. Men ſhould not (they ſay) bee permitted a few by themſelues to communicate, when ſo many are gone away, becauſe this Sacrament is a token of our coniunction with our Brethren, and therefore by communicating a part from them, we make an apparent ſhew of diſtraction. I aske then on which ſide Vnitie is broken, whether on theirs that depart, or on theirs who being left behinde doe communicate? Firſt, in the one it is not denyed, but that they may haue reaſonable cauſes of departure, and that then euen they are deliuered from iuſt blame. Of ſuch kind of cauſes two are allowed, namely, danger of impayring health, and neceſſarie buſineſſe requiring our preſence otherwhere. And may not a third cauſe, which is *vnfitneſſe*, at the preſent time detayne vs as lawfully backe as either of theſe two? True it is, that wee cannot hereby altogether excuſe our ſelues, for that wee ought to preuent this and doe not. But if we haue committed a fault in not preparing our mindes before, ſhall we therefore aggrauate the ſame with a worſe, the crime of vnworthy participation? Hee that abſtayneth, doth want for the time that grace and comfort which religious Communicants haue, but he that eateth and drinketh vnworthily, receiueth death; that which is life to others, turneth in him to poyſon. Notwithſtanding whatſoeuer bee the cauſe for which men abſtayne, were it reaſon that the fault of one part ſhould any way abridge their benefite that are not faultie? There is in all the Scripture of God no one ſyllable which doth condemne communicating amongſt a few, when the reſt are departed from them. As for the laſt thing, which is our imparting this Sacrament priuately vnto the ſicke, whereas there haue beene of old (they grant) two kindes of neceſſitie, wherein this Sacrament might be priuately adminiſtred, of which two, the one being erroneouſly imagined,

T.C. l.1. p.147.

2.Chron.30.13.

Pſal.122.1.

Luke 14.23.

T.C. l.1. p.146.

imagined, and the other (they say) continuing no longer in vse, there remayneth vnto vs no neceſſitie at all, for which that cuſtome ſhould bee retayned. The falſly ſurmiſed neceſſitie is that, whereby ſome haue thought all ſuch excluded from poſſibilitie of ſaluation, as did depart this life, and neuer were made partakers of the holy Euchariſt. The other caſe of neceſſitie was, when men, which had fallen in time of perſecution, and had afterwards repented them, but were not as yet receiued againe vnto the fellowſhip of this Communion, did at the houre of their death requeſt it, that ſo they might reſt with greater quietneſſe and comfort of minde, being thereby aſſured of departure in vnitie of Chriſts Church, which vertuous deſire the Fathers did thinke it great impietie not to ſatisfie. This was *Serapions* caſe of neceſſitie. *Serapion* a faithfull aged perſon, and alwayes of very vpright life, till feare of perſecution in the end cauſed him to ſhrinke backe, after long ſorrow for his ſcandalous offence, and ſute often-times made to bee pardoned of the Church, fell at length into grieuous ſickneſſe, and being readie to yeeld vp the Ghoſt, was then more inſtant then euer before to receiue the Sacrament. Which Sacrament was neceſſarie in this caſe, not that *Serapion* had beene depriued of euerlaſting Life without it, but that his end was thereby to him made the more comfortable. And doe we thinke that all caſes of *ſuch neceſſitie* are cleane vaniſhed? Suppoſe that ſome haue by miſperſwaſion liued in Schiſme, withdrawne themſelues from holy and publike Aſſemblies, hated the Prayers, and lothed the Sacraments of the Church, falſly preſuming them to bee fraught with impious and Antichriſtian corruptions, which error the God of mercy and truth opening at the length their eyes to ſee, they doe not onely repent them of the euill which they haue done, but alſo in token thereof deſire to receiue comfort by that whereunto they haue offered diſgrace (which may bee the caſe of many poore ſeduced ſoules euen at this day) God forbid wee ſhould thinke that the Church doth ſinne, in permitting the wounds of ſuch to be ſupplied with that Oile, which this gracious Sacrament doth yeeld, and their bruſed mindes not onely neede but begge. There is nothing which the ſoule of man doth deſire in that laſt houre ſo much, as comfort againſt the naturall terrors of death, and other ſcruples of conſcience, which commonly doe then moſt trouble and perplexe the weake, towards whom the very Law of God doth exact at our hands all the helps that Chriſtian lenitie and indulgence can affoord. Our generall conſolation, departing this life, is the hope of that* glorious and bleſſed Reſurrection, which the Apoſtle [a] S. *Paul* nameth ἐξανάϛασιν, [b] to note that all men ſhall haue their ἀνάϛασιν, and bee rayſed againe from the dead, ſo the iuſt ſhall bee taken vp and exalted aboue the reſt, whom the power of God doth but raiſe and not exalt. This Life and this Reſurrection our Lord Ieſus Chriſt is for all men, as touching the ſufficiencie of that life hath done; but that which maketh vs partakers thereof, is our particular communion with Chriſt, and this Sacrament a principall meane, as well to ſtrengthen the bond, as to multiply in vs the fruits of the ſame Communion, for which cauſe [c] Saint *Cyprian* termeth it a ioyfull ſolemnitie of expedite and ſpeedie Reſurrection; [d] *Ignatius*, a medicine which procureth immortalitie and preuenteth death; [e] *Irenæus*, the nouriſhment of our bodies to

* 1. *Cor.* 15. 21.

a *Phil.* 3. 11.

b Διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ γῇ ϑάπτουσιν, Theophil. πάντες οἱ ἄνϑρωποι ἀνίϛανται μόνοι δὲ οἱ πιϛοὶ ἀξιοῦνται τῶν ἀγαϑῶν, Ammon vide. 1. *Theſſ.* 4. 17.

c *Maturatæ reſurrectionis lætabunda ſolemnia*, Cypr. de Cœn. Dom. cap. 10.

d φάρμακον ἀϑανασίας ἀντίδοτον μὴ ϑανεῖν, Ignat. Epiſt. ad Ephe.

Iren. l. 4. c. 34.

e *Et ſi nihil facile mutandum eſt ex ſolennibus, tamen vbi æquitas euidès poſcit, ſubueniendum eſt*, L. b. 183. ff. de Reg. Iur.

to eternall life and their preſeruatiue from corruption. Now becauſe that Sacrament, which at all times we may receiue vnto this effect, is then moſt acceptable and moſt fruitfull, when any ſpeciall extraordinarie occaſion neerely, and preſently vrging kindleth our deſires towards it, their ſeueritie, who cleaue vnto that alone which is generally fit to bee done, and ſo make all mens conditions alike, may adde much affliction to diuers troubled and grieued minds, of whoſe particular eſtate, particular reſpect being had, according to the charitable order of the Church wherein wee line, there inſueth vnto God that glorie, which his Righteous Saints comforted in their greateſt diſtreſſes doe yeeld, and vnto them which haue their reaſonable Petitions ſatisfied, the ſame contentment, tranquillitie and ioy, that others before them by meanes of like ſatisfaction haue reaped, and wherein wee all are or ſhould be deſirous finally to take our leaue of the World, whenſoeuer our owne vncertaine time of moſt aſſured departure ſhall come. Concerning therefore both Prayers and Sacraments, together with our vſuall and receiued forme of adminiſtring the ſame in the Church of England, let thus much ſuffice.

Of Feſtiuall dayes and the naturall cauſes of their conuenient inſtitution.

69 As the ſubſtance of God alone is infinite, and hath *no kinde* of limitation, ſo likewiſe his continuance is from euerlaſting to euerlaſting, and knoweth neither beginning nor end. Which demonſtrable concluſion, being preſuppoſed, it followeth neceſſarily, that beſides him, all things are finite, both in ſubſtance and in continuance. If in ſubſtance all things be finite, it cannot bee, but that there are bounds without the compaſſe whereof their ſubſtance doth not extend; if in continuance alſo limited, they all haue, it cannot be denied, their ſet and their certaine termes, before which they had no being at all. This is the reaſon, why firſt wee doe moſt admire thoſe things which are greateſt, and ſecondly, thoſe things which are ancienteſt, becauſe the one are leaſt diſtant from the infinite ſubſtance, the other from the infinite continuance of God. Out of this wee gather, that onely God hath true immortalitie or eternitie, that is to ſay, continuance wherein there groweth no difference by addition of hereafter vnto now, whereas the nobleſt and perfecteſt of all things beſides, haue continually through continuance the time of former continuance lengthened, ſo that that they could not heretofore be ſaid to haue continued ſo long as now, neither now ſo long as hereafter. Gods owne Eternitie is the hand which leadeth Angels in the courſe of their Perpetuitie; their Perpetuitie, the hand that draweth out celeſtiall motion, the Line of which Motion and the Thread of time are ſpunne together. Now as Nature bringeth forth Time with Motion, ſo wee by Motion haue learned how to diuide Time, and by the ſmaller parts of Time, both to meaſure the greater, and to know how long all things elſe indure. For Time conſidered in it ſelfe, is but the flux of that very inſtant, wherein the Motion of the Heauen began, being coupled with other things, it is the quantitie of their continuance meaſured by the diſtance of two inſtants: As the time of a man is a mans continuance from the inſtant of his firſt breath, till the inſtant of his laſt gaſpe. Hereupon, ſome haue defined Time to be the Meaſure of the Motion of Heauen, becauſe the firſt thing which Time doth meaſure, is that Motion wherewith it begins, and by the helpe whereof it meaſureth other things, as when the Pro-

phet *Dauid* ſaith, that a mans continuance doth not commonly exceed threeſcore and tenne yeeres, hee vſeth the helpe both of Motion and Number to meaſure Time. They which make Time an effect of Motion, and Motion to be in Nature before Time, ought to haue conſidered with themſelues, that albeit we ſhould deny as *Meliſſus* did all Motion, wee might notwithſtanding acknowledge Time, becauſe Time doth but ſignifie the quantitie of continuance, which continuance may be in things that reſt and are neuer mooued. Beſides, wee may alſo conſider in reſt both that which is paſt, and that which is preſent, and that which is future, yea, farther euen length and ſhortneſſe in eueric of theſe, although we neuer had conceit of Motion. But to *define* without Motion, *how* long or *how* ſhort ſuch continuance is, were impoſſible. So that herein we muſt of neceſſitie vſe the benefit of yeeres, dayes, houres, minutes, which all grow from Celeſtiall Motion. Againe, for as much as that Motion is Circular, whereby wee make our diuiſions of Time, and the Compaſſe of that Circuit ſuch, that the Heauens which are therein continually moued, and keep in their Motions vniforme celeritie, muſt needs touch often the ſame points, they cannot chooſe but bring vnto vs by equall diſtances frequent returnes of the ſame times. Furthermore whereas time is nothing but the meere quantitie of that continuance which all things haue that are not as God is without beginning, that which is proper vnto all quantities agreeth alſo to this kind, ſo that Time doth but meaſure other things, and neither worketh in them any reall effect, nor is it ſelfe euer capable of any. And therefore when commonly we vſe to ſay, that Time doth eate or fret out all things, that Time is the wiſeſt thing in the World, becauſe it bringeth forth all Knowledge, and that nothing is more fooliſh then Time, which neuer holdeth any thing long, but whatſoeuer one day learneth, the ſame another day forgetteth againe, that ſome men ſee proſperous and happie dayes, and that ſome mens dayes are miſerable, in all theſe and the like ſpeeches that which is vttered of the time is not verified of time it ſelfe, but agreeth vnto thoſe things which are in time, and doe by meanes of ſo neere coniunction eyther lay their burthen vpon the backe, or ſet their Crowne vpon the head of time. Yea the very * oportunities which we aſcribe to time doe in truth cleaue to the things themſelues wherewith time is ioyned, as for time it neither cauſeth things nor oportunities of things, although it comprize and containe both. All things whatſoeuer hauing their time, the workes of God haue alwayes that time which is ſeaſonableſt and fitteſt for them. His workes are ſome ordinarie, ſome more rare, all worthy of obſeruation, but not all of like neceſſitie to bee often remembred, they all haue their times, but they all doe not adde the ſame eſtimation and glorie to the times wherein they are. For as God by being euerie where, yet doth not giue vnto all places one and the ſame degree of holineſſe, ſo neither one and the ſame dignitie to all times by working in all. For if all eyther places or times, were in reſpect of God alike, wherefore was it ſaid vnto *Moſes* by particular deſignation, *This verie place wherein thou ſtandeſt is holy ground*? Why doth the Prophet *Dauid* chooſe out of all the dayes of the yeere but one, whereof he ſpeaketh by way of principal admiration, *This is the day the Lord hath made*? No doubt, as Gods extraordinarie preſence hath hallowed and ſanctified

* χρονος ἐστὶν ἐν ᾧ καιρὸς, καὶ καιρὸς ἐν ᾧ χρόνος ὁ πολύς. Hippo. lib. qui Præceptiones inſcribitur.

Exod. 3. 5.

Pſal. 118. 24.

ſanctified certaine places, ſo they are his extraordinary workes that haue truely and worthily aduanced certaine times, for which cauſe they ought to bee with all men that honour God more holy then other dayes. The Wiſeman therefore compareth herein not vnfitly the times of God with the perſons of men. If any ſhould aske how it commeth to paſſe, that one day doth excell another, ſeeing the light of all the dayes in the yeere proceedeth from one Sunne, to this he anſwereth, that, *That knowledge of the Lord hath parted thē aſunder, he hath by them diſpoſed the times and ſolemne Feaſts, ſome he hath choſen out and ſanctified, ſome he hath put among the dayes, to number:* euen as *Adam* and all other men are of one ſubſtance, all created of the earth: *but the Lord hath diuided them by great knowledge and made their wayes diuers, ſome he hath bleſſed and exalted, ſome he hath ſanctified and appropriated to himſelfe, ſome hee hath curſed, humbled and put them out of their dignitie.* So that the cauſe being naturall and neceſſarie, for which there ſhould be a difference in dayes, the ſolemne obſeruation whereof declareth Religious thankefulneſſe towards him whoſe workes of principall reckoning wee thereby admire and honour, it commeth next to bee conſidered what kinds of duties and ſeruices they are wherewith ſuch times ſhould bee kept holy. *Pſal.*118.24. *Eccluſ.*33.7.

70 The ſanctification of dayes and times is a token of that thankfulneſſe, and a part of that publike honour which wee owe to God for admirable benefits, whereof it doth not ſuffice that we keepe a ſecret Kalender, taking thereby our priuate occaſions as wee liſt our ſelues to thinke how much God hath done for all men, but the dayes which are choſen out to ſerue as publike Memorials of ſuch his mercies, ought to be clothed with thoſe outward Robes of holineſſe, whereby their difference from other dayes may bee made ſenſible. But becauſe time in it ſelfe, as hath beene alreadie prooued, can receiue no alteration, the hallowing of Feſtiuall daies muſt conſiſt in the ſhape or countenance which we put vpon the affaires that are incident into thoſe dayes. This is the day which the Lord hath made, ſayth the Prophet *Dauid*, *Let vs reioyce and bee glad* in it. So that generally offices and duties of [b] religious *ioy* are that wherein the hallowing of Feſtiuall times conſiſteth. The moſt naturall teſtimonies of our reioycing in God, are firſt his prayſes ſet forth with cheerefull alacritie of mind, ſecondly, our comfort and delight expreſſed by a [c] charitable largeneſſe of ſomewhat more then common bountie, thirdly, ſequeſtration from ordinary labours, the toyles and cares whereof are not meet to be companious of ſuch gladneſſe. Feſtiuall ſolemnitie therefore is nothing but the due mixture as it were of theſe three elements, praiſe and bountie, and reſt. Touching prayſe, for as much as the Iewes, who alone knew the way how to magnifie God aright, did commonly (as appeared by their wicked liues) more of cuſtome and for faſhion ſake execute the ſeruices of their Religion, then with heartie and true deuotion (which God eſpecially requireth) he therefore proteſteth againſt their Sabbaths and ſolemne dayes, as being therewith much offended. Plentifull and liberall expence is required in them that abound, partly,

The manner of celebrating Feſtiuall daies.

b *Grande videlicet officium fōcos & choros in publicum educere, vicatim epulari, ciuitatē tabernæ halitu obolefacere, vino lutum cogere, cateruatim curſitare ad iniurias, ad impudicitias, ad libidinis illecebras. Siccine exprimitur publicū gaudium per publicum dedecus.* Tertul. Apol. c.35. *Dies feſtos Maieſtati altiſſimæ dedicatos nullis volumus voluptatibus occupari.* C. li.12. tit.12. lib.1.

Ἀντὶ τῆς παλαι πομπείας καὶ αἰσχρυρσίας καὶ αἰσχρορρημοσύνης ἑορτάζοντας παννύχους, ἐμέθλων ἔχουσι καὶ πώμων καὶ γέλωτα, ἀλλ' ὑμνες θεῖος καὶ ἱερῶν λογίων ἀκρόασιν, καὶ προσευχὴ ἀξιεπαίνοις κοσμουμένην διανοίαις, Theod. ad Græc. Infidel. Ser.9. c Τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς φυσέως ἐστιν εὐσεβῆτε εἶναι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, Philo. lib.de Abraha.

as a signe of their owne ioy in the goodnesse of God towards them, and partly as a meane wherby to refresh those poore and needy, who being especially at these times made partakers of relaxation and ioy with others doe the more religiously blesse God, whose great mercies were a cause thereof, & the more contentedly indure the burthen of that hard estate wherein they continue. Rest is the end of all Motion, and the last perfection of all things that labour. Labours in vs are iournies, and euen in them which feele no wearinesse by any worke, yet they are but waies whereby to come vnto that which bringeth not happinesse til it doe bring rest. For as long as any thing which we desire is vnattained, we rest not. Let vs not here take rest for idlenes. They are idle, whom the painfulnesse of action causeth to auoid those labours, whereunto both God and Nature bindeth them: they rest, which either cease from their worke when they haue brought it vnto perfection, or else giue ouer a meaner labour, because a worthier and better is to be vndertaken. God hath created nothing to be idle or ill imployed. As therefore, man doth consist of different and distinct parts, euery part indued with manifold abilities, which all haue their seuerall ends and actions thereunto referred; so there is in this great varietie of duties which belong to men, that dependencie and order, by meanes whereof the lower sustained alwaies the more excellent, and the higher perfecting the more base, they are in their times and seasons continued with most exquisite correspondence, labours of bodily and daily toile purchase freedome for actions of religious ioy, which benefit these actions requite with the gift of desired rest: a thing most naturall and fit to accompanie the Solemne Festiuall duties of honour which are done to God. For if those principall workes of God, the memorie whereof we vse to celebrate at such times, be but certaine tasts and saies, as it were of that finall benefit, wherein our perfect felicitie and blisse lyeth folded vp, seeing that the presence of the one doth direct our cogitations, thoughts and desires towards the other, it giueth surely a kind of life, and addeth inwardly no small delight to those so comfortable expectations, when the very outward countenance of that we presently doe, representeth after a sort that also whereunto we tend, as Festiuall rest doth that Celestiall estate whereof the very* Heathens themselues which had not the meanes whereby to apprehend much, did notwithstanding imagine that it needs must consist in rest, and haue therefore taught, that aboue the higheſt mooueable Sphere there is nothing which feeleth alteration, motion or change, but all things immutable, vnsubiect to passion, blest with eternall continuance in a life of the higheſt perfection, and of that complete abundant sufficiencie within it selfe, which no possibilitie of want, maime or defect can touch. Besides, whereas ordinarie labours are both in themselues painefull, and base in comparison of Festiuall Seruices done to God, doth not the naturall difference betweene them shew that the one as it were by way of submission and homage should surrender themselues to the other wherewith they can neyther easily concurre, because painefulnesse and ioy are opposite, nor decently, because while the minde hath iust occasion to make her abode on the House of gladnesse, the Weed of ordinarie toyle and trauell becommeth her not? Wherefore euen Nature hath taught the

Deut. 16. 14. Nehem. 8. 9.

* Οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἀϊδίου κινήσεως μεταβολὴ τὸν ὑπερ ἐσχατὸν τῶν φερομένων φορὰν ἀλλ' ἀναλλοίωτα καὶ ἀπαθῆ τὴν ἀρίστην ἔχοντα ζωὴν καὶ τὴν αὐταρκεστάτην διατελεῖ τὰ ἅπαντα αἰῶνα. Arist.

the Heathens, and God the Iewes, and Christ vs, first, that Festiuall Solemnities, are a part of the publike exercise of Religion; secondly, that Prayse, Liberalitie, and Rest are as naturall Elements whereof Solemnities consist. But these things the Heathens conuerted to the honour of their false gods, and as they failed in the end it selfe, so neither could they discerne rightly what forme and measure Religion therein should obserue. Whereupon, when the Israelites impiously followed so corrupt example, they are in euery degree noted to haue done amisse, their Hymnes or Songs of prayse were Idolatrie, their bountie excesse, and their rest wantonnesse. Therefore the Law of God which appointed them dayes of Solemnitie, taught them likewise in what manner the same should bee celebrated. According to the patterne of which Institution, *Dauid* establishing the state of Religion, ordained prayse to be giuen vnto God in the Sabbaths, Moneths and appointed times, as their custome had beene alwayes before the Lord. Now, besides the times which God himselfe in the Law of *Moses* particularly specified, there were, through the wisedome of the Church, certaine other deuised by occasion of like occurrents to those, whereupon the former had risen, as namely, that which *Mardocheus* and *Ester* did first celebrate in memorie of the Lords most wonderfull protection, when *Haman* had laid his inuitable plot, to mans thinking, for the vtter extirpation of the Iewes euen in one day. This they call the Feast of *Lots*, because *Haman* had cast their life and their death, as it were vpon the hazard of a Lot. To this may be added, that other also of *Dedication*, mentioned in the tenth of Saint *Iohns* Gospell, the institution whereof is declared in the Historie of the Maccabees. But for as much as their Law by the comming of Christ is changed, and we thereunto no way bound, Saint *Paul*, although it were not his purpose to fauour inuectiues against the speciall sanctification of daies and times to the seruice of God, and to the honour of Iesus Christ, doth notwithstanding bend his forces against that opinion, which imposed on the Gentiles the yoke of Iewish Legal obseruations, as if the whole World ought for euer, & that vpon paine of condemnation to keepe and obserue the same. Such as in this perswasion hallowed those Iewish Sabbaths, the Apostle sharply reproueth, saying, [a] *Yee obserue dayes and moneths, and times and yeeres, I am in feare of you, lest I haue bestowed vpon you labour in vaine.* Howbeit so farre off was [b] *Tertullian* from imagining how any man could possibly hereupon call in question such dayes as the Church of Christ doth obserue, that the obseruation of these daies he vseth for an Argument whereby to proue, it could not bee the Apostles intent and meaning to condemne simply all obseruing of such times. Generally therefore touching Feasts in the Church of Christ, they haue that profitable vse whereof Saint *Augustine* speaketh, *By Festiuall Solemnities and set-dayes we dedicate and sanctifie to God the memorie of his benefits, lest vnthankefull forgetfulnesse thereof should creepe vpon vs in course of time.* And concerning particulars, their Sabbath the Church hath changed into our Lords Day, that is, the one did continually bring to mind the former world finished by creation, so the other might keep vs in perpetuall remembrance of a far better World, begun by him which came to restore all things to make both Heauen & Earth new. For which cause they

1. *Chron.* 23.30.

Hest 9.27.

Ioh. 10.22.

1. *Mac.* 4.53.

a *Gal.* 4.10.

b *Si omnem in totum deuotionem temporum & dierum & mensium & annorum erasit Apostolus, cur Pascha celebramus annuo circulo in mense primo? Cur quinquaginta exinde diebus in omni exultatione decurrimus?* Li. aduers. Pfych. *Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. lib.* 16. *c.* 4.

they honored the laſt day, we the firſt in euery ſeuen throughout the yeer. The reſt of the daies and times which we celebrate, haue relation all vnto one head. We begin therefore our Eccleſiaſticall yeere with the glorious [c] Anuntiation of his birth by Angelicall Embaſſage. There being hereunto added his bleſſed Natiuitie it ſelfe, the myſterie of his Legall [d] Circumciſion; the teſtification of his true Incarnation by the Purification of her which brought him into the World, his Reſurrection, his Aſcenſion into Heauen, the admirable ſending down of his Spirit vpon his choſen &(which cõſequently enſued) the notice of that incomprehenſible Trinitie thereby giuen to the Church of God; againe, for as much as we know that Chriſt hath not onely beene manifeſted great in himſelfe, but great in other his Saints alſo, the dayes of whoſe departure out of the World are to the Church of Chriſt, as the Birth and Coronation dayes of Kings or Emperours, therefore eſpeciall choice being made of the very flowre of all occaſions in this kinde, there are annuall ſelected times to meditate of Chriſt glorified in them which had the honor to ſuffer for his ſake, before they had age and abilitie to know him; glorified in them which knowing him as *Stephen* had the ſight of that before death, whereinto ſo acceptable death did lead; glorified in thoſe Sages of the Eaſt, that came from farre to adore him, & were conducted by ſtrange light; glorified in the ſecond *Elias* of the world, ſent before him to prepare his way; glorified in euery of thoſe Apoſtles, whom it pleaſed him to vſe as Founders of his Kingdome heere; glorified in the Angels as in *Michael*; glorified in all thoſe happie Soules that are alreadie poſſeſſed of Heauen. Ouer and beſides which number not great, the reſt be but foure other daies heretofore annexed to the Feaſt of Eaſter & Pentecoſt, by reaſon of generall Baptiſme vſuall at thoſe two Feaſts, which alſo is the cauſe why they had not as other daies any proper name giuen them. Their firſt inſtitutiõ was therfore through neceſſitie, and their preſent continuance is now for the greater honour of the principals, whereupon they ſtill attend. If it bee then demanded, whether wee obſerue theſe times as being thereunto bound by force of Diuine Law, or elſe by the onely Poſitiue Ordinances of the Church, I anſwere to this, that the very Law of Nature it ſelfe, which all men cõfeſſe to be Gods Law, requireth in generall no leſſe the ſanctification of times then of places, perſons & things vnto Gods honor. For which cauſe it hath pleaſed him heretofore as of the reſt, ſo of times likewiſe to exact ſome parts by way of perpetuall homage, neuer to be diſpẽſed withal nor remitted, againe, to require ſome other parts of time with as ſtrict exaction but for leſſe continuance, & of the reſt which were left arbitrary, to accept what the Church ſhall in due conſideration conſecrate voluntarily vnto like Religious vſes. Of the firſt kind amongſt the Iewes was the Sabbath Day; of the ſecond, thoſe Feaſts which are appointed by the Law of *Moſes*; the Feaſt of Dedication inuented by the Church, ſtandeth in the number of the laſt kind. The Moral Law requiring therfore a ſeuenth part throughout the age of the whole world to be that way imployed, although with vs the day be changed in regard of a new reuolution begun by our Sauiour Chriſt, yet the ſame proportion of time continueth which was before, becauſe in reference to the benefit of Creation, & now much more of Renouation thereunto added

by

c *Luke* 1.26.

d *Luke* 2.21.

by him which was Prince of the world to come, we are bound to accompt the ſanctification of one day in ſeuen, a dutie which Gods immutable Law doth exact for euer. The reſt, they ſay, we ought to aboliſh, becauſe the continuance of them doth nouriſh wicked ſuperſtition in the mindes of men, beſides, they are all abuſed by Papiſts, the enemies of God, yea, certayne of them, as Eaſter and Pentecoſt, euen by the Iewes.

71 Touching Iewes, their Eaſter and Pentecoſt haue with ours as much affinitie, as *Philip* the Apoſtle with *Philip* the Macedonian King. As for *imitation of Papiſts*, and the *breeding of ſuperſtition*, they are now become ſuch common gheſts, that no man can thinke it diſcourteous to let them goe as they came. The next is a rare obſeruation and ſtrange. You ſhall finde if you marke it (as it doth deſerue to bee noted well) that many thouſands there are, who if they haue vertuouſly during thoſe times behaued thēſelues, if their deuotion and zeale in prayer haue beene feruent, their attention to the Word of God, ſuch as al Chriſtian men ſhould yeeld, imagine that herein they haue performed a good dutie, which notwithſtanding to thinke is a very dangerous errour, in as much as the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* hath taught, that wee ought not to keepe our Eaſter as the Iewes did for certaine daies, but in the vnleauened bread of ſinceritie and of truth to feaſt continually, whereas this reſtraint of Eaſter to a certaine number of dayes cauſeth vs to reſt for a ſhort ſpace in that neere conſideration of our duties, which ſhould be extended throughout the courſe of our whole liues, and ſo pulleth out of our minds the Doctrine of Chriſts Goſpell ere we be aware. The Doctrine of the Goſpell which here they meane or ſhould meane, is, that Chriſt hauing finiſhed the Law, there is no Iewiſh Paſcall Solemnitie, nor abſtinence from ſowre Bread now required at our hands, there is no Leauen which we are bound to caſt out, but malice, ſin and wickedneſſe, no Bread but the food of ſincere Truth, wherwith we are tied to celebrate our Paſſeouer. And ſeeing no time of ſinne is granted vs, neither any intermiſſion of ſound beliefe, it followeth that this kind of feaſting ought to indure alwaies. But how are ſtanding Feſtiuall Solemnities againſt this? That which the Goſpell of Chriſt requireth, is the perpetuitie of vertuous duties: not perpetuitie of exerciſe or action, but diſpoſition perpetuall, and practice as oft as times and opportunities require. Iuſt, Valiant, Liberal, Temperate and holy men are they, which can whenſoeuer they will, and wil whenſoeuer they ought, execute what their ſeuerall perfections import. If vertues did alwaies ceaſe to be when they ceaſe to worke, there ſhould bee nothing more pernicious to Vertue then ſleepe:

Exception againſt our keeping of other feſtiuall dayes beſides the Sabbath. *T. C. li. p.* 151.

If they had beene neuer abuſed, neither by the Papiſts, nor by the Iewes, as they haue beene, and are daily, yet ſuch making of Holy dayes is neuer without ſome great danger of bringing in ſome euil and corrupt opinions into the mindes of men. I will vſe an example in one, and that the chiefe of Holy dayes, and moſt generally, and of longeſt time obſerued in the Church, which is the feaſt of Eaſter, which was kept of ſome, more dayes, of ſome fewer. How many thouſands are there, I will not ſay of the ignorant Papiſts, but of thoſe alſo which profeſſe the Goſpell, which when they haue celebrated thoſe daies with diligent heed taken vnto their life, and with ſome earneſt deuotion in praying, and hearing the Word of God, doe not by and by thinke that they haue well celebrated the Feaſt of Eaſter, and yet haue they thus notably deceiued themſelues? For Saint *Paul* teacheth, 1. *Cor.* 5. 8 that the celebrating of the Feaſt of the Chriſtians Eaſter, is not as the Iewes was for certaine dayes, but ſheweth that wee muſt keepe this Feaſt all the daies of our life in the vnleauened bread of ſinceritie and of truth. By which wee ſee that the obſeruing of the Feaſt of Eaſter for certaine daies in the yeere doth pull out of our mindes, ere euer wee bee aware, the Doctrine of the Goſpell, and cauſeth vs to reſt in that neere conſideration of our duties, for the ſpace of a few daies, which ſhould bee extended to all our life.

ſleepe: neither were it poſſible that men, as *Zacharie* and *Elizabeth* ſhould in all the Commandements of God walke vnreproueable, or that the Chaine of our conuerſation ſhould contayne ſo many linkes of diuine vertues, as the Apoſtles in diuers places haue reckoned vp, if in the exerciſe of each vertue perpetuall continuance were exacted at our hands. Seeing therefore all things are done in time, and many offices are not poſſible at one and the ſame time to be diſcharged, duties of all ſorts muſt haue neceſſarily their ſeuerall ſucceſſions and ſeaſons, in which reſpect the Schoole-men haue well and ſoundly determined, that Gods affirmatiue Lawes and Precepts, the Lawes that inioyne any actuall dutie as Prayer, Almes, and the like, doe binde vs *ad ſemper velle*, but not *ad ſemper agere*, wee are tyed to iterate and reſume them when neede is, howbeit not to continue them without any intermiſſion. Feaſts, whether God himſelfe hath ordayned them, or the Church by that authoritie which God hath giuen, they are of Religion ſuch publique ſeruices as neither can, nor ought to bee continued otherwiſe then onely by iteration. Which iteration is a moſt effectuall meane to bring vnto full maturitie and growth thoſe ſeedes of godlineſſe, that theſe very men themſelues doe grant to bee ſowne in the hearts of many thouſands, during the while that ſuch feaſts are preſent. The conſtant habit of well-doing is not gotten without the cuſtome of doing well, neither can vertue bee made perfect, but by the manifold workes of vertue often practiſed. Before the powers of our mindes be brought vnto ſome perfection, our firſt aſſayes and offers towards vertue muſt needes bee raw, yet commendable, becauſe they tend vnto ripeneſſe. For which cauſe the wiſedome of God hath commanded eſpecially this circumſtance amongſt others in ſolemne feaſts, that to Children and Nouices in Religion, they miniſter the firſt occaſion to aske and inquire of God. Whereupon if there follow but ſo much pietie as hath beene mentioned, let the Church learne to further imbecillitie with prayer, *Preſerue, Lord, theſe good and gracious beginnings, that they ſuddenly dri; not vp like the morning dew, but may proſper and grow as the Trees which Riuers of waters keepe alwayes flouriſhing*; let all mens acclamations bee *grace, grace vnto it*, as to that firſt laid corner ſtone in *Zerubbabels* buildings. For who hath deſpiſed the day of thoſe things which are ſmall? Or how dare wee take vpon vs to condemne that very thing which voluntarily wee grant, maketh vs of nothing ſomewhat, ſeeing all wee pretend againſt it is onely that as yet this ſomewhat is not much? The dayes of ſolemnitie which are but few, cannot chooſe but ſoone finiſh that outward exerciſe of godlineſſe, which properly appertayneth to ſuch times, howbeit mens inward diſpoſition to vertue, they both augment for the preſent, and by their often returnes bring alſo the ſame at the length vnto that perfection which we moſt deſire. So that although by their neceſſarie ſhort continuance, they abridge the preſent exerciſe of pietie in ſome kinde, yet becauſe by repetition they enlarge, ſtrengthen and confirme the habits of all vertue, it remayneth that wee honour, obſerue and keepe them as ordinances, many wayes ſingularly profitable in Gods Church. This exception being taken againſt Holy dayes, for that they reſtrayne the praiſes of God vnto certayne

taine times, another followeth condemning reſtraint of men from their ordinarie Trades and labours at thoſe times. [a] It is not they ſay in the power of the Church to command reſt, becauſe God hath left it to all men at libertie, that if they thinke good to beſtow ſixe whole daies in labour they may, neyther is it more lawfull for the Church to abridge any man of that libertie which God hath granted, then to take away the yoke which God hath laid vpon them, and to countermand what he doth expreſly inioyne. They denie not but in times of publike calamitie, that men may the better aſſemble themſelues to faſt and pray, the Church, *becauſe it hath receiued Commandement* from God to proclaime a Irohibition from ordinarie workes, ſtandeth bound to doe it, as the Iewes afflicted did in Babylon. But without ſome expreſſe Commandement from God, there is no power they ſay vnder Heauen which may preſume by any Decree to reſtraine the libertie that GOD hath giuen. Which opinion, albeit applyed here no farther then to this preſent cauſe, ſhaketh vniuerſally the Fabricke of Gouernment, tendeth to Anarchie and meere confuſion, diſſolueth Families, diſſipateh Colledges, Corporations, Amies, ouerthroweth Kingdomes, Churches, and whatſoeuer is new, through the prouidence of God, by authoritie and power vpheld. For whereas God hah foreprized things of the greateſt waight, and hath therein preciſely defined, as well that which euery man muſt performe, as that which no man may attempt, leauing all ſorts of men in the reſt, either to be guided by their owne good diſcretion, if they bee free from ſubiection to others, or elſe to bee ordered by ſuch Commandements and Lawes as proceed from thoſe Superiours vnder whom they liue; the Patrones of Libertie haue heere made Solemne Proclanation, that all ſuch Lawes and Commandements are void in as much as euer man is left to the freedome of his owne minde, in ſuch things as are not eiter exacted or prohibited by the Law of God; and becauſe only in theſe tings the Poſitiue Precepts of men haue place, which Precepts cannot poſſible

[a] *T.C. l. 1. p.* 152. I confeſſe that it is in the power of the Church to appoint ſo many daies in the Weeke, or in the Yeere (in the which the Congregation ſhall aſſemble to heare the Word of God, and receiue the Sacrament, and offer vp Praiers vnto God) as it ſhall thinke good, according to thoſe rules which are before alleaged. But that it hath power to make ſo many *Holy-daies* as we haue, wherein men are commanded to ceaſe from their daily vocations of ploughing and exerciſing their handy-crafts, that I denie to bee in the power of the Church. For proofe whereof, I will take the fourth Commandement, and no other interpretation of it then M. Doct. alloweth of; which is, that God licenſeth and leaueth it at the libertie of euerie man, to worke ſixe daies in the Weeke, ſo that he reſt the Seuenth Day. Seeing therefore that the Lord hath left it to all men at libertie, that they might labour if they thinke good ſixe dayes, I ſay the Church, nor no man can take this libertie away from them, and driue them to a neceſſarie reſt of the bodie. And if it be lawfull to abridge the libertie of the Church in this point, and in ſtead, that the Lord ſaith, ſixe daies thou maiſt labour if thou wilt, to ſay, thou ſhalt not labour ſix daies: I doe not ſee why the Church may not as well, whereas the Lord ſaith, thou ſhalt reſt the Seuenth Day, command that thou ſhalt not reſt the Seuenth Day. For if the Church may reſtraine the libertie which God hath giuen them, it may take away the yoke alſo which God hath put vpon them. And whereas you ſay, that notwithſtanding this fourth Commandement, the Iewes had certaine other Feaſts which they obſerued, indeed the Lord which gaue this generall Law, might make as many exceptions as hee thought good, and ſo long as he thought good. But it followeth not, becauſe the Lord did it, that therefore the Church may doe it, vnleſſe it hath Commandement and Authoritie from God ſo to doe. As when there is any generall Plague or Iudgement of God either vpon the Church or comming towards it, the Lord commandeth in ſuch a caſe, *Ioel* 2. 15. that they ſhould ſanctifie a generall Faſt and proclaime *Ghnatſarah*, which ſignifieth a Prohibition, or forbidding of ordinarie workes, and is the ſame Hebrew word wherewith thoſe Feaſt daies are nored in the Law wherein they ſhould reſt. The reaſon of which Commandement of the Lord was, that they abſtained that day as much as might bee conueniently from meate, ſo they might abſtaine from their daily workes, to the end they might beſtow the whole day in hearing the Word of God, and humbling themſelues in the Congregation, confeſſing their faults, and deſiring the Lord to turne away from his fierce wrath. In this caſe, the Church hauing Commandement to make a Holy-day, may and ought to doe it, as the Church which was in Babylon, did during the time of their Captiuitie: but where it is deſtitute of a Commandement, it may not preſume by any Decree to reſtraine that libertie which the Lord hath giuen.

possibly be giuen without some abridgement of their libertie, to whom they are giuen: therefore if the Father command the Sonne, or the Husband the Wife, or the Lord the Seruant, or the Leader the Souldier, or the Prince the Subiect, to goe or stand, sleepe or wake, at such times as God himselfe in particular commandeth neither, they are to stand in defence of the freedome which God hath granted, and to doe as themselues list, knowing that men may as lawfully command them things vtterly forbidden by the Law of God, as tie them to any thing which the Law of God leaueth free. The plaine contradictorie whereunto is vnfallibly certayne. Those things which the Law of God leaueth arbitrarie and at libertie, are all subiect to the positiue Lawes of men, which Lawes for the common benefit abridge particular mens libertie in such things, as farre as the rules of equitie will suffer. This we must either maintayne, or else ouer-turne the world, and make euery man his owne Commander. Seeing then that labour and rest vpon any one day of the sixe throughout the yeere, are granted free by the Law of God, how exempt we them from the force and power of Ecclesiasticall Law, except we depriue the world of power to make any Ordinance or Law at all? Besides, is it probable that God should not only allow, but command concurrencie of rest, with extraordinarie occasion of dolefull euents, befalling peraduenture some one certayne Church, or not extending vnto many, and not as much as permit or licence the like, when pietie triumpheth with ioy and gladnesse, maketh solemne commemoration of Gods most rare and vnwonted mercies, *such especially as the whole race of Mankind* doth or might participate? Of vacation from labour in times of sorrow, the onely cause is, for that the generall publique prayers of the whole Church, and our owne priuate businesses, cannot both bee followed at once; whereas of rest in the famous solemnities of publique ioy, there is both this consideration the same, and also farther a kind of naturall repugnancie, which maketh labours (as hath beene proued) much more vnfit to accompanie Festiuall praises of God, then offices of humiliation and griefe. Againe, if we sift what they bring for proofe and approbation of rest with fasting, doth it not in all respects as fully warrant, and as strictly command rest, whensoeuer the Church hath equall reason by feasts, and gladsome solemnities to testifie publique thankefulnesse towards God? I would know some cause, why

Ioel 1. 15. those words of the Prophet IOEL, *Sanctifie a fast, call a solemne assembly*, which wordes were vttered to the Iewes, in miserie and great distresse, should more binde the Church to doe at all times after the like, in their like perplexities, then the wordes of *Moses*, to the same people in a time of ioyfull deliuerance

Exod. 13. 3. from miserie, *Remember this day*, may warrant any annuall celebration of benefits, no lesse importing the good of men; and also iustifie as touching the manner and forme thereof, what circumstance soeuer we imitate onely in respect of naturall fitnesse or decencie, without any Iewish regard to Ceremo-

Hest. 9. nies, such as were properly theirs, and are not by vs expedient to be continued. According to the rule of which generall directions, taken from the law of God, no lesse in the one then the other, the practice of the Church commended vnto vs in holy Scripture, doth not onely make for the iustificaon of blacke and dismall dayes (as one of the Fathers termeth them) but plainely

offereth it ſelfe to bee followed by ſuch ordinances (if occaſion require) as that which *Mardocheus* did ſometime deuiſe, *Heſter* what lay in her power helpe forward, and the reſt of the Iewes eſtabliſh for perpetuitie, namely, that the fourteenth and fifteenth dayes of the moneth *Adar*, ſhould be euery yeere kept throughout all Generations, as dayes of feaſting and ioy, wherein they would reſt from bodily labour, and what by gifts of charitie beſtowed vpon the poore; what by other liberall ſignes of amitie and loue, all teſtifie their thankefull mindes towards God, which almoſt beyond poſſibilitie had deliuered them all, when they all were as men dead. But this decree, they * ſay, was Diuine not Eccleſiaſticall, as may appeare in that there is another decree in another Booke of Scripture, which decree is plaine, not to haue proceeded from the Churches authoritie, but from the mouth of the Prophet onely, and as a poore ſimple man ſometime was fully perſwaded, that if *Pontius Pilate* had not beene a Saint, the Apoſtles would neuer haue ſuffered his name to ſtand in the Creede, ſo theſe men haue a ſtrong opinion, that becauſe the booke of *Heſter* is Canonicall, the decree of *Heſter* cannot bee poſſibly Eccleſiaſticall. If it were, they aske how the Iewes could binde themſelues alwayes to keepe it, ſeeing Eccleſiaſtical Lawes are mutable? As though the purpoſes of men might neuer intend conſtancie in that, the nature whereof is ſubiect to alteration. Doth the Scripture it ſelfe make mention of any diuine Commandement? Is the Scripture witneſſe of more, then onely that *Mardocheus* was the Author of this cuſtome, that by Letters written to his brethren the Iewes, throughout all Prouinces, vnder *Darius* the King of Perſia, hee gaue them charge to celebrate yeerely thoſe two dayes, for perpetuall remembrance of Gods miraculous deliuerance and mercy, that the Iewes hereupon vnder-tooke to doe it, and made it with generall conſent an order for perpetuitie, that *Heſter*, ſecondly, by her Letters confirmed the ſame, which *Mardocheus* had before decreed, and that finally, the ordinance was written to remayne for euer vpon record? Did not the Iewes in Prouinces abroad obſerue at the firſt the fourteenth day, the Iewes in Suſis the fifteenth? Were they not all reduced to an vniforme order by meanes of thoſe two decrees, and ſo euery-where three dayes kept, the firſt with faſting, in memorie of danger; the reſt, in token of deliuerance, as feſtiuall and ioyfull dayes? Was not the firſt of theſe three, afterwards the day of ſorrow and heauineſſe abrogated, when the ſame Church ſaw it meete that

* *T.C. l. 3. p.* 193. The example out of *Heſter* is no ſufficient warrant for theſe feaſts in queſtion. For firſt, as in other caſes, ſo in this caſe of dayes, the eſtate of Chriſtians, vnder the Goſpell, ought not to be ſo ceremonious, as was theirs vnder the Law. Secondly, that which was done there, was done by a ſpeciall direction of the Spirit of God, either through the miniſterie of the Prophets, which they had, or by ſome other extraordinarie meanes, which is not to be followed by vs. This may appeare by another place, *Zach.* 8 Where the Iewes changed their faſts into feaſts, onely by the mouth of the Lord, through the miniſterie of the Prophet. For further proofe whereof, firſt, I take the 28. *verſe*, where it appeareth, that this was an order, to endure alwayes, euen as long as the other feaſts dayes, which were inſtituted by the Lord himſelfe. So that what abuſes ſoeuer were of that feaſt, yet as a perpetuall decree of God, it ought to haue remayned, whereas our Churches can make no ſuch decree, which may not vpon change of times, and other circumſtances be altered. For the other proofe hereof, I take the laſt *verſe*. For the Prophet contenteth not himſelfe with that, that he had rehearſed the decree, as he doth ſometimes the decree of prophane Kings, but addeth preciſely, that as ſoone as euer the decree was made, it was regiſtred in this booke of *Heſter*, which is one of the bookes of the Canonicall Scripture, declaring thereby in what eſteeme they had it. If it had beene of no further authoritie then our decrees, or then a Canon of one of the Councels, it had beene preſumption to haue brought it into the Librarie of the holy Ghoſt. The ſumme of my anſwere is, that this decree was Diuine and not Eccleſiaſticall onely.

that a better day, a day in memorie of like deliuerance, out of the bloudie
a.Mac.15.36. hands of *Nicanor*, ſhould ſucceede in the roome thereof? But for as much as there is no end of anſwering fruitleſſe oppoſitions, let it ſuffice men of ſober mindes, to know that the Law both of God and Nature alloweth generally, dayes of reſt and feſtiuall ſolemnitie, to be obſerued by way of thankefull and
1.Mac.4.55. ioyfull remembrance, if ſuch miraculous fauours bee ſhewed towards mankinde as require the ſame; that ſuch graces God hath beſtowed vpon his
a *Commemoratio Apoſtolica paſſionis totius Chriſtianitatis magiſtra à cunctis iure celebratur*, Cod. l.3.tit.12.l.7. Church, as well in later as in former times, that in ſome particulars, when they haue fallen out, himſelfe hath demanded his owne honour, and in the reſt hath left it to the wiſedome of the Church, directed by thoſe precedents, and enlightned by other meanes, alwayes to iudge when the like is requiſite. About queſtions therefore concerning Dayes and Times, our manner is not to
b *T.C.l.1.p.153* For ſo much as the old people did neuer keepe any Feaſt or Holy day for remembrance either of *Moſes*, &c. ſtand at bay with the Church of God, demanding wherefore the memorie of a *Paul* ſhould bee rather kept then the memorie of b *Daniel*; wee are content to imagine, it may bee perhaps true that the leaſt in the Kingdome of Chriſt, is greater then the greateſt of all the Prophets of God that haue gone before; we neuer yet ſaw cauſe to deſpaire, but that the c ſimpleſt of the people might bee taught the right conſtruction of as great myſteries, as the d name of a Saints day doth comprehend, although the times of the yeere goe on in their wonted courſe; we had rather glorifie and bleſſe God, for the fruit we daily behold, reaped by ſuch ordinances as his gracious Spirit maketh the ripe wiſdome of this Nationall Church to bring forth, then vainely boaſt of our owne peculiar and priuate inuentions, as if the skill of e profitable Regiment had left her publike habitation, to dwell in retyred manner with ſome few men of one liuerie; we make not our childiſh f appeales ſometimes from our owne to forraine Churches, ſometime from both vnto Churches ancienter then both' are, in effect alwayes from all others to our owne ſelues, but as becommeth them that follow with all humilitie the wayes of peace, wee honour, reuerence, and obay, in the very next degree vnto God, the voice of the Church of God wherein wee liue. They, whoſe wits are too glorious to fall to ſo low an ebbe, they which haue riſen and ſwollen ſo high, that the walls of ordinarie Riuers are vnable to keepe them in, they whoſe wanton contentions in the cauſe whereof wee haue ſpoken, doe make all where they goe, a Sea, euen they at their higheſt flote are conſtrayned both to ſee and g grant, that what their fancie will not yeeld to like, their iudgement cannot with reaſon condemne. Such is euer-more the finall victorie of all truth, that they which haue not the hearts to loue her, acknowledge, that to hate her they haue no cauſe.

b *T.C.l.1.p.153* The people, when it is called S. *Pauls* day, or, the bleſſed Virgin *Maries* day, can vnderſtand nothing thereby, but that they are inſtituted to the honour of Saint *Paul*, or the Virgin *Mary*, vnleſſe they be otherwiſe taught. And if you ſay, let them ſo be taught, I haue anſwered, that the teaching in this land, cannot by any order which is yet taken, come to the moſt part of thoſe, which haue drunke this poyſon, &c.

d *Scilicet ignorant nos nec Chriſtum vnquam relinquere, qui pro totius ſeruandorum mundi ſalute paſſus eſt, nec alium quempiam colere poſſe. Nam hunc quidem tanquam filium Dei adoramus, martyres verò tanquam Diſcipulos & imitatores Domini dignè propter inſuperabilem in Regem ipſorum ac Præceptorem beneuolentiam diligimus, quorum & nos conſortes & diſcipulos fieri optamus.* Euſeb. hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 4. cap. 15.

e *T.C.l.1.p.153* As for all the cõmodities, &c

f *T.C.l.1.p.154.*

g *T.C. l.1.pag.* 154. We condemne not the Church of England, neither in this, nor in other things, which are meete to be reformed. For, it is one thing to miſlike, another thing to condemne; and it is one thing to condemne ſomething in the Church, and another thing to condemne the Church for it.

Touching thoſe feſtiuall Dayes therefore which wee now obſerue, their number

number being no way ſelt [a] diſcommodious to the Common-wealth, and their grounds ſuch as hitherto hath beene ſhewed, what remaineth, but to keepe them throughout all Generations holy, ſeuered by manifeſt notes of difference from other times, adorned with that which moſt may betoken true, vertuous and celeſtiall ioy? To which intent, becauſe ſurceaſe from labour is neceſſarie, yet not ſo neceſſarie, no not on the Sabbath or Seuenth day it ſelfe, but that rarer occaſions in mens particular affaires ſubiect to manifeſt detriment vnleſſe they bee preſently followed, may with verie good conſcience draw them ſometimes aſide from the ordinarie rule, conſidering the fauourable diſpenſation which our Lord and Sauiour groundeth on this Axiome, *Man was not made for the Sabbath, but the Sabbath ordained for man*, ſo farre forth as concerneth Ceremonies annexed to the principall ſanctification thereof, howſoeuer the rigour of the Law of *Moſes* may bee thought to import the contrarie, if wee regard with what ſeueritie the violation of Sabbaths hath beene ſometime puniſhed, a thing perhaps the more requiſite at that inſtant, both becauſe the Iewes by reaſon of their long abode in a place of continuall ſeruile toyle, could not ſuddenly bee wained and drawne vnto contrarie Offices, without ſome ſtrong impreſſion of terror, and alſo for that there is nothing more needfull, then to puniſh with extremitie the firſt tranſgreſſions of thoſe Lawes, that require a more exact obſeruation for many Ages to come; therefore as the Iewes ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to their Sabbaths reſt for a long time, not without danger to themſelues, and [b] obloquie to their very Law, did afterwardes perceiue and amend wiſely their former error, not doubting that bodily labours are made by [c] neceſſitie veniall, though otherwiſe, eſpecially on that day, reſt bee more conuenient, ſo at all times the voluntarie ſcandalous contempt of that reſt from labour, wherewith publikely God is ſerued, wee cannot too [d] ſeuerely correct and bridle. The Emperour [e] *Conſtantine* hauing with ouer-great facilitie licenſed Sundayes labours in Countrie Villages, vnder that pretence, whereof there may iuſtly no doubt ſometime conſideration bee had, namely, leſt any thing which God by his prouidence hath beſtowed, ſhould miſcarrie not being taken in due time, *Leo*, which afterwardes ſaw that this ground would not beare ſo generall and large indulgence as had beene granted, doth by a contrarie Edict, both reuerſe and ſeuerely cenſure his Predeceſſors remiſneſſe, ſaying, [f] *Wee ordaine according to the true meaning of the Holy Ghoſt, and of the Apoſtles thereby directed, that on the ſacred Day, wherein our owne Integritie was reſtored, all doe reſt and ſurceaſe labour, that neyther Huſbandman nor other on that day put their hands to forbidden workes. For if the Iewes did ſo much reuerence their Sabbath, which was but a ſhadow of ours, are not wee which inhabit the light and truth of grace, bound to honour that day which the Lord himſelfe hath honoured, and hath therein deliuered vs both from diſhonour and from death? are we not bound to keepe it ſingular and inuiolable, well contenting our ſelues with ſo liberall a grant of the reſt, and not incroching vpon that one, which God hath choſen to his owne honour? Were it not wretchleſſe neglect of Religion, to make that very*

a πολλὰς μὲν θυσίας πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἐπαυσετὸ γὰρ πλεῖστον τοῦ ἔτους εἰς ἀυτὰς ἀνηλίσκετο καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ ξημία οὐκ ἐλαχίστη ἐγίγνετο. de Claudio dictũ apud Dió. l. 60.

Marke 2.27.

Numb. 15.32.

b *Hi vacare conſueti ſunt ſeptima die, & neq; arma portare in prædictis diebus, neq; terræ culturam contingere, neq; alterius cuiuſpiam curam habere patiuntur, ſed in templis extendentes manus, adorare vſq; ad veſperam ſoliti ſunt. Ingrediente verò in ciuitatem* Ptolomæo Lago *cum exercitu & multis hominibus, cum cuſtodire debuerunt ciuitatem, ipſis ſtultitiam obſeruantibus prouincia quidem Dominum ſuſcepit amariſſimum, lex verò manifeſtata eſt, malam habere ſolennitatem.* Agatharchid. apud Ioſeph. l. 1. cont. Appion. vide & Dion. l. 37.

c 1. *Mac.* 2.40.

d *Neh.* 13.15.

e *Cod. l.* 3. *tit.* 12. *l.* 3.

f *Leo conſti.* 54.

day common, and to thinke wee may doe with it as with the reſt? Imperiall Lawes which had ſuch care of hallowing, eſpecially, our Lords Day, did not omit to prouide that * other Feſtiuall times might bee kept with vacation from labour, whether they were dayes appointed on the ſuddaine, as extraordinarie occaſions fell out, or dayes which were celebrated yeerely, for Politike and Ciuill conſiderations, or finally, ſuch dayes as Chriſtian Religion hath ordained in Gods Church. The ioy that ſetteth aſide labour, diſperſeth thoſe things which labour gathereth. For gladneſſe doth alwaies riſe from a kind of fruition and happineſſe, which happineſſe baniſheth the cogitation of all want, it needeth nothing but onely the beſtowing of that it hath, in as much as the greateſt felicitie that felicitie hath, is to ſpread and inlarge it ſelfe, it commeth hereby to paſſe, that the firſt effect of ioyfulneſſe is to reſt, becauſe it ſeeketh no more; the next, becauſe it aboundeth to giue. The root of both is the glorious preſence of that ioy of minde which riſeth from the manifold conſiderations of Gods vnſpeakeable mercie, into which conſiderations wee are led by occaſion of ſacred times. For how could the Iewiſh Congregations of old be put in minde by their weekely Sabbaths, what the World reaped through his goodneſſe, which did of nothing create the World; by their yeerely Paſſeouer, what farwell they tooke of the Land of Egypt; by their Pentecoſt what Ordinances, Lawes and Statutes, their Fathers receiued at the hands of God; by their Feaſt of Tabernacles, with what protection they iourneyed from place to place, through ſo many feares and hazards, during the tedious time of fortie yeeres trauaile in the Wilderneſſe; by their annuall ſolemnitie of Lots, how neere the whole ſeed of Iſrael was vnto vtter extirpation, when it pleaſed that great God which guideth all things in Heauen and Earth, ſo to change the counſels and purpoſes of men, that the ſame hand which had ſigned a Decree in the opinion both of them that granted, and of them that procured it, irreuocable, for the generall maſſacre of man, woman and childe, became the buckler of their preſeruation, that no one haire of their heads might be toucht the ſame dayes, which had beene ſet for the powring out of ſo much innocent bloud, were made the dayes of their execution, whoſe malice had contriued the plot thereof, and the ſelfe-ſame perſons that ſhould haue indured whatſoeuer violence and rage could offer, were imployed in the iuſt reuenge of crueltie, to giue vnto bloud-thirſtie men the taſte of their owne cup? or how can the Church of Chriſt now endure to bee ſo much called on and preached vnto by that which euery [a] Dominicall day throughout the yeere, that which yeere by yeere ſo many feſtiuall times, [b] if not commanded by the Apoſtles themſelues, whoſe care at that time was of greater things, yet inſtituted eyther by ſuch [c] vniuerſall authoritie as no man, or at the leaſt ſuch as wee with no reaſon may deſpiſe, doe as ſometime the holy Angels did from Heauen ſing, * *Glory be vnto God on high, peace on Earth, towardes men good will* (for this in effect is very the Song that all Chriſtian Feaſts doe apply as their ſeueral occaſions require) how ſhould the daies and times continually thus inculcate what God hath done, and wee refuſe

*T.C.l.3.tit.12. Dies feſtos.

a *Mat.28.1. Marke 16.1. Luke 24.1. Iohn 20.1. 1.Cor.16.2. Apoc.1.10.*

b *Apoſtolis propoſitum fuit non vt leges de feſtis diebus celebrandis ſancirent, ſed vt rectè viuendi rationis & pietatis nobis authores eſſent.* Socrat.Hiſt.lib.5.cap.21. c *Quæ toto terrarum orbe ſeruantur, vel ab ipſis Apoſtolis vel conciliis generalibus quorum eſt ſaluberrima in Eccleſia authoritas ſtatuta eſſe intelligere licet: ſicuti quòd Domini Paſſio & Reſurrectio, & in Cœlum Aſcenſus, & Aduentus Spiritus ſancti anniuerſaria ſolennitate celebrantur.* Aug.Epiſt.118. * *Luke 2.14.*

refuſe to agnize the benefit of ſuch remembrances, that very benefit which cauſed *Moſes* to acknowledge thoſe guides of day and night, the Sunne and Moone which enlighten the World, not more profitable to nature by giuing all things life, then they are to the Church of God, by occaſion of the vſe they haue, in regard of the appointed Feſtiuall times? That which the head of all Philoſophers hath ſaid of women, if they be good, the halfe of the Common-wealth is happie, wherein they are, the ſame wee may fitly apply to times, well to celebrate theſe Religious and Sacred daies, is to ſpend the flower of our time happily. They are the ſplendor and outward dignitie of our Religion, forcible witneſſes of ancient truth, prouocations to the exerciſe of all pietie, ſhadowes of our endleſſe felicitie in Heauen, on Earth euerlaſting Records and Memorials, wherein they which cannot bee drawne to hearken vnto that we teach, may onely by looking vpon that wee doe, in a manner reade whatſoeuer we beleeue.

Of dayes appointed as wel for ordinarie, as for extraordinarie Faſts in the Church of God.

72 The matching of contrarie things together, is a kind of illuſtration to both. Hauing therefore ſpoken thus much of Feſtiuall dayes, the next that offer themſelues to hand, are dayes of penſiue humiliation and ſorrow. Faſtings are either of mens owne free and voluntarie accord, as their particular deuotion doth mooue them thereunto, or elſe they are publikely inioyned in the Church, and required at the hands of all men. There are which altogether diſallow not the former kind, and the latter they greatly commend, ſo that it bee vpon extraordinarie occaſions onely, and after one certaine manner exerciſed. But yeerely or weekely Faſts, ſuch as ours in the Church of England, they allow no farther, then as the Temporall State of the Land doth require the ſame, for the maintenance of Seafaring men, and preſeruation of Cattell, becauſe the decay of the one, & the waſte of the other could not well be preuented but by a Politike order, appointing ſome ſuch vſuall change of Dyet as ours is. Wee are therfore the rather to make it manifeſt in all mens eyes, that ſet times of faſting appointed in ſpirituall conſiderations to be kept by all ſorts of men, tooke not their beginning either from *Montanus*, or any other, whoſe Hereſies may preiudice the credit and due eſtimation thereof, but haue their ground in the Law of Nature, are allowable in Gods ſight, were in all Ages heretofore, and may till the Worlds end be obſerued, not without ſingular vſe and benefit. Much hurt hath growne to the Church of God, through a falſe imagination, that faſting ſtandeth men in no ſtead for any ſpirituall reſpect, but onely to take downe the frankeneſſe of nature, and to tame the wildneſſe of fleſh. Whereupon the World being bold to ſurfet, doth now bluſh to faſt, ſuppoſing that men when they faſt, doe rather bewray a diſeaſe, then exerciſe a vertue. I

T.C. l.1. pa.30. I will not enter now to diſcuſſe whether it were well done to faſt in all places according to the cuſtome of the place. You oppoſe *Ambroſe* and *Auguſtine*, I could oppoſe *Ignatius* and *Tertullian*, whereof the one ſaith, it is *nefas*, a deteſtable thing to faſt vpon the Lords Day, the other, that it is to kill the Lord. *Tertull. de Coron. Mil. Ignat. Epiſt. ad Philippen.* And although *Ambroſe* and *Auguſtine* being priuate men of Rome would haue ſo done, yet it followeth not, that if they had beene Citizens and Miniſters there, that they would haue done it. And if they had done ſo, yet it followeth not, but they would haue ſpoken againſt that appointment of dayes, and *νομοθεσίαν* of faſting, whereof *Euſebius* ſaith, that *Montanus* was the firſt Author. I ſpeake of that which they ought to haue done, For otherwiſe I know, they both thought corruptly of faſting, when as the one ſaith it was remedy, or reward to faſt other daies, but in Lent not to faſt, was ſinne: and the other asketh, what Saluation we can obtaine, if we blot not out our ſinnes by faſting, ſeeing that the Scripture ſaith, that faſting and almes doth deliuer from ſinne, and therefore calleth them new Teachers, that ſhut out the merit of faſting. *Aug. de temp. 62. Serm. Ambro. lib. 10. Epiſt.*

much wonder what they who are thus perſwaded doe thinke, what conceit they haue concerning the falls of the Patriarkes, the Prophets, the Apoſtles, our Lord Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe. The affections of *Ioy* and *Griefe* are ſo knit vnto all the actions of mans life, that whatſoeuer we can doe, or may bee done vnto vs, the ſequell thereof is continually the one or the other affection. Wherefore conſidering that they which grieue and ioy as they ought, cannot poſſibly otherwiſe liue then as they ſhould, the Church of Chriſt, the moſt abſolute and perfect Schoole of all vertue, hath by the ſpeciall direction of Gods good Spirit hitherto alwayes inured men from their infancie, partly with dayes of feſtiuall exerciſe, for the framing of the one affection, and partly with times of a contrarie ſort, for the perfecting of the other. Howbeit ouer and beſides this, wee muſt note, that as reſting, ſo faſting likewiſe attendeth ſometimes no leſſe vpon the actions of the higher, then vpon the affections of the lower part of the minde. Faſting, ſaith *Tertullian*, is a worke of reuerence towards God. The end thereof ſometimes eleuation of minde; ſometime the purpoſe thereof cleane contrarie. The cauſe why Moſes in the Mount did ſo long faſt, was meere diuine ſpeculation: the cauſe why *Dauid*, [a] humiliation. Our life is [b] a mixture of good with euill. When wee are partakers of good things, we ioy, neither can wee but grieue at the contrarie. If that befall vs which maketh glad, our feſtiuall ſolemnities declare our reioycing to be in him whoſe meere vndeſerued mercie is the Author of all happineſſe; if any thing be either imminent or preſent which we ſhunne, our watchings, faſtings, cryes and teares are vnfained teſtimonies, that our ſelues wee condemne as the onely cauſes of our owne miſerie, and doe all acknowledge him no leſſe inclinable then able to ſaue. And becauſe as the memorie of the one, though paſt, renueth gladneſſe; ſo the other called againe to minde, doth make the wound of our iuſt remorſe to bleede anew, which wound needeth often touching the more, for that wee are generally more apt to Kalender Saints then ſinners dayes, therefore there is in the Church a care not to iterate the one alone, but to haue frequent repetition of the other. Neuer to ſeeke after God, ſauing onely when either the crib or the whip doth conſtraine were brutiſh ſeruilitie, and a great derogation to the worth of that which is moſt predominant in man, if ſometimes it had not a kinde of voluntarie acceſſe to God, and of conference as it were with God, all theſe inferior conſiderations laid aſide. In which ſequeſtration for as much as [c] higher cogitations doe naturally drowne and burie all inferiour cares, the minde may as well forget naturall both food and ſleepe, by being carried aboue it ſelfe with ſerious and heauenly meditation, as by being caſt downe with heauineſſe, drowned and ſwallowed vp of ſorrow. Albeit therefore concerning Iewiſh abſtinence from certaine kindes of meats, as being vncleane, the Apoſtle doth teach that [d] the Kingdome of Heauen is not meate nor drinke, that food commendeth vs not vnto God, whether we take it, or abſtaine from it, that if we eate, wee are not thereby the more acceptable in his ſight, nor the leſſe if wee eate not; his purpoſe notwithſtanding was farre from any intent to derogate from that faſting, which is no ſuch ſcrupulous abſtinence, as onely refuſeth ſome kindes of meates and drinkes, leſt they make them vncleane that taſte them, but an

a *Tert. l. de ieiun. Neque enim cibi tempus in periculo: Semper inedia mœroris ſequela eſt.*

b Μηδ' εἰς δ' ὑπολαβέτω τις ἀκρατον χ) ἀμιγῆ λύπης χαρὰν ἢ ἀπ' ὀυρανὸν καταβάινειν ἀπὶ τὸν γλυ', αλλ' ἐσ-κέκραται ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ὁυ γὰρ ἐάσεν ὁ πατὴρ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος λυπᾶις χ) ὀδυ-ναις χ) ἀχθε-σιν ἀνιάτοις ἐμ-φέρεσθαι, παρὴ-μιξε δὲ χ) τῆς ἀμείτονος φύ-σεως, ἐυδιάσαε πόῆ χ) γαλω-ιάσαι τὸν ψυ-χὴν δικαιοσ-ας. *Philo. lib. de Abrah.*

c *Iohn* 4. 34.

d *Rom.* 14. 17.

an abſtinence whereby wee either interrupt, or otherwiſe abridge the care of our bodily ſuſtenance, to ſhew by this kinde of outward exerciſe, the ſerious intention of our mindes, fixed on heauenlier and better deſires, the earneſt hunger and thirſt whereof depriueth the body of thoſe vſuall contentments, which otherwiſe are not denied vnto it. Theſe being in nature the firſt cauſes that induce faſting, the next thing which followeth to bee conſidered, is the ancient practice thereof amongſt the Iewes. Touching whoſe priuate voluntarie Faſts, the precept which our Sauiour gaue them, was; *When ye faſt, looke not ſowre, as hypocrites: For they disfigure their faces, that they might ſeeme vnto men to faſt: Verily I ſay vnto you, they haue their reward. When thou faſteſt, anoint thy head, and waſh thy face, that thou ſeeme not vnto men to faſt, but vnto thy Father which is in ſecret, and thy Father which ſeeth in ſecret, will reward thee openly.* Our Lord and Sauiour would not teach the manner of doing, much leſſe propoſe a reward for doing that, which were not both holy and acceptable in Gods ſight. The Phariſes weekely bound themſelues vnto double faſts, neither are they for this reproued. Often faſting, which was a vertue in *Iohns* Diſciples, could not in them of it ſelfe be a vice, and therfore not the oftenesſe of their faſting, but their hypocriſie therein was blamed. Of [a] publique inioyned faſts, vpon cauſes extraordinary, the examples of Scripture are ſo frequent, that they neede no particular rehearſall. Publique extraordinary faſtings were ſometimes for [b] one onely day, ſometimes for [c] three, ſometimes for [d] ſeuen. Touching faſts not appointed for any ſuch extraordinary cauſes, but either yeerely, or monthly, or weekely obſerued and kept; firſt, vpon the [e] ninth day of that moneth, the tenth whereof was the feaſt of expiation, they were commanded of God, that euery ſoule, yeere by yeere, ſhould afflict it ſelfe. Their yeerely Faſts euery fourth moneth in regard of the Citie of Ieruſalem, entred by the enemie; euery fift, for the memorie of the ouerthrow of their Temple; euery ſeuenth, for the treacherous deſtruction and death of *Godolias*, the very laſt ſtay which they had, to leane vnto in their greateſt miſery; euery tenth, in remembrance of the time when ſiege beganne firſt to bee laide againſt them; all theſe not commanded by God himſelfe, but ordained by a publique conſtitution of their owne; the Prophet [f] *Zacharie* expreſly toucheth. That Saint *Ierome*, following the tradition of the Hebrewes, doth make the firſt, a memoriall of the breaking of thoſe two Tables, when *Moſes* deſcended from Mount Sinay; the ſecond, a memoriall as well of Gods indignation, condemning them to forty yeeres trauaile in the Deſart, as of his wrath in permitting Chaldeans to waſte, burne and deſtroy their Citie; the laſt, a memoriall of heauy tydings, brought out of Iury, to *Ezechiel* and the reſt, which liued as Captiues in forraine parts, the difference is not of any moment, conſidering that each time of ſorrow is naturally euermore a regiſter of all ſuch grieuous euents, as haue hapned, either in, or neere about the ſame time. To theſe I might adde [g] ſundry other Faſts, aboue twentie in number, ordained amongſt them by like occaſions, and obſerued in like manner, beſides their weekely abſtinence, Mundayes and Thurſdayes, throughout the whole yere. When men faſted, it was not alwayes after one and the ſame ſort, but eyther by depriuing themſelues wholly of all food, during the time that their Faſts

Mat. 6. 16.

a 2. *Chro* 20. *Ierem.* 36. *Ezra* 8. 1. *Sam.* 7.
b *Iud.* 20. 26.
c 2. *Mac.* 13. 12
d 1. *Sam.* 31. 13. 1. *Chron.* 10. 12.
c *Leuit.* 23. *Leuit.* 16. *Philo. de huius feſti ieiunio ita loquitur.* Οὐ σιτίον, οὐ ποτὸν ἐξέσι προσενέγκασθαι καθαρεῖς ὕπνως διανοίαις μεδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος μηδ' ἐμποδίζοντος σωματικῇ πάθους ὀπωσοῦν φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν ἐκ πλησμονῆς ἑορτάζοντα ἱλασκόμενοι τὸν πατέρα τῶ παντὸς ἀσίοις σὺν χαῖς δι' ὧν ἀμνησίαν μὲν παλαιῶν ἁμαρτημάτων κτῆσιν δὲ καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν νέων ἀγαθῶν ἐυαθάσιν ἀιτεῖσθαι p. 447.
f *Zach.* 8. 16. *Exod.* 32. *Num.* 14.
g *Vide Riber. l.* 5. *c.* 21.

continued, or by abating both the quantitie and kind of diet. We haue of the one a plaine example in the Niniuites fasting, and as plaine a precedent for the other in the Prophet *Daniel*; *I was* (saith he) *in heauinesse for three weekes of dayes, I ate no pleasant bread, neither tasted flesh, nor wine*. Their tables, when they gaue themselues to fasting, had not that vsuall furniture of such dishes as doe cherrish bloud with bloud, but [a] for food they had bread, for suppage, salt, and for sawce, herbes. Whereunto the Apostle may be thought to allude, saying; *One beleeueth he may eate all things, another which is weake* (and maketh a conscience of keeping those customes which the Iewes obserue) *eateth herbes.* This austere repast they tooke in the euening after abstinence the whole day. For, to forfeite a noones meale, and then to recompence themselues at night, was not their vse. Nor did they euer accustome themselues on Sabboths; or festiuall dayes to fast. And yet it may bee a question whether in some sort they did not alwayes fast the Sabboth. Their fastings were partly in token of penitencie, humiliation, griefe and sorrow, partly in signe of deuotion and reuerence towards God. Which second consideration (I dare not peremptorily and boldly affirme any thing) might induce to abstaine till noone, as their manner was on fasting dayes to doe till night. May it not very well be thought that hereunto the sacred [b] Scripture doth giue some secret kinde of testimonie? *Iosephus* is plaine, that the sixt houre (the day they diuided into twelue) was wont on the Sabboth alwayes to call them home vnto meate. Neither is it improbable but that the Heathens did therefore so often vpbraide them with fasting on that day. Besides, they which found so great fault with our Lords Disciples, for rubbing a few eares of Corne in their hands on the Sabboth day, are not vnlikely to haue aimed also at the same marke. For neither was the bodily paine so great that it should offend them in that respect, and the very manner of defence which our Sauiour there vseth, is more direct and literall to iustifie the breach of the Iewish custome in fasting, then in working at that time. Finally, the Apostles afterwards themselues when God first gaue them the gift of Tongues, whereas some in disdaine and spight termed grace drunkennesse, it being then the day of Pentecost, and but onely a fourth part of the day spent, they vse this as an Argument against the other cauill, *These men*, saith PETER, *are not drunke as you suppose, since as yet the third houre of the day is not ouerpast.* Howbeit, leauing this in suspence, as a thing not altogether certainely knowne, and to come from Iewes to Christians, wee finde that of priuate voluntarie fastings the Apostle Saint *Paul* speaketh [d] more then once. And (saith *Tertullian*) they are sometime commanded throughout the Church, *ex aliqua sollicitudine Ecclesiastica causa*, the care and feare of the Church so requiring. It doth not appeare that the Apostles ordained any set and certaine daies to bee generally kept of all. Notwithstanding for as much as Christ had foresignified, that when himselfe should be taken from them, his absence would soone make them apt to fast, it seemeth that euen as the first festiuall day appointed to be kept of the Church was the day of our Lords returne from the dead, so the first sorrowfull and mourning day was that which we now obserue in memorie of his departure out of this World. And because there could be no abatement of griefe, till they saw him raised whose death

was

Dan. 10. 2, 3.

a *Puram & sine animalibus cœnam. Apul. in Asclepian fine. Pastum & potum pura nosse non ventriu scilicet sed animæ causa. Tertul. de pœnit. vide Phil. lib. de vita contempl. Rom.* 14. 2. *Hieron. lib.* 2. *contr. Iouinian. Iudith.* 8. 6. *R. Mos. in Mune. Tora. lib* 3. *qui est de tempor. cap. de Sab. & cap. de Ieiun.*

b *Neh* 8. 3. 12. *Hora sexta quæ Sabbatis nostros ad prandium vocare solet superuenit. Ioseph. lib. de vita sua.*

c *Sabbata Iudæorum à Mose in omne æuum ieiunio dicata.* Iustin. lib. 36. *Ne Iudæus quidem mi Tiberi tam libenter Sabbati ieiunium seruat, quam ego hodie seruaui.* Sueton. in Octau. cap. 76. *Act.* 2. 15.

d 1. *Cor.* 7. 5. 2. *Cor.* 6. 5. 11. 27. *Col* 4. 4.

was the occaſion of their heauineſſe; therefore the day he lay in the Sepulcher hath beene alſo kept and obſerued as a weeping day. The cuſtome of faſting theſe two dayes before Eaſter is vndoubtedly moſt ancient, in ſo much that *Ignatius* not thinking him a Catholique Chriſtian man which did not abhorre (and as the ſtate of the Church was then) auoide faſting on the Iewes Sabboth, doth notwithſtanding except for euer that one Sabboth or Saturday which falleth out to bee the Eaſter-eue, as with vs it alwayes doth, and did ſometimes alſo with them which kept at that time their Eaſter the 14. day of March as the cuſtome of the Iewes was. It came afterward to be an order, that euen as the day of Chriſts reſurrection, ſo the other two, in memorie of his death and buriall, were weekely. But this when Saint *Ambroſe* liued, had not as yet taken place throughout all Churches, no not in Millan where himſelfe was Biſhop. And for that cauſe he ſaith, that although at Rome hee obſerued the Saturdayes faſt, becauſe ſuch was then the cuſtome in Rome, neuertheleſſe in his owne Church at home hee did otherwiſe. The Churches which did not obſerue that day, had another in ſtead thereof, which was the Wedneſday, for that when they iudged it meete to haue weekely a day of humiliation, beſides that whereon our Sauiour ſuffered death, it ſeemed beſt to make their choice of that day eſpecially, whereon the Iewes are thought to haue firſt contriued their treaſon together with *Iudas* againſt Chriſt. So that the inſtituting and ordaining both of theſe and all other times of like exerciſe, is as the Church ſhall iudge expedient for mens good. And concerning euery Chriſtian mans duetie heerein, ſurely that which *Auguſtine* and *Ambroſe* are before alleaged to haue done, is ſuch, as all men fauouring equitie muſt needes allow, and follow, if they affect peace. As for their ſpecified errors, I will not in this place diſpute, whether voluntarie faſting with a vertuous purpoſe of minde, be any medicinable remedie of euill, or a duetie acceptable vnto God, and in the world to come euen rewardable, as other offices are which proceede from Chriſtian pietie; whether wilfully to breake and deſpiſe the wholeſome Lawes of the Church heerein, be a thing which offendeth God; whether truely it may not be ſaid that penitent both weeping and faſting, are meanes to blot out ſinne, meanes whereby through Gods vnſpeakeable and vndeſerued mercie wee obtaine or procure to our ſelues pardon, which attainement vnto any gracious benefit by him beſtowed, the Phraſe of antiquitie vſeth to expreſſe by the name of merit; but if either Saint *Auguſtine* or Saint *Ambroſe* haue taught any wrong opinion, ſeeing they which reprooue them are not altogether free from error, I hope they will thinke it no error in vs ſo to cenſure mens ſmaller faults, that their vertues bee not thereby generally preiudiced. And if in Churches abroad, where wee are not ſubiect to power or iuriſdiction, diſcretion ſhould teach vs for peace and quietneſſe ſake to frame our ſelues to other mens example, is it meete that at home where our freedome is leſſe, our boldneſſe ſhould bee more? Is it our duetie to oppugne, in the Churches whereof wee are Miniſters, the rites and cuſtomes, which in forraine Churches pietie and modeſtie did teach vs as ſtrangers not to oppugne, but to keepe without ſhew of contradiction or diſlike? Why oppoſe they the name of a Miniſter in this caſe vnto the ſtate of a priuate man?

Ignat. Ep. ad Philip.

man? Doth their order exempt them from obedience to Lawes? That which their office and place requireth, is to ſhew themſelues patternes of reuerend ſubiection, not Authors and Maſters of contempt towardes ordinances, the ſtrength whereof when they ſeeke to weaken, they doe but in trueth diſcouer to the world their owne imbecillities, which a great deale wiſelier they might conceale. But the practice of the Church of Chriſt, wee ſhall by ſo much the better both vnderſtand and loue; if to that which hitherto hath beene ſpoken, there bee ſomewhat added for more particular declaration, how heretiques haue partly abuſed Faſts, and partly beene themſelues againſt the lawfull vſe thereof in the Church of God. Whereas therefore *Ignatius* hath ſaid, If any keepe Sundayes or Saturdayes Faſt (one onely Saturday in the yere excepted) that man is no better then a murderer of Chriſt; the cauſe of ſuch his earneſtneſſe at that time was the impietie of certaine heretiques, which thought [a] that this world being corruptible, could not bee made but by a very euill Author. And therefore as the Iewes did by the feſtiuall ſolemnitie of their Sabboth, reioyce in the God that created the world, as in the author of all goodneſſe: ſo thoſe heretiques in hatred of the Maker of the world, ſorrowed, wept and faſted on that day, as being the birth-day of all euill. And as Chriſtian men of ſound beliefe, did ſolemnize the Sunday, in ioyfull memorie of Chriſts reſurrection; ſo likewiſe at the ſelfe ſame time, ſuch heretiques as denied his reſurrection, did the contrary to them which held it; when the one ſort reioyced, the other faſted. Againſt thoſe heretiques, which haue vrged perpetuall abſtinence from certaine meates, as being in their very nature vncleane, the Church hath ſtill bent her ſelfe as an enemie; Saint *Paul* giuing charge to take heede of them, which vnder any ſuch opinion, ſhould vtterly forbid the vſe of meates or drinkes. The Apoſtles themſelues forbad ſome, as the order taken at Ieruſalem declareth. But the cauſe of their ſo doing, we all know. Againe, when *Tertullian*, together with ſuch as were his followers, beganne to Montanize, and pretending to perfect the ſeueritie of Chriſtian Diſcipline, brought in ſundry vnaccuſtomed dayes of faſting, continued their Faſts a great deale longer, and made them more rigorous then the vſe of the Church had beene, the mindes of men being ſomewhat mooued at ſo great, and ſo ſuddaine noueltie, the cauſe was preſently inquired into. After notice taken how the Montaniſts held theſe additions to bee ſupplements of the Goſpell, whereunto the Spirit of Prophecie did now meane to put as it were the laſt hand, and was therefore newly deſcended vpon *Montanus*, whoſe orders all Chriſtian men were no leſſe to obey, then the Lawes of the Apoſtles themſelues; this abſtinence the Church abhorred likewiſe, and that iuſtly. Whereupon *Tertullian* proclaiming euen open warre to the Church, maintained Montaniſme, wrote a Booke in defence of the new Faſt, and entituled the ſame; A Treatiſe of Faſting, againſt the opinion of the carnall ſort. In which Treatiſe neuertheleſſe, becauſe ſo much is ſound and good, as doth either generally concerne the vſe, or in particular declare the cuſtome of the Churches faſting in thoſe times, men are not to reiect whatſoeuer is alledged out of that booke, for confirmation of the truth. His error diſcloſeth it ſelfe in thoſe places, where he defendeth his Faſts to be duties neceſſary for the whole Church of

Εἰ τις κυριακὴν ἢ σάββατον νηστεύει πλὴν ἑνὸς σαββάτου, ἔστος Κριστοκτόνος ἐστί. Epiſt. ad Philip.

a *Vide Irenæ. l. 1. c. 20. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25. Epiph. hæreſ. 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, & 41, 42.*

Vide Canon Apoſt. 55.

of Chriſt to obſerue as commanded by the holy Ghoſt, and that with the ſame authoritie from whence all other Apoſtolicall ordinances came, both being the Lawes of God himſelfe, without any other diſtinction or difference, ſauing onely that hee which before had declared his will by *Paul* and *Peter*, did now farther reueale the ſame by *Montanus* alſo. *Againſt vs ye pretend*, ſaith *Tertullian*; *that the publique orders which Chriſtianitie is bound to keepe, were deliuered at the firſt, and that no new thing is to be added thereunto. Stand if you can vpon this point; For behold, I challenge you for faſting more then at Eaſter your ſelues. But in fine ye anſwere, that theſe things are to be done as eſtabliſhed by the voluntarie appointment of men, and not by vertue or force of any diuine commandement. Well then* (hee addeth) *Ye haue remooued your firſt footing, and gone beyond that which was delinered by doing more then was at the firſt impoſed vpon you. You ſay, you muſt doe that which your owne iudgements haue allowed: wee require your obedience to that which God himſelfe doth inſtitute. Is it not ſtrange that men to their owne will ſhould yeeld that which to Gods commandement they will not graunt? Shall the pleaſure of men preuaile more with you then the power of God himſelfe?* Theſe places of *Tertullian* for faſting haue worthily beene put to ſilence. And as worthily *Aerius* condemned for oppoſition againſt faſting. The one endeuoured to bring in ſuch faſts as the Church ought not to receiue, the other to ouerthrow ſuch as already it had receiued and did obſerue; the one was plauſible vnto many by ſeeming to hate carnall looſeneſſe and riotous exceſſe much more then the reſt of the World did, the other drew hearers, by pretending the maintenance of Chriſtian libertie; the one thought his cauſe verie ſtrongly vpheld by making inuectiue declamations with a pale and a withered countenance againſt the Church, by filling the eares of his ſtarued Hearers with ſpeech ſutable to ſuch mens humours, and by telling them no doubt to their maruailous contentment and liking, *Our new Propheſies are refuſed, they are deſpiſed. Is it becauſe* MONTANVS *doth preach ſome other God, or diſſolue the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, or ouerthrow any Canon of faith and hope? No our crime is, wee teach that men ought to faſt more often then marrie, the beſt feaſtmaker is with them the perfecteſt Saint, they are aſſuredly meere Spirit, and therefore theſe our corporall deuotions pleaſe them not:* thus the one for *Montanus* and his Superſtition. The other in a cleane contrarie tune againſt the Religion of the Church, *Theſe ſet Faſts, away with them, for they are Iewiſh, and bring men vnder the yoke of ſeruitude: if I will faſt, let mee chooſe my time that Chriſtian libertie be not abridged:* Hereupon their glorie was to faſt eſpecially vpon the Sunday, becauſe the order of the Church was on that day not to faſt. *On Church-faſting daies, and ſpecially the weeke before Eaſter, when with vs* (ſaith EPIPHANIVS) *cuſtome admitteth nothing but lying downe vpon the earth, abſtinence from fleſhly delights and pleaſures, ſorrowfulneſſe, dry and vnſauorie dyet, prayer, watching, faſting, all the medicines which holy affections can miniſter, they are vp betimes to take in of the ſtrongeſt for the belly, and when their veines are welſwolne, they make themſelues mirth with laughter at this our ſeruice, wherein wee are perſwaded we pleaſe God.* By this of *Epiphanius* it doth appeare, not onely what faſtings the Church of Chriſt in thoſe times vſed, but alſo what other parts of Diſcipline were together therewith in force, according to the ancient vſe and cuſtome of bringing all men at certaine times to a due conſideration and an

Epiph. Hæreſ. 75.

open

open humiliation of themſelues. Two kinds there were of publike penitencie, the one belonging to notorious offenders, whoſe open wickedneſſe had beene ſcandalous; the other appertaining to the whole Church, and vnto euery ſeuerall perſon whom the ſame containeth. It will bee anſwered, that touching this latter kind it may be exerciſed well enough by men in priuate. No doubt, but penitencie is as Prayer, a thing acceptable vnto God, bee it in publike or in ſecret. Howbeit as in the one, if men were wholly left to their owne voluntarie Meditations in their Cloſets, and not drawne by Lawes and Orders vnto the open Aſſemblies of the Church, that there they may ioyne with others in Prayer, it may be ſoone coniectured, what Chriſtian deuotion that way would come vnto in a ſhort time: euen ſo in the other, we are by ſufficient experience taught, how little it booteth to tell men of waſhing away their ſinnes with teares of Repentance, and ſo to leaue them altogether vnto themſelues. O Lord, what heapes of grieuous tranſgreſſions haue we committed, the beſt, the perfecteſt, the moſt righteous amongſt vs all, and yet cleane paſſe them ouer vnſorrowed for, and vnrepented of, onely becauſe the Church hath forgotten vtterly how to beſtow her wonted times of Diſcipline, wherein the publike example of all was vnto euery particular perſon, a moſt effectuall meane to put them often in minde, and euen in a manner, to draw them to that which now we all quite and cleane forget, as if penitencie were no part of a Chriſtian mans dutie. Againe, beſides our priuate offences which ought not thus looſely to be ouerſlipt, ſuppoſe we the body and corporation of the Church ſo iuſt, that at no time it needeth to ſhew it ſelfe openly caſt downe, in regard of thoſe faults and tranſgreſſions, which though they doe not properly belong vnto any one, had notwithſtanding a ſpeciall Sacrifice appointed for them in the Law of *Moſes*, and being common to the whole Societie which containeth all, muſt needes ſo farre concerne euery man in particular, as at ſometime in ſolemne manner to require acknowledgement with more then daily and ordinary teſtifications of griefe. There could not hereunto a fitter preamble bee deuiſed, then that memorable commination ſet downe in the Booke of Common Prayer, if our practice in the reſt were ſutable. The head alreadie ſo well drawne, doth but wiſh a proportionable body. And by the Preface to that very part of the Engliſh Liturgie, it may appeare how at the firſt ſetting downe thereof, no leſſe was intended. For ſo wee are to interpret the meaning of thoſe wordes, wherein reſtitution of the Primitiue Church-Diſcipline is greatly wiſhed for, touching the manner of publike penance in time of Lent. Wherewith ſome being not much acquainted, but hauing framed in their mindes the conceit of a new Diſcipline, farre vnlike vnto that of olde, they make themſelues beleeue, it is vndoubtedly this their Diſcipline, which at the firſt was ſo much deſired. They haue long pretended that the whole Scripture is plaine for them. If now the Communion Booke make for them too (I well thinke the one doth as much as the other) it may bee hoped that being found ſuch a wel-willer vnto their cauſe, they will more fauour it then they haue done. Hauing therefore hitherto ſpoken, both of Feſtiuall daies and ſo much of ſolemne Faſts, as may reaſonably ſerue to ſhew the ground thereof in the Law of Nature, the practice partly appointed, & partly allowed

of

of God in the Iewish Church, the like continued in the Church of Christ, together with the sinister oppositions, eyther of Heretikes erroniously abusing the same, or of others thereat quarrelling without cause, wee will onely collect the chiefest points as well of resemblance, as of difference betweene them, and so end. First, in this they agree, that because nature is the generall root of both, therefore both haue beene alwaies common to the Church with Infidels and Heathen men. Secondly, they also herein accord, that as oft as ioy is the cause of the one, and griefe the welspring of the other, they are [a] incompatible. A third degree of affinitie betweene them, is, that neither being acceptable to God it selfe, but both tokens of that which is acceptable, their approbation with him must necessarily depend on that which they ought to import and signifie, so that if herein the minde dispose not it selfe aright, whether wee [b] rest or [c] fast wee offend. A fourth thing common vnto them is, that the greatest part of the World hath alwaies grosly and palpably offended in both; Infidels because they did all in relation to false gods; godlesse sensuall and careless mindes for that there is in them no constant true and sincere affection towardes those things which are pretended by such exercise; yea, certaine flattering ouersights there are, wherewith sundry, and they not of the worst sort, may bee easily in these cases led awry, euen through aboundance of loue and liking to that which must be embraced by all meanes, but with caution, in as much as the very admiration of Saints, whether wee celebrate their glorie or follow them in humilitie, whether wee laugh or weepe, mourne or reioyce with them, is (as in all things the affection of loue) apt to deceiue, and doth therefore need the more to bee directed by a watchfull guide, seeing there is manifestly both waies, euen in them whom wee honour that which we are to obserue and shun. The best haue not still beene sufficiently mindfull, that Gods very Angels in Heauen are but Angels, and that bodily exercise considered [d] in it selfe is no great matter. Finally, seeing that both are Ordinances well deuised for the good of man, and yet not man created purposely for them, as for [e] other offices of vertue whereunto Gods immutable Law for euer tyeth, it is but equitie to wish or admonish that whereby vniforme order they are not as yet receiued, the example of [f] Victors extremitie in the one, and of [g] *Iohns* Disciples curiositie in the other bee not followed; yea, where they are appointed by Law, that notwithstanding [h] wee auoid Iudaisme, and as in festiuall daies, mens necessities for matter of labour, so in times of fasting, regard bee had to their imbecillities, lest they should suffer harme, doing good. Thus therefore wee see how these two customes are in diuers respects equall. But of fasting the vse and exercise though lesse pleasant, is by so much more requisite then the other, as griefe of necessitie is a more familiar guest then the contrarie passion of minde, albeit gladnesse to all men be naturally more welcome. For first, wee our selues doe many moe things amisse then well, and the fruit of our owne ill doing is remorse, because nature is conscious to it selfe that it should do the cõtrary. Againe, for as much as the World ouer-aboundeth with malice, and few are delighted in doing good vnto other men, there is no man so seldome crost as pleasured at the hands of others, whereupon it cannot bee chosen, but euery mans woes most double in that respect

a *Con. Laod. ca.* 51. 52. *vetat Natalitia Martyrum, Quadragesima celebrari.*
b *Esay* 1.13.
c *Esay* 58.3.
d 1. *Tim.* 4.8.
e *Eccles.* 12.13. *Esay* 58.6,7. *Rom.* 14.17. *Iac.* 1.27. *Heb.* 12.14. *Ephes.* 2.4.
f *Euseb. Eccles. Hist.* l. 5. c. 23.
g *Mat.* 9.14.
h *Col.* 2.16.

ſpect the number and meaſure of his delights. Beſides, concerning the verie choice which oftentimes we are to make, our corrupt inclination well conſidered, there is cauſe why our Sauiour ſhould account them happieſt that doe moſt mourne, and why *Salomon* might iudge it better to frequent mourning then feaſting houſes, not better ſimply and in it ſelfe (for then would nature that way incline) but in regard of vs and our common weakeneſſe better. *Iob* was not ignorant that his Childrens Banquets though tending to amitie, needed Sacrifice. Neither doth any of vs all need to bee taught that in things which delight, we [m] eaſily ſwarue from mediocritie, and are not eaſily led by a right direct line. On the otherſide, the ſores and diſeaſes of minde which inordinate pleaſure breedeth, are by dolour and griefe cured. For which cauſe as all offences vſe to ſeduce by pleaſing, ſo all puniſhments endeuour by vexing to reforme tranſgreſſions. We are of our owne accord apt enough to giue entertainment to things delectable, but patiently to lacke what fleſh and bloud doth deſire, and by vertue to forbeare what by nature wee couet this, no man attaineth vnto, but with labour and long practice. From hence it riſeth that in former Ages, abſtinence and faſting more then ordinarie, was alwayes a ſpeciall branch of their prayſe, in whom it could bee obſerued and knowne, were they ſuch as continually gaue themſelues to auſtere life; or men that tooke often occaſions in priuate vertuous reſpects to lay *Salomons* counſell aſide, [n] *Eate thy bread with ioy*, and be followers of *Dauids* Example, which ſayth, [o] *I humbled my ſoule with faſting*; or but they who otherwiſe worthy of no great commendation, haue made of hunger, ſome their gaine, ſome their Phyſicke, ſome their Art, that by maſtering ſenſuall appetites without conſtraint, they might grow able to indure hardneſſe whenſoeuer need ſhould require. For the bodie accuſtomed to emptineſſe, pineth not away ſo ſoone as hauing ſtill vſed to fill it ſelfe. Many ſingular effects there are which ſhould make faſting euen in publike conſiderations the rather to bee accepted. For I preſume we are not altogether without experience how great their aduantage is in martiall enterprizes, that lead Armies of men trained in a Schoole of abſtinence. It is therefore noted at this day in ſome, that patience of hunger and thirſt hath giuen them many victories; in others that becauſe if they want, there is no man able to rule them, nor they in plentie to moderate themſelues, hee which can either bring them to hunger or ouercharge them, is ſure to make them their owne ouerthrow. What Nation ſoeuer doth feele theſe dangerous inconueniences, may know that ſloth and fulneſſe in peaceable times at home is the cauſe thereof, and the remedie a ſtrict obſeruation of that part of Chriſtian Diſcipline, which teacheth men in practice of Ghoſtly warfare againſt themſelues, thoſe things that afterwards may helpe them, iuſtly aſſaulting or ſtanding in lawfull defence of themſelues againſt others. The verie purpoſe of the Church of God, both in the number and in the order of her Faſts, hath bin not only to preſerue, thereby throughout all Ages, the remembrance of miſeries heretofore ſuſtained, and of the cauſes in our ſelues out of which they haue ariſen, that men conſidering the one might feare the other the more, but farther alſo to temper the minde, leſt contrarie affections comming in place ſhould make it too profuſe and diſſolute, in which reſpect it ſeemeth

Mat.6.4.
Eccleſ.7.4.

Iob.1.5.

m Ἐν παντὶ δὲ μάλιστα φυλακτέον τὸ ἡδὺ καὶ τῷ ἡδονῷ. Οὐ γὰρ ἀδέκαστοι κρίνομεν αὐτῷ. Ariſt. Eth. 2. cap. 13.

n *Eccleſ.9.7.*
o *Pſal.35.13.*

meth that Faſts haue beene ſet as Vſhers of Feſtiuall dayes, for preuention of thoſe diſorders, as much as might bee, wherein, notwithſtanding the World alwayes will deſerue, * as it hath done, blame; becauſe ſuch euils being not poſſible to bee rooted out, the moſt wee can doe, is in keeping them low; and (which is chiefly the fruit wee looke for) to create in the minds of men, a loue towards frugall and ſeuere life, to vndermine the Palaces of wantonneſſe, to plant parſimonie as Nature, where Riotouſneſſe hath beene ſtudie, to harden whom pleaſure would melt, and to helpe the tumours which alwayes fulneſſe breedeth, that children as it were in the Wooll of their infancie dyed with hardneſſe, may neuer afterwards change colour; that the poore, whoſe perpetuall Faſts are neceſſitie, may with better contentment endure the hunger, which Vertue cauſeth others ſo often to chooſe, and by aduice of Religion it ſelfe ſo farre to eſteeme aboue the contrarie; that they, which for the moſt part doe lead ſenſuall and eaſie liues; they which, as the Prophet *Dauid* deſcribeth them, are not plagued like other men, may by the publike ſpectacle of all be ſtill put in minde what themſelues are; finally, that euery man may bee euerie mans daily guide and example, as well by faſting to declare humilitie, as by praiſe to expreſſe ioy in the ſight of God, although it haue herein befalne the Church as ſometime *Dauid*, ſo that the ſpeech of the one may bee truely the voice of the other, *My Soule faſted, and euen that was alſo turned to my reproofe.*

* *Valdè abſurdum eſt nimia ſaturitate velle honorare martyrem quaem ſcias Deo placuiſſe ieiunijs.* Hieron. Epiſt. ad Euſtach.

Pſal. 73. 5.

Pſal. 69. 10.

73 In this World there can be no ſocietie durable, otherwiſe then onely by propagation. Albeit therefore ſingle life bee a thing more Angelicall and Diuine, yet ſith the repleniſhing firſt of Earth with bleſſed Inhabitants, and then of Heauen with Saints euerlaſtingly praiſing God, did depend vpon coniunction of man and woman, hee which made all things complete and perfect, ſaw it could not bee good to leaue man without an helper, vnto the forealleaged end: In things which ſome farther end doth cauſe to bee deſired, choice ſeeketh rather proportion then abſolute perfection of goodneſſe. So that woman being created for mans ſake to bee his Helper, in regard of the end before mentioned, namely, the hauing and the bringing vp of children, whereunto it was not poſſible they could concurre, vnleſſe there were ſubalternation betweene them, which ſubalternation is naturally grounded vpon inequalitie, becauſe things equall in euery reſpect are neuer willingly directed one by another, woman therefore was euen in her firſt eſtate framed by Nature, not onely after in time, but inferiour in excellencie alſo vnto man, howbeit in ſo due and ſweet proportion, as being preſented before our eyes, might bee ſooner perceiued then defined. And euen herein doth lye the reaſon, why that kind of loue, which is the perfecteſt ground of Wedlocke, is ſeldome able to yeeld any reaſon of it ſelfe. Now, that which is borne of man, muſt be nouriſhed with farre more trauell, as being of greater price in Nature, and of ſlower pace to perfection, then the of-ſpring of any other creature beſides. Man and woman being therefore to ioyne themſelues for ſuch a purpoſe, they were of neceſſitie to bee linked with ſome ſtraight and inſoluble knot. The bond of Wedlocke hath bin alwaies more or leſſe eſteemed of, as a thing religious and ſacred. The title which the very Heathens themſelues doe thereunto oftentimes giue, is * *Holy*. Thoſe Rites and Orders which were inſti-

The celebration of Matrimonie. *T.C.l.*1.*p.*199.

* τοὺς ἱεροὺς γάμους. Dionyſ. Halicar. aut l. 2.

tuted in the ſolemnization of marriage, the Hebrewes terme, by the name of coniugall [a] *ſanctifications.* Amongſt our ſelues, becauſe ſundry things appertaining vnto the publike order of Matrimonie, are called in queſtion, by ſuch as know not from whence thoſe cuſtomes did firſt grow, to ſhew briefly ſome true and ſufficient reaſon of them ſhall not bee ſuperfluous, although wee doe not hereby intend, to yeeld ſo farre vnto enemies of all Church-orders ſauing their owne, as though euery thing were vnlawfull, the true cauſe and reaſon, whereof at the firſt might hardly, perhaps be now rendered. Wherefore, to beginne with the times wherein the libertie of marriage is reſtrained. *There is,* ſaith *Solomon, a time for all things,* a time to laugh, and a time to mourne. That duties belonging vnto marriage, and offices pertaining to penance, are things vnſutable and vnfit to be matched together, the Prophets and Apoſtles themſelues doe witneſſe. Vpon which ground, as wee might right well thinke it maruellous abſurd to ſee in a Church, a Wedding on the day of a publike Faſt, ſo likewiſe in the ſelfe-ſame conſideration, our Predeceſſours thought it not amiſſe to take away the common libertie of marriages, during the time which was appointed for preparation vnto, and for exerciſe of generall humiliation by faſting and praying, weeping for ſins. As for the deliuering vp of the woman, either by her Father or by ſome other, we muſt note, that in ancient times, [b] all women which had not Huſbands nor Fathers to gouerne them, had their Tutors, [c] without whoſe authority there was no act which they did, warrantable. And for this cauſe, they were in marriage deliuered vnto their Huſbands by others. Which cuſtome retained, hath ſtill this vſe, that it putteth women in minde of a dutie, whereunto the verie imbecillitie of their nature and ſexe doth bind them, namely, to bee alwayes directed, guided and ordered by others, although our Poſitiue Lawes doe not tye them now as Pupils. The cuſtome of laying downe money, ſeemeth to haue beene deriued from the Saxons, whoſe manner was to buy their Wiues. But, ſeeing there is not any great cauſe, wherefore the memorie of that cuſtome ſhould remaine, it skilleth not much, although we ſuffer it to lye dead, euen as wee ſee it in a manner alreadie worne out. The Ring hath beene alwayes vſed as an eſpeciall pledge of faith and fidelitie. Nothing more fit to ſerue as a token of our purpoſed endleſſe continuance in that which we neuer ought to reuoke. This is the cauſe wherefore the Heathens themſelues did in ſuch caſes vſe the Ring, whereunto *Tertullian* alluding, ſaith, that in ancient times; [d] *No woman was permitted to weare Gold, ſauing only vpon one finger, which her Husband had faſtened vnto himſelfe, with that Ring which was vſually giuen for aſſurance of future marriage.* The cauſe why the Chriſtians vſe it, as ſome of the Fathers thinke, is [e] either to teſtifie mutuall loue, or rather to ſerue for a pledge of coniunction in heart and minde agreed vpon betweene them. But what right and cuſtome is there ſo harmeleſſe, wherein the wit of man bending it ſelfe to deriſion, may not eaſily find out ſomewhat to ſcorne and ieſt at? Hee that ſhould haue beheld the Iewes when they ſtood with [f] a foure-cornerd garment, ſpred ouer the heads of eſpouſed couples, while their Eſpouſals were in making, hee that ſhould haue beheld their [g] praying ouer a Cup, and their deliuering the ſame at the marriage Feaſt with ſet formes of Benediction, as the order amongſt them was, might being lewdly

a *Riddſchin. in Rituali Heb. de benedict. nuptiarum.*

Eccleſ.3.1.
1.Cor.7.5.

b *Mulieres antiquo iure tutela perpetua continebat. Recedebant verò à tutoris poteſtate, quæ in manum conueniſſent.* Boet. in Topic. Cic.

c *Nullam ne priuatam quidem rem fœminas ſine auctore agere maiores noſtri voluerunt,* Liu. lib. 4. The reaſon yeelded by *Tully* this, *Propter infirmitatem conſilij.* Cic. pro Mur. Vide leget. Saxon. tit. 6. & 17.

d *Aurum nulla norat præter vnico digito quem ſponſus oppignoraſſet pro nubo annulo.* Tertul. Apologet. c. 6.

e *Iſidor. de Eccleſ. Offic. lib. 2. cap. 19.*

f *Elias Thesb. in dict. Hhupha.*

g *In Ritual de benedict. nuptiarum.*

lewdly affected, take thereat as iuſt occaſion of ſcornefull cauell, as at the vſe of the Ring in Wedlocke amongſt Chriſtians. But of all things the moſt hardly taken, is the vttering of thoſe words, *With my body I thee worſhip*, in which words, when once they are vnderſtood, there will appeare as little cauſe as in the reſt, for any wiſe man to bee offended. Firſt therefore, in as much as vnlawfull copulation doth pollute and [b] diſhonour both parties, this proteſtation that wee doe worſhip and honour another with our bodies, may import a deniall of all ſuch lets and impediments to our knowledge as might cauſe any ſtaine, blemiſh or diſgrace that way, which kind of conſtruction being probable, would eaſily approoue that ſpeech to a peaceable and quiet mind. Secondly, in that the Apoſtle doth ſo expreſly affirme, that parties vnmarried haue not any longer intire power ouer themſelues, but each hath intereſt in others perſon, it cannot bee thought an abſurd conſtruction to ſay, that worſhipping with the bodie, is imparting of that intereſt in the bodie vnto another, which none before had, ſaue onely our ſelues. But if this were the naturall meaning, the words ſhould perhaps bee as requiſite to bee vſed on the one ſide as on the other, and therefore a third ſence there is which I rather relye vpon. Apparent it is, that the ancient difference betweene a lawfull Wife and a Concubine was onely [c] in the different purpoſe of man betaking himſelfe to the one or the other. If his purpoſe were onely fellowſhip, there grew to the woman by this meane no worſhip at all, but the contrarie. In profeſſing that his intent was to adde by his perſon honour, and worſhip vnto hers, hee tooke her plainly and cleerly to his Wife. This is it which the Ciuill Law doth meane, when it maketh a Wife to differ from a Concubine in [d] dignitie; a Wife to bee taken where * Coniugall honour and affection doe goe before. The worſhip that grew vnto her being taken with declaration of this intent, was that her Children became by this meanes legitimate and free; her ſelfe was made a Mother ouer his Family; laſt of all, ſhee receiued ſuch aduancement of ſtate, as things annexed vnto his perſon might augment her with, yea, a right of participation was thereby giuen her both in him, and euen in all things which were his. This doth ſomewhat the more plainely appeare, by adding alſo that other clauſe, *with all my worldly goods I thee indow.* The former branch hauing granted the principall, the latter granteth that which is annexed thereunto. To end the publike ſolemnitie of marriage, with receiuing the Bleſſed Sacrament, is a cuſtome ſo Religious and ſo Holy, that if the Church of England be blameable in this reſpect, it is not for ſuffering it to bee ſo much, but rather for not prouiding that it may be more put in vre. The Lawes of *Romulus* concerning marriage are therefore extolled aboue the reſt amongſt the Heathens which were before, in that they eſtabliſhed the vſe of certaine ſpeciall ſolemnities, whereby the minds of men were drawne to make the greater conſcience of Wedlocke, and to eſteeme the bond thereof, a thing which could not be without impietie diſſolued. If there bee any thing in Chriſtian Religion ſtrong and effectuall to like purpoſe, it is the Sacrament of the holy Euchariſt, in regard of the force whereof *Tertullian* breaketh out into theſe wordes, concerning Matrimonie therewith

b *Rom.* 1. 24. 1. *Cor.* 7. 4.

c *L. penult. D. de concub.*

d *L. item legato §. penult. D. de legat.* 3.

* *L. donationes D. de donationibus.*

Οὗτος ὁ νόμος τὰς γυναῖκας ἀνάγκασε τὰς γαμετὰς οὐ μεδεμίαν ἐχούσας ἑτέραν ἀπεροφλεῖ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς τοῦ γεγαμηκότος ζῆν τρόπον, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἀναγκαίως καὶ ἀναφαιρέτου χρήματος τῆς γυναικὸς κρατεῖν. *Dion. Hal. Antiq. lib.* 2.

Tertull. lib. 2. *ad vxorem.*

with ſealed; *Vnde ſufficiam ad enarrandam fœlicitatem eius Matrimonij quod Eccleſia conciliat & confirmat oblatio? I know not which way I ſhould be able to ſhew the happineſſe of that wedlocke, the knot whereof the Church doth faſten, and the Sacrament of the Church confirme.* Touching Marriage therefore, let thus much bee ſufficient.

Churching of women. *T.C.l.1.p.150.*

74 The fruit of Marriage is birth, and the companion of birth trauaile, the griefe whereof being ſo extreme, and the danger alwayes ſo great, dare wee open our mouthes againſt the things that are holy, and preſume to cenſure it, as a fault in the Church of Chriſt, that women after their deliuerance doe publikely ſhew their thankefull minds vnto God? But behold what reaſon there is againſt it: Forſooth, *if there ſhould bee ſolemne and expreſſe giuing of thankes in the Church for euery benefit, either equall, or greater then this which any ſingular perſon in the Church doth receiue, we ſhould not onely haue no preaching of the Word, nor miniſtring of the Sacraments, but we ſhould not haue ſo much leiſure as to doe any corporall or bodily worke, but ſhould be like thoſe Maſſilian Heretikes which doe nothing elſe but pray.* Surely better a great deale to be like vnto thoſe Heretikes which doe nothing elſe but pray, then thoſe which doe nothing elſe but quarrell. Their heads it might happily trouble ſomewhat more then as yet they are aware of, to find out ſo many benefits greater then this, or equiualent thereunto, for which if ſo bee our Lawes did require ſolemne and expreſſe thankeſgiuing in the Church, the ſame were like to prooue a thing ſo greatly cumberſome as is pretended. But if there bee ſuch ſtore of mercies euen ineſtimable powred euery day vpon thouſands (as indeed the earth is full of the bleſſings of the Lord which are day by day renewed without number and aboue meaſure) ſhall it not bee lawfull to cauſe ſolemne thankes to bee giuen vnto God for any benefit, then which greater or whereunto equall are receiued, no Law binding men in regard thereof to performe the like dutie? Suppoſe that ſome bond there bee that tyeth vs at certaine times to mention publikely the names of ſundrie our Benefactours. Some of them it may bee are ſuch, that a day would ſcarcely ſerue to reckon vp together with them the Catalogue of ſo many men beſides, as we are either more or equally beholden vnto. Becauſe no Law requireth this impoſſible labour at our hands, ſhall wee therefore condemne that Law whereby the other being poſſible and alſo dutifull is inioyned vs? So much wee owe to the Lord of Heauen, that wee can neuer ſufficiently prayſe him nor giue him thankes for halfe thoſe benefits for which this Sacrifice were moſt due. Howbeit, God forbid wee ſhould ceaſe performing this dutie, when publike Order doth draw vs vnto it, when it may bee ſo eaſily done, when it hath beene ſo long executed by deuout and vertuous people; God forbid, that being ſo many waies prouoked in this caſe vnto ſo good a dutie, we ſhould omit it, onely becauſe there are other caſes of like nature, wherein we cannot ſo conueniently, or at leaſtwiſe doe not performe the ſame moſt vertuous Office of Pietie. Wherein wee truſt that as the action it ſelfe pleaſeth God, ſo the order and manner thereof is not ſuch as may iuſtly offend any. It is but an ouerflowing of Gall, which cauſeth the Womans abſence from the Church, during the time of her lying in, to bee traduced and interpreted as though ſhe were ſo long iudged *vnholy*, and were thereby ſhut

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out or ſequeſtred from the Houſe of God, according to the ancient Leuiticall Law. Whereas the very Canon Law it ſelfe doth not ſo hold, but directly * profeſſeth the contrarie, ſhee is not barred from thence in ſuch ſort as they interpret it, nor in reſpect of any vnholineſſe, forbidden entrance into the Church, although her abſtaining from publike Aſſemblies, and her abode in ſeparation for the time bee [b] moſt conuenient. To ſcoffe at the manner of attire, then which there could bee nothing deuiſed for ſuch a time more graue and decent, to make it a token of ſome folly committed, for which they are loth to ſhew their faces, argueth that great Diuines are ſometime more mercifull then wiſe. As for the women themſelues, God accepting the ſeruice which they faithfully offer vnto him, it is no great diſgrace though they ſuffer pleaſant witted men, a little to intermingle with zeale ſcorne. The name of *Oblations* applyed not onely here to thoſe ſmall and petite payments which yet are a part of the Miniſters right, but alſo generally giuen vnto all ſuch allowances as ſerue for their needful maintenance, is both ancient and conuenient. For as the life of the Clergie is ſpent in the ſeruice of God, ſo it is ſuſtained with his reuenue. Nothing therefore more proper then to giue the name of Oblations to ſuch payments, in token that wee offer vnto him whatſoeuer his Miniſters receiue.

* *Dict. 5. c. Hæc quæ. In lege præcipiebatur vt mulier ſi maſculum pareret, 40. ſi fœminam 80. diebus à templi ceſſaret ingreſſu, Nunc autem ſtatim poſt partum Eccleſiam ingredi non prohibetur.* b Leo cōſt. 17. *Quod profecto non tam propter muliebrem immunditiem, quàm ob alias cauſas in intima legis ratione reconditas, & veteri prohibitum eſſe lege & gratia tempus traditionis loco ſuſcepiſſe puto. Exiſtimo ſiquidem ſacram legem id præſcripſiſſe, quo proteruam eorum qui intemperanter viuerent concupiſcentiam caſtigaret, quemadmodum, & alia multa per alia præcepta ordinantur & præſcribuntur, quo indomitus quorundam in mulieres ſtimulus retundatur. Quin & hæc prouidentiæ quæ legem conſtituit voluntas eſt, vt partus à deprauatione liberi ſint. Quia enim quicquid natura ſuperuacaneum eſt, idem corruptiuum eſt & inutile, quod hic ſanguis ſuperfluus ſit, quæ illi obnoxiæ eſſent in immunditie, ad id temporis viuere illa lex iubet, quo ipſo etiam nominis ſono laſciui concupiſcentia ad temperantiam redigatur, ne ex inutili & corrupta materia ipſum animans coagmentetur.*

75 But to leaue this, there is a dutie which the Church doth owe to the faithfull departed, wherein for as much as the Church of England is ſaid to doe thoſe things which are, though *not vnlawfull*, yet *inconuenient*, becauſe it appointeth a preſcript forme of Seruice at Burials, ſuffereth mourning apparell to bee worne, and permitteth funerall Sermons, a word or two concerning this point will bee neceſſarie, although it bee needleſſe to dwell long vpon it. The end of funerall duties is, firſt, to ſhew that loue towards the partie deceaſed which Nature requireth; then to doe him that honour which is fit both generally for man, and particularly for the qualitie of his perſon; laſt of all, to teſtifie the care, which the Church hath to comfort the liuing, and the hope which we all haue concerning the Reſurrection of the dead. For ſignification of loue towards them that are departed, mourning is not denied to bee a thing conuenient. As in truth the Scripture euery where doth approoue lamentation made vnto this end. The Iewes by our Sauiours teares therefore, gathered in this caſe that his loue towards *Lazarus* was great. And that as mourning at ſuch times is fit, ſo likewiſe that there may bee a kind of attire ſutable to a ſorrowfull affection, and conuenient for Mourners to weare, how plainely doth *Dauids* example ſhew, who being in heauineſſe went vp to the Mount with his head couered, & all the people that were with him in like ſort? White garments being fit to vſe at marriage-feaſts, and ſuch other times of ioy, whereunto *Salomon* alluding, when hee requireth continuall cheerefulneſſe of mind,

Of the Rites of Buriall. *T.C.l.3.p.236.*

Iohn 11.36.

2. *Sam.* 15.30.

Eccleſ. 9.8.

mind, ſpeaketh in this ſort, *Let thy garments be alwayes white*: what doth hinder the contrary from being now as conuenient in griefe, as this heretofore in gladneſſe hath bin? *If there be no ſorrow*, they ſay, *it is hypocriticall to pretend it, and if there be, to prouoke it* by wearing ſuch attire, is *dangerous*. Nay if there be, to ſhew it, is natural, and if there be not, yet the ſignes are meet to ſhew what ſhould be, eſpecially, ſith it doth not come oftentimes to paſſe, that men are faine to haue their mourning Gownes puld off their backes, for feare of killing themſelues with ſorrow that way nouriſhed. The honour generally due vnto all men, maketh a decent interring of them to bee conuenient euen for very humanities ſake. And therefore ſo much as is mentioned in the Buriall of the Widowes Sonne, the carrying of him forth vpon a Beere, and the accompanying of him to the earth, hath bin vſed euen amongſt Infidels, all men accounting it a very extreme deſtitution, not to haue at the leaſt this honor done them. Some mans eſtate may require a great deale more, according as the faſhion of the Country where hee dyeth doth afford. And vnto this appertained the ancient vſe of the Iewes, to embalme the Corps with ſweete Odours, and to adorne the Sepulchres of certaine. In regard of the qualitie of men, it hath beene iudged fit to commend them vnto the World at their death, amongſt the Heathen in Funerall Orations, amongſt the Iewes in * Sacred Poemes; and why not in Funerall Sermons alſo amongſt Chriſtians? Vs it ſufficeth, that the knowne benefit hereof doth counteruaile Millions of ſuch inconueniences as are therein ſurmiſed, although they were not ſurmiſed onely but found therein. The life and the death of Saints is precious in Gods ſight. Let it not ſeeme odious in our eyes, if both the one and the other bee ſpoken of, then eſpecially, when the preſent occaſion doth make mens minds the more capable of ſuch ſpeech. The care no doubt of liuing, both to liue and to dye well muſt needs bee ſomewhat increaſed, when they know that their departure ſhall not bee folded vp in ſilence, but the eares of many be made acquainted with it. Moreouer when they heare how mercifully God hath dealt with their brethren in their laſt need, beſides the prayſe which they giue to God, and the ioy which they haue or ſhould haue by reaſon of their fellowſhip and communion with Saints, is not their hope alſo much confirmed againſt the day of their owne diſſolution? Againe, the ſound of theſe things doth not ſo paſſe the eares of them that are moſt looſe and diſſolute in life, but it cauſeth them one time or other to wiſh, O that I might dye the death of the Righteous, and that my end might be like his! Thus much peculiar good there doth grow at thoſe times by ſpeech concerning the dead, beſides the benefit of publike inſtruction common vnto Funerall with other Sermons. For the comfort of them whoſe mindes are through naturall affection penſiue in ſuch caſes, no man can iuſtly miſlike the cuſtome which the Iewes had to end their Burials with Funerall Banquets, in reference whereunto the Prophet *Ieremie* ſpake, concerning the people whom God had appointed vnto a grieuous manner of deſtruction, ſaying, that men ſhould not *giue them the cup of conſolation to drinke for their Father or for their Mother*, becauſe it ſhould not be now with them as in peaceable times with others, who bringing their Anceſtors vnto the graue with weeping eyes, haue

Luke 7.12.

*Pſal.*79.3. *Iohn* 19.40. *Mat.*23.27.

* 1.*Sam.*1.19.

*Ierem.*16.7.

haue notwithstanding meanes wherewith to be recomforted. *Giue wine*, saith SALOMON, *vnto them that haue griefe of heart.* Surely, he that ministreth vnto them * comfortable speech, doth much more then giue them wine. But the greatest thing of all other about this duetie of Christian buriall, is an outward testification of the hope which wee haue touching the Resurrection of the dead. For which purpose let any man of reasonable iudgement examine, whether it bee more conuenient for a companie of men, as it were in a dumbe show, to bring a Corse to the place of buriall, there to leaue it couered with earth, and so end, or else to haue the Exequies deuoutly performed with solemne recitall of such Lectures, Psalmes & Prayers, as are purposely framed for the stirring vp of mens minds vnto a carefull consideration of their estate, both here and hereafter. Whereas therefore it is obiected, that neither the people of God vnder the Law, nor the Church in the Apostles times did vse any forme of seruice, in buriall of their dead, and therefore that this order is taken vp without any good example or precedent followed therein; first, while the world doth stand, they shall neuer be able to proue, that all things which either the one or the other did vse at Burials, are set downe in holy Scripture, which doth not any-where of purpose deliuer the whole manner and forme thereof, but toucheth only sometime one thing, and sometime another which was in vse, as speciall occasions require any of them to be either mentioned or insinuated. Againe, if it might bee proued that no such thing was vsuall amongst them, hath Christ so depriued his Church of iudgement, that what Rites and Orders soeuer the later Ages thereof haue deuised, the same must needes bee inconuenient? Furthermore, that the Iewes before our Sauiours comming had any such forme of seruice, although in Scripture it be not affirmed, yet neither is it there denyed (for the forbidding of Priests to bee present at burials, letteth not but that others might discharge that dutie, seeing all were not Priests which had roomes of publique function in their Synagogues) and if any man be of opinion, that they had no such forme of seruice, thus much there is to make the contrarie more probable. The Iewes at this day haue, as appeareth in their forme of funerall prayers, & in certaine of their funerall Sermons published, neither are they so affected towards Christians, as to borrow that order from vs, besides, that the forme thereof is such as hath in it sundrie things, which the very wordes of the Scripture it selfe doe seeme to allude vnto, as namely, after departure from the Sepulcher vnto the house whence the dead was brought, it sheweth the manner of their buriall feast, and a consolatorie forme of prayers, appointed for the Master of the Synagogue thereat to vtter, albeit I may not denie, but it hath also some things which are not perhaps so ancient as the Law and the Prophets. But whatsoeuer the Iewes custome was before the dayes of our Sauiour Christ, hath it once at any time beene heard of, that either Church or Christian man of sound beliefe did euer iudge this a thing vnmeete, vndecent, vnfit for Christianitie, till these miserable dayes, wherein vnder the colour of remouing superstitious abuses, the most effectuall meanes, both to testifie and to strengthen true Religion, are plucked at, and in some places euen pulled vp by the very rootes? Take away this which was ordayned to shew at burials, the peculiar hope of the Church

of

Prou. 31. 6.

* 1. Chron. 19. 2. Iob 2. 11.

of God concerning the Dead, and in the manner of thoſe dumbe Funerals, what one thing is there whereby the World may perceiue wee are Chriſtian men?

Of the nature of that miniſterie, which ſerueth for performance of diuine duties in the Church of God, and how happineſſe not eternall only, but alſo temporal, doth depend vpon it.

76 I come now vnto that function which vnder-taketh the publike miniſterie of holy things, according to the Lawes of Chriſtian Religion. And becauſe the nature of things conſiſting, as this doth in action, is knowne by the obiect whereabout they are conuerſant, and by the end or ſcope whereunto they are referred, wee muſt know that the obiect of this function is both God and men; God, in that he is publikely worſhipped of his Church, and Men, in that they are capable of happineſſe, by meanes which Chriſtian Diſcipline appointeth. So that the ſumme of our whole labour in this kinde, is to honor God, and to ſaue men. For whether we ſeuerally take, and conſider men one by one, or elſe gather them into one ſocietie and body, as it hath beene before declared, that euery mans Religion is in him the Well-ſpring of all other ſound and ſincere vertues, from whence both here in ſome ſort, and hereafter more abundantly, their full ioy and felicitie ariſeth, becauſe while they liue, they are bleſſed of God, and when they die, their works follow them: ſo at this preſent wee muſt againe call to minde, how the very worldly peace and proſperitie, the ſecular happineſſe, the temporall and naturall good eſtate both of all Men, and of all Dominions, hangeth chiefly vpon Religion, and doth euermore giue plaine teſtimonie, that as well in this as in other conſiderations the Prieſt is a pillar of that Common-wealth, wherein he faithfully ſerueth God. For if theſe Aſſertions be true, firſt, that nothing can be enioyed in this preſent world, againſt his will which hath made all things: ſecondly, that albeit God doth ſometime permit the impious to *haue*, yet impietie permitteth them not to *enioy*, no not temporall bleſſings on earth: thirdly, that God hath appointed thoſe bleſſings to attend as hand-maids vpon Religion: and fourthly, that without the worke of the miniſterie, Religion by no meanes can poſſibly continue, the vſe and benefit of that ſacred Function, euen towards all mens worldly happineſſe muſt needs be granted. Now the * firſt being a Theoreme both vnderſtood and confeſt of all, to labour in proofe thereof were ſuperfluous. The ſecond perhaps may bee called in queſtion, except it bee perfectly vnderſtood. By good things temporall therefore, wee meane length of dayes, health of body, ſtore of friends and well-willers, quietneſſe, proſperous ſucceſſe of thoſe things wee take in hand; riches with fit oportunities to vſe them during life, reputation following vs both aliue and dead, children or ſuch as in ſtead of children, wee wiſh to leaue Succeſſors and partakers of our happineſſe. Theſe things are naturally euery mans deſire, becauſe they are good. And on whom God beſtoweth the ſame, them wee confeſſe hee graciouſly bleſſeth. Of earthly bleſſings the meaneſt is wealth, reputation the chiefeſt. For which cauſe wee eſteeme the gayne of honour an ample recompence for the loſſe of all other worldly benefits. But for as much as in all this there is no certayne perpetuitie of goodneſſe, nature hath taught to affect theſe things, not for their owne ſake, but with reuerence and relation to ſomewhat independently good, as is the exerciſe of vertue and ſpeculation of truth.

* *Si creaturæ Dei merito & diſpenſatio Dei ſumus: Quis enim magis diligit, quàm ille qui fecit? Quis autem ordinatius regit, quàm is qui & fecit & diligit? Quis vero ſapientius, & fortius ordinario & regere facta poteſt, quã qui & facienda prouidit, & prouiſa perfecit? Quapropter omnem poteſtatem à Deo eſſe omnemq; ordinationem, & qui non legerunt ſentiunt, & qui legerunt cognoſcunt.* Paul. Oroſ. Hiſt. aduer. Pagan. lib. 2.

Οὗτοι τὰ χρήματ' ἴδια κἀκτήτηται βροτοὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν δ' ἔχοντες ἐπιμελούμεθα, Eurip. Phœniſ.

truth. None, whoſe deſires are rightly ordered, would wiſh to liue to breathe and moue, without performance of thoſe actions which are beſeeming mans excellencie. Wherefore hauing not how to imploy it, wee waxe wearie euen of life it ſelfe. Health is precious, becauſe ſickneſſe doth breede that payne which diſableth action. Againe, why doe men delight ſo much in the multitude of friends, but for that the actions of life being many, doe neede many helping hands to further them? Betweene troubleſome and quiet dayes we ſhould make no difference, if the one did not hinder and interrupt, the other vphold our libertie of action. Furthermore, if thoſe things we doe, ſucceede, it reioyceth vs not ſo much for the benefit we thereby reape, as in that * it probably argueth our actions to haue beene orderly and well guided. As for riches, to him which hath and doth nothing with them, they are a contumely. Honour is commonly preſumed a ſigne of more then ordinarie vertue and merit, by meanes whereof when ambitious mindes thirſt after it, their endeuours are teſtimonies how much it is in the eye of nature to poſſeſſe that body, the very ſhaddow wherof is ſet at ſo high a rate. Finally, ſuch is the pleaſure and comfort which we take in doing, that when life forſaketh vs, ſtill our deſires to continue action, and to worke though not by our ſelues, yet by them whom wee leaue behinde vs, cauſeth vs prouidently to reſigne into other mens hands, the helps wee haue gathered for that purpoſe, deuiſing alſo the beſt wee can to make them perpetuall. It appeareth therefore, how all the parts of temporall felicitie are only good in relation to that which vſeth them as inſtruments, and that they are no ſuch good as wherein a right deſire doth euer ſtay or reſt it ſelfe. Now temporall bleſſings are inioyed of thoſe which haue them, know them, *eſteeme them according to that they are in their owne nature.* Wherefore of the wicked whom God doth hate, his vſuall and ordinarie ſpeeches are, That bloud-thirſtie and deceitfull men ſhall not liue out halfe their dayes; that God ſhall cauſe a peſtilence to cleaue vnto the wicked, and ſhall ſtrike them with conſuming griefe, with feauers, burning diſeaſes and ſores which are paſt cure; that when the impious are fallen, all men ſhall treade them downe, and none ſhew countenance of loue towards them, as much as by pittying them in their miſerie; that the ſinnes of the vngodly ſhall bereaue them of peace; that all counſels, complots, and practices againſt God ſhal come to nothing; that the lot and inheritance of the vniuſt is beggerie; that the name of vnrighteous perſons ſhall putrifie, and the poſteritie of Robbers ſtarue. If any thinke that Iniquitie and Peace, Sinne and Proſperitie can dwell together, they erre, becauſe they diſtinguiſh not aright betweene the matter, and that which giueth it the forme of happineſſe, betweene poſſeſſion and fruition, betweene the hauing and the inioying of good things. The impious cannot enioy that they haue, partly becauſe they receiue it not as at Gods hands, which onely conſideration maketh temporall bleſſings comfortable, and partly becauſe through error, placing it aboue things of farre more price and worth, they turne that to poyſon which might be foode, they make their proſperitie their owne ſnare, in the neſt of their higheſt growth they lay fooliſhly thoſe Egges, out of which their wofull ouer-throw is afterwards hatcht. Hereby it commeth to paſſe, that wiſe and indicious men obſeruing the vaine behauiours

* Εἰ χρεὼν δὲ λέγειν τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα πάντ' ἐπράξασθαι καλῶς. Eurip. Herac.

Pſal. 55. 23.

Deut. 28. 22.

Prouerb. 10.

behauiours of such as are risen to vnwonted greatnesse, haue thereby beene able to prognosticate their ruine. So that in very truth no impious or wicked man doth prosper on earth, but either sooner or later the world may perceiue easily, how at such time as others thought them most fortunate, they had but onely the good estate which fat Oxen haue aboue leane, when they appeared to grow, their climing was towards ruine. The grosse and bestiall conceit of them which want vnderstanding is onely, that the fullest bellies are happyest. Therefore the greatest felicitie they wish to the Common-wealth wherein they liue, is, that it may but abound and stand, that they which are riotous may haue to powre out without stint; that the poore may sleepe, and the rich feede them, that nothing vnpleasant may bee commanded, nothing forbidden men which themselues haue a lust to follow, that Kings may prouide for the ease of their subiects, and not bee too curious about the manners, that wantonnesse, excesse, and lewdnesse of life may bee left free, and that no fault may bee capitall, besides dislike of things settled in so good termes. But be it farre from the iust to dwell either in or neere to the Tents of these so miserable felicities. Now whereas we thirdly affirme, that Religion and the feare of God, as well induceth secular prosperitie as euerlasting blisse in the world to come, this also is true. For otherwise godlinesse could not be said to haue the promises of both liues, to bee that ample reuenew, wherein there is alwayes sufficiencie, and to carry with it a generall discharge of want, euen so generall, that *Dauid* himselfe should protest, hee neuer saw the Iust forsaken. Howbeit to this we must adde certayne speciall limitations, as first, that wee doe not forget how crazed and diseased mindes (whereof our heauenly Physicion must iudge) receiue often-times most benefit by being depriued of those things which are to others beneficially giuen, as appeareth in that which the Wise-man hath noted concerning them, whose liues God mercifully doth abridge, lest wickednesse should alter their vnderstanding; againe, that the measure of our outward prosperitie be taken by proportion with that, which euery mans estate in this present life requireth. Externall abilities are instruments of action. It contenteth wise Artificers to haue their instruments proportionable to their worke, rather fit for vse then huge and goodly to please the eie. Seeing then the actions of a seruant doe not neede that which may be necessarie for men of calling and place in the world, neither men of inferior condition many things which greater personages can hardly want, surely they are blessed in worldly respects, that haue wherewith to performe * sufficiently what their station and place asketh, though they haue no more. For by reason of mans imbecillitie and proneneſse to elation of minde, [a] too high a flow of prosperitie is dangerous; too low an ebbe againe as dangerous, for that the vertue of patience is rare, & the hand of necessitie stronger, then ordinarie vertue is able to withstand. *Salomons* discreet & moderate desire we all know: *Giue me, O Lord, neither riches nor penurie.* Men ouer-high exalted either in honor, or in power, or in nobilitie, or in wealth; they likewise that are as much on the contrarie hand sunke either with beggerie, or through deiection, or by baseneſse doe not easily giue eare to reason, but the one exceeding apt vnto outrages, and the other vnto petie mischiefs. For greatnesse delighteth to shew it selfe by effects of power, and baseneſse

Prou.16.18. Ante ruinam elatio.

φιλεῖ ὁ θεὸς πάντα τὰ ὑπερέχοντα κολούειν. οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν ἄλλον μέγα ἢ ἑωυτόν, Herodot. lib.7.

* Ἐπὶ τὰν' ἀρκοῦνθ' ἱκανὰ τοῖς γὰ σώφροσιν, Eurip. Phœniſ.

[a] ταπεινοτέρων ὁ λογισμὸς ἴσως, ἀλλ' οὖν ἀσφαλεστέρων, ἴσον ἀπεχειν χὴ ὕψους χὴ πλώματος, Greg. Naz. Apolog.3. They may seeme haply the most deiect, but they are the wiſest for their owne safetie, which feare clyming no lesse then falling.

[b] *Arist. Polit. lib.1. cap.11.*

baſeneſſe to helpe it ſelfe with ſhifts of malice. For which cauſe, a moderate, indifferent temper, betweene fulneſſe of bread, and emptineſſe hath been euermore thought and found (all circumſtances duly conſidered) the ſafeſt and happieſt for all Eſtates, euen for Kings and Princes themſelues. Againe, we are not to looke, that theſe things ſhould alwayes concurre, no not in them which are accounted happie, neither that the courſe of mens liues or of publike affaires ſhould continually bee drawne out as an euen thred (for that the nature of things will not ſuffer) but a iuſt ſuruey being made, as thoſe particular men are worthily reputed good, whoſe vertues be great, and their faults tolerable, ſo him we may regiſter for a man fortunate, and that for a proſperous or happie State, which hauing flouriſhed, doth not afterwards feele any Tragicall alteration, ſuch as might cauſe them to be a ſpectacle of miſery to others. Beſides, whereas true felicitie conſiſteth in the higheſt operations of that nobler part of man, which ſheweth ſometime greateſt perfection, not in vſing the benefits which delight nature, but in ſuffering wat nature can hardlieſt endure, there is no cauſe why either the loſſe of good, if it tend to the purchaſe of better, or why any miſery, the iſſue wherof, is their greater praiſe and honour that haue ſuſtained it, ſhould be thought to impeach that temporal happineſſe, wherewith Religion, we ſay is accompanied, but yet in ſuch meaſure, as the ſeuerall degrees of men may require by a competent eſtimation, and vnleſſe the contrary do more aduance, as it hath done thoſe moſt Heroicall Saints, whom afflictions haue made glorious. In a word, not to whom no calamitie falleth, but whom neyther miſerie nor proſperitie is able to mooue from a right mind, them we may truly pronounce fortunate, and whatſoeuer doth outwardly happen without that precedent improbitie, for which it appeareth in the eyes of ſound and vnpartiall Iudges to haue proceeded from Diuine reuenge, it paſſeth in the number of Humane caſualties whereunto we are all alike ſubiect. No miſery is reckoned more then common or humane, if God ſo diſpoſe that wee paſſe thorow it, and come ſafe to ſhore, euen as contrariwiſe, men doe not vſe to thinke thoſe flouriſhing dayes happie which doe end with teares. It ſtandeth therefore with theſe cautions firme and true, yea, ratified by all mens vnfained confeſſions drawne from the verie heart of experience, that whether wee compare men of note in the World with others of like degree and ſtate, or elſe the ſame men with themſelues, whether we conferre one Dominion with another, or elſe the different times of one and the ſame Dominion, the manifeſt oddes betweene their very outward condition, as long as they ſtedfaſtly were obſerued to honour God, and their ſucceſſe being falne from him, are remonſtances more then ſufficient, how all our welfare euen on earth depẽdeth wholly vpon our Religion. Heathens were ignorant of true Religion. Yet ſuch as that little was which they knew, it much impaired, or bettered alwaies their worldly affaires, as their loue and zeale towards it, did waine or grow. Of the Iewes, did not euen their moſt malicious and mortal Aduerſaries all acknowledge, that to ſtriue againſt them, it was in vaine, as long as their amitie with God continued, that nothing could weaken them but Apoſtaſie? In the whole courſe of their owne proceedings, did they euer find it otherwiſe, but that during their faith & fidelity towards God, euery man of them was in war, as a thouſand ſtrong, and

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as much as a grand Senate, for counſell in peaceable deliberations; contrariwiſe that if they ſwarued, as they often did, their wonted courage and magnanimitie forſooke them vtterly, their Souldiers & Military men trembled at the ſight of the naked ſword; when they entred into mutuall conference, and ſate in counſell for their owne good, that which children might haue ſeene, their graueſt Senatours could not diſcerne, their Prophets ſaw darkeneſſe in ſtead of Viſions, the wiſe and prudent were as men bewitcht, euen that which they knew (being ſuch as might ſtand them in ſtead) they had not the grace to vtter, or if any thing were well propoſed, it tooke no place, it entered not into the minds of the reſt to approue and follow it, but as men confounded with ſtrange and vnuſuall amazements of Spirit, they attempted tumultuouſly they ſaw not what, and by the iſſues of all attempts, they found no certaine concluſion but this, *God and Heauen are ſtrong againſt vs in all we doe.* The cauſe whereof was ſecret feare, which tooke heart and courage from them, and the cauſe of their feare, an inward guiltineſſe that they all had offered God ſuch apparant wrongs as were not pardonable. But it may bee, the caſe is now altogether changed, and that in Chriſtian Religion, there is not the like force towardes temporall felicitie. Search the ancient Records of time, looke what hath happened by the ſpace of theſe ſixteene hundred yeeres, ſee if all things to this effect be not luculent and cleere, yea, all things ſo manifeſt, that for euidence and proofe herein, wee need not by vncertaine darke coniectures ſurmiſe any to haue beene plagued of God for contempt, or bleſt in the courſe of faithfull obedience towards true Religion, more then onely them, whom wee find in that reſpect on the one ſide, guiltie by their owne confeſſions, and happie on the otherſide by all mens acknowledgement, who beholding the proſperous eſtate of ſuch as are good and vertuous, impute boldly the ſame to Gods moſt eſpeciall fauour, but cannot in like manner pronounce, that whom he afflicteth aboue others, with them hee hath cauſe to bee more offended. For Vertue is alwayes plaine to bee ſeene, rareneſſe cauſeth it to bee obſerued, and goodneſſe to be honored with admiration. As for iniquitie and ſinne, it lyeth many times hid, and becauſe wee bee all offenders, it becommeth vs not to encline towardes hard and ſeuere ſentences touching others, vnleſſe their notorious wickedneſſe did ſenſibly before proclaime that which afterwardes came to paſſe. Wherefore the ſumme of euery Chriſtian mans dutie is, to labour by all meanes towards that, which other men ſeeing in vs may iuſtifie, and what wee our ſelues muſt accuſe, if we fall into it, that by all meanes wee can to auoide, conſidering eſpecially, that as hitherto vpon the Church there neuer yet fell tempeſtuous ſtorme; the vapours whereof were not firſt noted to riſe from coldneſſe in affection, and from backwardneſſe in duties of ſeruice towardes God, ſo if that which the teares of Antiquitie haue vttered concerning this point ſhould be here ſet downe, it were aſſuredly enough to ſoften and to mollifie an heart of Steele. On the contrary part, although wee confeſſe with Saint *Auguſtine* moſt willingly, that the chiefeſt happineſſe, for which we haue ſome Chriſtian Kings in ſo great admiration aboue the reſt, is not becauſe of their long Raigne, their calme and quiet departure out of this preſent life, the ſettled eſtabliſhment of their owne fleſh and bloud, ſucceeding them in Royaltie,

tie and power, the glorious ouerthrow of forraine enemies, or the wiſe preuention of inward danger and of ſecret attempts at home; all which ſolaces and comforts of this our vnquiet life, it pleaſeth God oftentimes to beſtow on them which haue no ſocietie or part in the ioyes of heauen, giuing thereby to vnderſtand, that theſe in compariſon are toyes and trifles farre vnder the value and price of that which is to be looked for at his hands: but in truth the reaſon wherefore we moſt extoll their felicitie, is if ſo be they haue vertuouſly raigned, if honour haue not filled their hearts with pride, if the exerciſe of their power haue beene ſeruice and attendance vpon the Maieſtie of the moſt High, if they haue feared him as their owne inferiours and ſubiects haue feared them, if they haue loued neither pompe nor pleaſure more then heauen, if reuenge haue ſlowly proceeded from them, and mercie willingly offered it ſelfe, if ſo they haue tempered rigour with lenitie, that neither extreme ſeueritie might vtterly cut them off in whome there was manifeſt hope of amendment, nor yet the eaſines of pardoning offences imbolden offenders, if knowing that whatſoeuer they doe their potencie may beare it out, they haue beene ſo much the more carefull not to doe any thing but that which is commendable in the beſt, rather then vſuall with greateſt perſonages, if the true knowledge of themſelues haue humbled them in Gods ſight, no leſſe then God in the eyes of men hath rayſed them vp; I ſay, albeit we reckon ſuch to be the happieſt of them that are mightieſt in the world, and albeit thoſe things alone are happineſſe, neuertheleſſe conſidering what force there is euen in outward bleſſings to comfort the mindes of the beſt diſpoſed, and to giue them the greater ioy when Religion and peace, heauenly and earthly happineſſe are wreathed in one Crowne, as to the worthieſt of Chriſtian Princes it hath by the prouidence of the Almightie hitherto befallen, let it not ſeeme vnto any man a needleſſe and ſuperfluous waſte of labour that there hath beene thus much ſpoken, to declare how in them eſpecially it hath beene ſo obſerued, and withall vniuerſally noted euen from the higheſt to the very meaneſt how this peculiar benefit, this ſingular grace and preeminence Religion hath, that either it gardeth as an heauenly ſhield from all calamities, or elſe conducteth vs ſafe thorow them, and permitteth them not to be miſeries; it either giueth honours, promotions and wealth, or elſe more benefit by wanting them then if wee had them at will; it either filleth our houſes with plentie of all good things, or maketh a Sallet of greene herbes more ſweete then all the ſacrifices of the vngodly. Our fourth propoſition before ſet downe was, that Religion without the helpe of ſpirituall miniſterie is vnable to plant it ſelfe, the fruits thereof not poſſible to grow of their owne accord. Which laſt aſſertion is herein as the firſt, that it needeth no farther confirmation. If it did, I could eaſily declare, how all things which are of God, hee hath by wonderfull arte and wiſedome ſodered as it were together with the glue of mutuall aſſiſtance, appointing the loweſt to receiue from the neereſt to themſelues, what the influence of the higheſt yeeldeth. And therefore the Church being the moſt abſolute of all his workes, was in reaſon to be alſo ordered with like harmonie, that what hee worketh, might no leſſe in grace then in nature be effected by hands and inſtruments duely ſubordinated vnto the power of his owne Spirit. A

thing both needfull for the humiliation of man, which would not willingly be debter to any, but to himſelfe, and of no ſmall effect to nouriſh that diuine loue, which now maketh each embrace other, not as men, but as Angels of God. Miniſteriall actions tending immediatly vnto Gods honour, and mans happineſſe, are either as contemplation, which helpeth forward the principall worke of the miniſterie, or elſe they are parts of that principall worke of adminiſtration it ſelfe, which worke conſiſteth in doing the ſeruice of Gods houſe, and in applying vnto men the Soueraigne medicines of grace already ſpoken of the more largely, to the end it might thereby appeare, that we [a] owe to the guides of our ſoules euen as much as our ſoules are worth, although the debt of our temporall bleſſings ſhould be ſtricken off.

Luke 12. 42. 1. *Cor.* 4. 1. *Tit.* 1. 7. 1. *Pet.* 4. 10. *Epheſ.* 3. 2.

[a] χ τεαυτόν μοι προσοφειλεῖς. *Epiſt. ad Phile.*

Of power giuen vnto men to execute that heauenly office; of the gift of the holy Ghoſt in ordination; and whether conueniently the power of order may be ſought or ſued for.

77 The miniſterie of things diuine is a function, which as God did himſelfe inſtitute, ſo neither may men vndertake the ſame but by authoritie and power giuen them in lawfull manner. That God which is no way deficient or wanting vnto man in neceſſaries, and hath therefore giuen vs the light of his heauenly truth, becauſe without that ineſtimable benefit, wee muſt needes haue wandred in darkneſſe, to our endleſſe perdition and woe, hath in the like aboundance of mercies ordained certaine to attend vpon the due execution of requiſite parts and offices therein preſcribed for the good of the whole world, which men thereunto aſſigned doe hold their authoritie from him, whether they bee ſuch as himſelfe immediatly, or as the Church in his name inueſteth, it being neither poſſible for all, nor for euery man without diſtinction conuenient to take vpon him a charge of ſo great importance. They are therefore miniſters of God, not onely by way of ſubordination as Princes and ciuill Magiſtrates, whoſe execution of iudgement and iuſtice the ſupreme hand of diuine prouidence doth vphold, but Miniſters of God, as from whome their authoritie is deriued, and not from men. For in that they are Chriſts Embaſſadours and his labourers, who ſhould giue them their commiſſion, but hee whoſe moſt inward affaires they manage? Is not God alone the Father of Spirits? Are not Soules the purchaſe of Ieſus Chriſt? What Angel in heauen could haue ſaid to man, as our Lord did vnto PETER, *Feede my ſheepe? Preach? Baptize? Doe this in remembrance of me? Whoſe ſinnes yee retaine, they are retained, and their offences in Heauen pardoned, whoſe faults you ſhall on earth forgiue?* What thinke we? Are theſe terreſtriall ſounds, or elſe are they voices vttered out of the clouds aboue? The power of the miniſterie of God tranſlateth out of darkenes into glorie, it rayſeth men from the earth, and bringeth God himſelfe downe from heauen, by bleſſing viſible elements it maketh them inuiſible grace, it giueth daily the holy Ghoſt, it hath to diſpoſe of that fleſh which was giuen for the life of the world, and that bloud which was powred out to redeeme ſoules, when it powreth malediction vpon the heads of the wicked they periſh, when it reuoketh the ſame they reuiue. O wretched blindneſſe, if wee admire not ſo great power, more wretched if wee conſider it aright, and notwithſtanding, imagine that any but God can beſtow it! To whom Chriſt hath imparted power both ouer that myſticall body which is the ſocietie of ſoules, and ouer that naturall which is himſelfe for the knitting of both in one, (a worke which antiquitie doth call the making of Chriſts body) the ſame

power

power is in ſuch not amiſſe both termed a kind of marke or character, and acknowledged to be indeleble. Miniſteriall power is a marke of ſeparation, becauſe it ſeuereth them that haue it from other men, and maketh them a ſpeciall *order* conſecrated vnto the ſeruice of the moſt High, in things wherewith others may not meddle. Their difference therefore from other men, is in that they are a diſtinct *order*. So *Tertullian* calleth them. And Saint *Paul* himſelfe diuiding the body of the Church of Chriſt into two moieties, nameth the one part ἰδιώτας, which is as much as to ſay, the order of the Laitie, the oppoſite part whereunto we in like ſort terme the order of Gods Clergie, and the ſpirituall power which hee hath giuen them the power of their *order*, ſo farre forth as the ſame conſiſteth in the bare execution of holy things, called properly the affaires of God. For of the power of their iuriſdiction ouer mens perſons wee are to ſpeake in the bookes following. They which haue once receiued this power, may not thinke to put it off, and on, like a cloke as the weather ſerueth, to take it, reiect, and reſume it as oft as themſelues liſt, of which prophane and impious contempt theſe latter times haue yeelded, as of all other kinds of iniquitie and Apoſtaſie, ſtrange examples, but let them know which put their hands vnto this plough, that once conſecrated vnto God, they are made his peculiar inheritance for euer. Suſpenſions may ſtop, and degradations vtterly cut off the vſe or exerciſe of power before giuen: but voluntarily it is not in the power of man to ſeparate and pull aſunder what God by his authoritie coupleth. So that although there may be through miſdeſert degradation, as there may be cauſe of iuſt ſeparation after Matrimonie; yet if (as ſometime it doth) reſtitution to former dignitie, or reconciliation after breach doth happen, neither doth the one, nor the other euer iterate the firſt knot. Much leſſe is it neceſſarie, which ſome haue vrged, concerning the reordination of ſuch as others, in times more corrupt, did conſecrate heretofore. Which errour already queld by Saint *Ierome*, doth not now require any other refutation. Examples I graunt there are which make for reſtraint of thoſe men from admittance againe into roomes of ſpirituall function, whoſe fall by hereſie, or want of conſtancie in profeſſing the Chriſtian faith, hath beene once a diſgrace to their calling. Neuertheleſſe, as there is no law which bindeth, ſo there is no cauſe that ſhould alwayes leade to ſhew one and the ſame ſeueritie towards perſons culpable. Goodneſſe of nature it ſelfe more inclineth to clemencie then rigour. And wee in other mens offences doe behold the plaine image of our owne imbecillitie. Beſides alſo them that wander out of the way, [b] it cannot be vnexpedient to win with all hopes of fauour, leſt ſtrictneſſe vſed towards ſuch as reclaime themſelues, ſhould make others more obſtinate in error. Wherefore [c] after that the Church of Alexandria had ſomewhat recouered it ſelfe from the tempeſts and ſtormes of Arrianiſme, being in conſultation about the reeſtabliſhment of that which by long diſturbance had beene greatly decayed and hindred, the ſeruenter ſort gaue quicke ſentence, that touching them which were of the Clergie, and had ſtained themſelues with hereſie, there ſhould bee none ſo receiued into the Church againe, as to continue in the order of the Clergy. The reſt which conſidered how many mens caſes it did concerne, thought it much more ſafe and conſo-

Tertul. de Adhort. caſtit.

Hebr. 2. 17.

Math. 19.

b *In 12. tabulis cautum eſt, vt idem iuris eſſet ſanctis quod fortibus, id eſt, bonis & qui nunquam defecerunt a populo Romano Feſt. in ver. Samnites.*

c *Ruffin. hiſt. Eccleſ. li. cap. 28.*

nant to bend ſomewhat downe towards them which were fallen, to ſhew ſeueritie vpon a few of the chiefeſt leaders, and to offer to the reſt a friendly reconciliation without any other demaund ſauing onely the abiuration of their errour, as in the Goſpell that waſtfull young man which returned home to his Fathers houſe, was with ioy both admitted and honoured, his elder brother hardly thought of for repining thereat, neither commended ſo much for his owne fidelitie and vertue as blamed for not embracing him freely, whoſe vnexpected recouerie ought to haue blotted out all remembrance of miſdemeanors and faults paſt. But of this ſufficient. A thing much ſtumbled at in the manner of giuing orders, is our vſing thoſe memorable words of our Lord and Sauiour Chriſt, *Receiue the holy Ghoſt.* The holy Ghoſt they ſay wee cannot giue, and therefore wee [a] *fooliſhly* bid men receiue it. Wiſemen for their authorities ſake muſt haue leaue to befoole them whome they are able to make wiſe by better inſtruction. Notwithſtanding if it may pleaſe their wiſedome as well to heare what fooles can ſay, as to controll that which they doe, thus wee haue heard ſome wiſe men teach, namely, that the [b] *holy Ghoſt* may be vſed to ſignifie not the perſon alone, but the gifts of the holy Ghoſt, and wee know that ſpirituall gifts are not onely abilities to doe things miraculous, as to ſpeake with tongues which were neuer taught vs, to cure diſeaſes without art, and ſuch like, but alſo that the very authoritie and power which is giuen men in the Church to bee Miniſters of holy things, this is contained within the number of thoſe gifts whereof the holy Ghoſt is authour, and therefore he which giueth this power, may ſay without abſurditie or folly, *Receiue the holy Ghoſt,* ſuch power as the Spirit of Chriſt hath indued his Church withall, ſuch power as neither Prince nor Potentate, King nor Cæſar on earth can giue. So that if men alone had deuiſed this forme of ſpeech, thereby to expreſſe the heauenly welſpring of that power which Eccleſiaſticall ordinations doe beſtow, it is not ſo fooliſh but that wiſemen might beare with it. If then our Lord and Sauiour himſelfe haue vſed the ſelfeſame forme of words, and that in the ſelfeſame kinde of action, although there bee but the leaſt ſhew of probabilitie, yea or any poſſibilitie, that his meaning might bee the ſame which ours is, it ſhould teach ſober and graue men not to be too venturous in condemning that of folly, which is not impoſſible to haue in it more profoundneſſe of wiſedome then fleſh and bloud ſhould preſume to controll. Our Sauiour after his reſurrection from the dead gaue his Apoſtles their commiſſion, ſaying, *Math.28.18.* *All power is giuen me in heauen and in earth: Goe therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Sonne, and the Holy Ghoſt, teaching them to obſerue all things whatſoeuer I haue commaunded you.* In ſumme, *As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you.* Whereunto Saint *Iohn* doth adde farther, that *Iohn 20.21.* *hauing thus ſpoken, hee breathed on them and ſaid, Receiue the holy Ghoſt.* By which words hee muſt of likelihood vnderſtand ſome gift of the Spirit which was preſently at that time beſtowed vpon them, as both the ſpeech of actuall deliuerie in ſaying *Receiue*, and the viſible ſigne thereof his breathing did ſhewe. Abſurd it were to imagine our Sauiour did both to the eare and alſo to the verie eye expreſſe a reall donation, and they at that time receiue nothing. It reſteth then that wee ſearch what ſpeciall grace they did at

a *Papiſticus quidã ritus, ſultè quidem ab illis & ſine vllo ſcripturæ fundamẽto inſtitutus, & à diſciplinæ noſtræ autoribus (pace illorum dixerim) non magno primum iudicio acceptus, minore adhuc in Eccleſia noſtra retinetur. Eccleſiaſt. diſci. p. 53.*

b *Eccleſi. diſcip. fol. 52. p. 2. lin. 1.*

at that time receiue. Touching miraculous power of the Spirit, moſt apparent it is, that as then they receiued it not, but the promiſe thereof was to bee ſhortly after performed. The words of Saint *Luke* concerning that power are therefore ſet downe with ſignification of the time to come, *Behold, I will ſend* the promiſe of my Father vpon you, but tarrie you in the Citie of Ieruſalem, vntill ye be indued with power from on high. Wherefore vndoubtedly it was ſome other effect of the Spirit, the holy Ghoſt in ſome other kinde which our Sauiour did then beſtow. What other likelier then that which himſelfe doth mention, as it ſhould ſeeme of purpoſe to take away all ambiguous conſtructions, and to declare that the holy Ghoſt which he then gaue, was an holy and a Ghoſtly authoritie, authoritie ouer the ſoules of men, authoritie, a part whereof conſiſteth in power to remit and retaine ſinnes? Receiue the holy Ghoſt, *Whoſe ſinnes ſoeuer ye remit, they are remitted, whoſe ſinnes ye retaine, they are retained.* Whereas therefore the other Euangeliſts had ſet downe, that Chriſt did before his ſuffering, promiſe to giue his Apoſtles the Keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and being riſen from the dead, promiſed moreouer at that time a miraculous power of the holy Ghoſt: Saint *Iohn* addeth, that he alſo inueſted them euen then with the power of the holy Ghoſt for caſtigation and relaxation of ſin, wherein was fully accompliſhed that which the promiſe of the Keyes did import. Seeing therefore that the ſame power is now giuen, why ſhould the ſame forme of words expreſſing it be thought fooliſh? The cauſe why we breathe not as Chriſt did on them vnto whom he imparted power, is, for that neither Spirit nor ſpiritual authoritie may be thought to proceede from vs, which are but delegates or aſſignes to giue men poſſeſſion of his graces. Now beſides that the power and authority deliuered with thoſe words is it ſelf χάρισμα, a gracious donation which the Spirit of God doth beſtow, wee may moſt aſſuredly perſwade our ſelues, that the hand which impoſeth vpon vs the function of our miniſterie, doth vnder the ſame forme of words ſo tie it ſelfe thereunto, that he which [a] receiueth the burthen, is thereby for euer warranted to haue the Spirit with him, and in him for his aſſiſtance, aid, countenance and ſupport in whatſoeuer he faithfully doth to diſcharge dutie. Knowing therefore that when we take ordination, we alſo receiue the preſence of the holy Ghoſt, partly to guide, direct, and ſtrengthen vs in all our wayes, and partly to aſſume vnto it ſelfe for the more authoritie, thoſe actions that appertaine to our place and calling, can our eares admit ſuch a ſpeech vttered in the reuerend performance of that ſolemnitie, or can wee at any time renew the memorie, and enter into ſerious cogitation thereof but with much admiration and ioy? Remoue what theſe fooliſh words doe imply, and what hath the Miniſterie of God beſides wherein to glory? Whereas now for as much as the holy Ghoſt, which our Sauiour in his firſt ordinations gaue, doth no leſſe concurre with ſpirituall vocations throughout all ages, then the Spirit which God deriueth from *Moſes* to them that aſſiſted him in his gouernment, did deſcend from them to their ſucceſſors in like authoritie and place, we haue for the leaſt and meaneſt duties performed by vertue of Miniſteriall power that, to dignifie, grace and authorize them, which no other offices on earth can challenge. Whether we preach, pray, baptize, communicate, condemne, giue abſolution,

Luke 24. 49.

Iohn 20. 23.

a *Et ſi neceſſarium eſt trepidare de merito, religioſum eſt tamen gaudere de dono: quoniam qui mihi oneris eſt autor, ipſe eſt & adminiſtrationis adiutor, & ne magnitudine gratiæ ſuccumbat infirmus, dabit virtutem qui contulit dignitatem. Leo. Serm. 1. in Anniuerſ. die A.* τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν διακονίαν τοῦ θυ. *Gre. Na. Num.* 11 17.

abſolution, or whatſoeuer, as diſpoſers of Gods myſteries, our words, iudgements, acts and deeds, are not ours but the holy Ghoſts. Enough if vnfainedly and in heart we did beleeue it, enough to baniſh whatſoeuer may iuſtly bee thought corrupt, either in beſtowing, or in vſing, or in eſteeming the ſame otherwiſe then is meete. For prophanely to beſtow, or looſly to vſe, or vilely to eſteeme of the holy Ghoſt, we all in ſhew and profeſſion abhorre. Now becauſe the Miniſterie is an office of dignitie and honour; ſome are doubtfull whether any man may ſeeke for it without offence, or to ſpeake more properly, doubtfull they are not, but rather bold to accuſe our Diſcipline in this reſpect, as not only permitting, but requiring alſo ambitious ſuites and other oblique waies or meanes whereby to obtaine it. Againſt this they pleade, that our Sauiour did ſtay till his Father ſent him, and the Apoſtles till hee them; that the ancient Biſhops in the Church of Chriſt were examples and patterns of the ſame modeſtie. Whereupon in the end they inferre, *Let vs therefore at the length amend that cuſtome of repairing from all parts vnto the Biſhop at the day of ordination, and of ſeeking to obtaine orders, let the cuſtome of bringing commendatorie letters bee remooued; let men keepe themſelues at home, expecting there the voice of God, and the authoritie of ſuch as may call them to vndertake charge.* Thus ſeuerely they cenſure and controule ambition, if it be ambition which they take vpon them to reprehend. For of that there is cauſe to doubt. Ambition, as we vnderſtand it, hath beene accompted a vice which ſeeketh after honours inordinately. Ambitious mindes eſteeming it their greateſt happineſſe to bee admired, reuerenced and adored aboue others, vſe all meanes lawfull and vnlawfull which may bring them to high roomes. But as for the power of order conſidered by it ſelfe, and as in this caſe it muſt be conſidered, ſuch reputation it hath in the eye of this preſent world, that they which affect it, rather neede encouragement to beare contempt, then deſerue blame as men that carrie aſpiring mindes. The worke whereunto this power ſerueth is commended, and the deſire thereof allowed by the Apoſtle for good. Neuertheleſſe becauſe the burthen thereof is heauie and the charge great, it commeth many times to paſſe, that the mindes euen of vertuous men are drawne into cleane contrarie affections, ſome in humilitie declining that by reaſon of hardneſſe, which others in regard of goodneſſe onely doe with feruent alacritie couet. So that there is not the leaſt degree in this ſeruice, but it may bee both * in reuerence ſhunned, and of very deuotion longed for. If then the deſire thereof may bee holy, religious, and good, may not the profeſſion of that deſire bee ſo likewiſe? Wee are not to thinke it ſo long good as it is diſſembled, and euill if once wee begin to open it. And allowing that it may bee opened without ambition, what offence I beſeech you is there in opening it there where it may be furthered and ſatisfied, in caſe they to whome it appertaineth thinke meete? In vaine are thoſe deſires allowed, the accompliſhment whereof it is not lawfull for men to ſeeke. Power therefore of Eccleſiaſticall order may bee deſired, the deſire thereof may bee profeſſed, they which profeſſe themſelues that way inclined, may endeuour

Author. libel. de diſcipl. Eccleſiaſt.

1. *Tim.* 3. 1.

* τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς εὐδοκιμωτάτους ἀνακοτῶν ἐυρίσκω ὅσους πώποτε εἰς ἐπισασίαν ἢ προφητείαν ἢ χάρις πρεσβάλλοι τοὺς μὲν εἴξαντας προθύμως τῇ κλήσει τοὺς δὲ ἀναβαλλομένους τὸ χάρισμα ϗ ὑδετέρων μεμπτῶ· οὔτε τῶν ὑποχωρησάντων τὴν δειλίαν, οὔτε τῶν ὁρμησάντων τὴν προθυμίαν, οἱ μετὰ γὰρ τῆς διακονίας τὸ μέγεθος ἐυλαβήθησαν, οἱ δὲ τῷ καλῶ πίσευσαντες ἠκολούθησαν. *Greg. Nazi. Apologet.*

to

to bring their deſires to effect, and in all this no neceſſitie of euill. Is it the bringing of teſtimoniall letters wherein ſo great obliquitie conſiſteth? What more ſimple, more plaine, more harmeleſſe, more agreeable with the law of common humanitie, then that men where they are not knowne, vſe for their eaſier acceſſe the credit of ſuch as can beſt giue teſtimonie of them? Letters of any other conſtruction our Church Diſcipline alloweth not, and theſe to allow, is neither to require ambitious ſuings, nor to approoue any indirect or vnlawfull act. The Prophet *Eſay* receiuing his meſſage at the hands of God, and his charge by heauenly viſion, heard the voice of the Lord ſaying, *Whome ſhall I ſend? Who ſhall goe for vs?* Whereunto he recordeth his owne anſwere, *Then I ſaid, Here, Lord I am, ſend me.* Which in effect is the rule and Canon whereby touching this point the very order of the Church is framed. The appointment of times for ſolemne ordination, is but the publique demaund of the Church in the name of the Lord himſelfe, *Whome ſhall I ſend, who ſhall goe for vs?* The confluence of men, whoſe inclinations are bent that way, is but the anſwere thereunto, whereby the labours of ſundry being offred, the Church hath freedome to take whome her agents in ſuch caſe thinke meete and requiſite. As for the example of our Sauiour Chriſt, who tooke not to himſelfe this honour to bee made our high Prieſt, but receiued the ſame from him which ſaid; *Thou art a Prieſt for euer after the order of Melchiſedec*, his waiting, and not attempting to execute the office till God ſaw conuenient time, may ſerue in reproofe of vſurped honours, for as much as wee ought not of our owne accord to aſſume dignities, whereunto wee are not called as Chriſt was. But yet it ſhould bee withall conſidered, that a proud vſurpation without any orderly calling is one thing, and another the bare declaration of willingneſſe to obtaine admittance, which willingneſſe of minde, I ſuppoſe did not want in him whoſe anſwere was to the voyce of his heauenly calling, *Behold, I am come to doe thy will.* And had it beene for him, as it is for vs, expedient to receiue his commiſſion ſigned with the hands of men, ſo ſeeke it, might better haue beſeemed his humilitie, then it doth our boldneſſe to reprehend them of pride and ambition, that make no worſe kind of ſutes then by letters of information. Himſelfe in calling his Apoſtles preuented all cogitations of theirs that way, to the end it might truely be ſaid of them, *Ye choſe not me, but I of mine owne voluntarie motion made choice of you.* Which kinde of vndeſired nomination to Eccleſiaſticall places, befell diuers of the moſt famous amongſt the ancient Fathers of the Church in a cleane contrarie conſideration. For our Sauiours election reſpected not any merit or worth, but tooke them which were fartheſt off from likelihood of fitneſſe, that afterwards their ſupernaturall abilitie and performance beyond hope might cauſe the greater admiration, whereas in the other meere admiration of their ſingular and rare vertues was the reaſon why honours were inforced vpon them, which they of meeknеſſe and modeſtie did what they could to auoid. But did they euer iudge it a thing vnlawfull to wiſh or deſire the Office, the onely charge and bare function of the Miniſterie? Towards which labour what doth the bleſſed Apoſtle elſe but encourage, ſaying, *Hee which deſireth it, is deſirous of a good worke?* What doth

Eſay 6. 8.

Hebr. 5. 5.

Hebr. 10. 8.

doth he els by ſuch ſentences but ſtirre, kindle and inflame ambition, if I may terme that deſire ambition, which coueteth more to teſtifie loue by painefulneſſe in Gods ſeruice, then to reape any other benefit? Although of the very honour it ſelfe, and of other emoluments annexed to ſuch labours, for more encouragement of mans induſtrie, wee are not ſo to conceiue neither, as if no affection could be caſt towards them without offence. Only as the Wiſe man giueth counſell: *Seeke not to be made a Iudge, leſt thou be not able to take away iniquitie, and leſt thou fearing the perſon of the mightie, ſhouldeſt commit an offence againſt thine vprightneſſe,* ſo it alwaies behoueth men to take good heede, leſt affection to that, which hath in it as well difficultie as goodneſſe, ſophiſticate the true and ſincere iudgement which before-hand they ought to haue of their owne abilitie, for want whereof, many forward minds haue found in ſtead of contentment repentance. But for as much as hardneſſe of things in themſelues moſt excellent cooleth the feruencie of mens deſires, vnleſſe there be ſomewhat naturally acceptable to incite labour (for both the method of ſpeculatiue knowledge doth by things which wee ſenſibly perceiue conduct to that which is in nature more certaine though leſſe ſenſible, and the method of vertuous actions is alſo to traine beginners at the firſt by things acceptable vnto the taſte of naturall appetite, till our minds at the length be ſettled to imbrace things precious in the eye of reaſon, meerely and wholly for their owne ſakes) howſoeuer inordinate deſires doe heereby take occaſion to abuſe the politie of God and nature, either affecting without worth, or procuring by vnſeemely meanes that which was inſtituted, and ſhould be reſerued for better minds to obtaine by more approued courſes, in which conſideration the Emperours *Anthemius* and *Leo* did worthily oppoſe againſt ſuch ambitious practices that ancient famous Conſtitution, wherein they haue theſe ſentences, *Let not a Prelate be ordained for reward or vpon requeſt, who ſhould be ſo farre ſequeſtred from all ambition, that they which aduance him might be faine to ſearch where hee hideth himſelfe, to intreat him drawing back, and to follow him till importunitie haue made him yeeld, let nothing promote him but his excuſes to auoid the burthen, they are vnworthie of that vocation which are not thereunto brought vnwillingly*; notwithſtanding, wee ought not therefore with the odious name of ambition, to traduce and draw into hatred euery poore requeſt or ſute wherein men may ſeeme to affect honor; ſeeing that ambition and modeſtie doe not alwaies ſo much differ in the marke they ſhoote at, as in the manner of their proſecutions. Yea euen in this may be error alſo, if wee ſtill imagine them leaſt ambitious, which moſt forbeare to ſtirre either hand or foote towards their owne preferments. For there are that make an Idole of their great ſufficiencie, and becauſe they ſurmize the place ſhould be happie that might enioy them, they walke euery where like graue Pageants, obſeruing whether men doe not wonder why ſo ſmall accompt is made of ſo rare worthineſſe, and in caſe any other mans aduancement be mentioned, they either ſmile or bluſh at the maruailous follie of the world, which ſeeth not where dignities ſhould offer themſelues. Seeing therefore that ſutes after ſpirituall functions may be as ambitiouſly forborne as proſecuted, it remaineth that the [a] euenеſt line of moderation betweene both is neither to follow them, *without conſcience,*

Eccluſ. 7. 6.

[a] μέσος εἰμὶ τις τῶν τε ἀγαν τολμηρῶν καὶ τῶν λίαν δειλῶν, τῶν μὲν πάσας ἐπιτιθέντων προσασίας δειλότερος τῶν δὲ φευγόντων πάσας θαρσαλεώτερος. *Gregor. Nazian. Apologet.*

conſcience, nor of *pride*, to withdraw our ſelues vtterly from them.

78. It pleaſeth Almightie God to chooſe to himſelfe for diſcharge of the *legall Miniſterie one onely Tribe out of twelue others, the Tribe of *Leui*, not all vnto euery diuine ſeruice, but *Aaron* and his ſonnes to one charge, the reſt of that ſanctified Tribe to another. With what ſolemnities they were admitted into their functions, in what manner *Aaron* and his ſucceſſors the high Prieſts aſcended euery Sabboth and feſtiuall day, offered, and miniſtred in the Temple; with what ſinne-offering once euery yeere they reconciled firſt themſelues and their owne houſe, afterwards the people vnto God; how they confeſſed all the iniquities of the children of *Iſrael*, laid all their treſpaſſes vpon the head of a ſacred Goate, and ſo carried them out of the Citie; how they purged the holy place from all vncleaneneſſe, with what reuerence they entred within the Vaile, preſented themſelues before the mercy ſeate, and conſulted with the Oracle of God: What ſeruice the other Prieſts did continually in the holy place, how they miniſtred about the Lamps Morning and Euening; how euery Sabboth they placed on the Table of the Lord thoſe twelue loaues with pure incenſe in perpetuall remembrance of that mercy which the Fathers the twelue Tribes had found by the prouidence of God for their foode, when hunger cauſed them to leaue their naturall ſoyle, and to ſeeke for ſuſtenance in Egypt; how they imployed themſelues in ſacrifice day by day; finally, what offices the Leuites diſcharged, and what duties the reſt did execute, it were a labour too long to enter into it, if I ſhould collect that which Scriptures and other ancient records doe mention. Beſides theſe, there were indifferently out of all Tribes from time to time ſome cald of God as Prophets fore-ſhewing them things to come, and giuing them counſell in ſuch particulars as they could not be directed in by the Law; ſome choſen of men to reade, ſtudie, and interpret the Law of God, as the Sonnes or Schollers of the old Prophets, in whoſe roome afterwards Scribes and expounders of the law ſucceeded. And becauſe where ſo great varietie is, if there ſhould be equalitie, confuſion would follow, the Leuits were in all their ſeruice at the appointment and direction of the ſonnes of *Aaron* or Prieſts, they ſubiect to the principall guides and leaders of their owne order, and they all in obedience vnder the high Prieſt. Which difference doth alſo manifeſt it ſelfe in the verie titles, that men for honours ſake gaue vnto them, terming *Aaron* and his ſucceſſors High or great; the ancients ouer the companies of Prieſts, Archprieſts; Prophets, Fathers; Scribes and interpreters of the law, Maſters. Touching the Miniſterie of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, the whole bodie of the Church being deuided into Laitie and Cleargie, the Cleargie are either Presbyters or Deacons. I rather terme the one ſort Presbyters then [a] Prieſts, becauſe in a matter of ſo ſmall moment I would not willingly offend their eares, to whom the name of Prieſthood is odious though without cauſe. For as things are diſtinguiſhed one from another by thoſe true eſſentiall formes, which being really and actually

Of degrees whereby the power of order is diſtinguiſhed & concerning the attire of Miniſters.

* Πρὸς διακρίσιν δὲ φυλαὶ καὶ ὁσιότητος καὶ ἐνσεβείας καὶ λειτουργιῶν εἰς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον τιμὴν ἀναφέρονται. *Philo. p. 297.*

[a] *T.C. l. 1. pag.* 198. For ſo much as the common and vſuall ſpeech of England is to note by the word *Prieſt* not a Miniſter of the Goſpell, but a *Sacrificer* which the Miniſter of the Goſpell is not, therefore wee ought not to call the Miniſters of the Goſpell *Prieſts*. And that this is the Engliſh ſpeech, it appeareth by all the Engliſh tranſlations which Tranſlate alwayes ἱερεῖς which were ſacrificers, *Prieſts*, and doe not of the other ſide, for any that euer I read, tranſlate πρεσβύτερον a *Prieſt*. Seeing therefore a Prieſt with vs, and in our tongue doth ſignifie both by the Papiſts iudgement in reſpect of their abominable Maſſe, and alſo by the iudgement of the Proteſtants in reſpect of the beaſts which were offered in the Law, a *ſacrificing office*, which the Miniſter of the Goſpell neither doth nor can execute, it is manifeſt that it cannot bee without great offence ſo vſed.

ally in them, doe not onely giue them the very laſt and higheſt degree of their naturall perfection, but are alſo the knot, foundation and roote whereupon all other inferiour perfections depend: ſo if they that firſt doe impoſe names, did alwayes vnderſtand exactly the nature of that which they nominate, it may be that then by hearing the termes of vulgar ſpeech, wee ſhould ſtill be taught what the things themſelues moſt properly are. But becauſe words haue ſo many artificers by whome they are made, and the things whereunto wee apply them are fraught with ſo many varieties, it is not alwayes apparant, what the firſt inuentors reſpected, much leſſe what euery mans inward conceit is which vſeth their words. For any thing my ſelfe can diſcerne herein, I ſuppoſe, that they which haue bent their ſtudie to ſearch more diligently ſuch matters, doe for the moſt part finde that names aduiſedly giuen, had either regard vnto that which is naturally moſt proper; or if perhaps, to ſome other ſpecialtie, to that which is ſenſibly moſt eminent in the thing ſignified; and concerning popular vſe of words, that which the wiſedome of their inuentors did intend thereby, is not commonly thought of, but by the name the thing altogether conceiued in groſſe, as may appeare in that if you aske of the common ſort what any certaine word, for example, what a Prieſt doth ſignifie, their manner is not to anſwere a Prieſt is a Clergie-man which offereth the ſacrifice to God, but they ſhew ſome particular perſon, whome they vſe to call by that name. And if wee liſt to deſcend to Grammar, wee are told by Maſters in thoſe Schooles, that the word *Prieſt* hath his right place ἐπὶ τοῦ ϕυλάττοντος τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, in him whoſe meere function or charge is the ſeruice of God. Howbeit becauſe the moſt eminent part both of *Heathenish* and *Iewiſh* ſeruice did conſiſt in ſacrifice, when learned men declare what the word Prieſt doth properly ſignify *according to the mind of the firſt impoſer* of that name, their ordinarie [a] Schooles doe well expound it to imply ſacrifice. Seeing then that ſacrifice is now no part of the Church-Miniſterie, how ſhould the name of Prieſthood bee thereunto rightly applied? Surely euen as Saint *Paul* applyeth the name of [b] *fleſh* vnto that very ſubſtance of fiſhes which hath a proportionable correſpondence to fleſh, although it bee in nature another thing. Whereupon when Philoſophers will ſpeake warily, they [c] make a difference betweene fleſh in one ſort of liuing creatures, and that other ſubſtance in the reſt which hath but a kind of analogie to fleſh: the Apoſtle contrariwiſe hauing matter of greater importance whereof to ſpeake, nameth indifferently both fleſh. The Fathers of the Church of Chriſt with like ſecuritie of ſpeech call vſually the Miniſterie of the Goſpell *Prieſthood*, in regard of that which the Goſpell hath *proportionable* to ancient ſacrifices, namely, the *Communion* of the bleſſed body and bloud of Chriſt, although it haue properly now no ſacrifice. As for the people when they heare the name, it draweth no more *their mindes* to any cogitation of ſacrifice, then the name of a Senator or of an Alderman, cauſeth them to thinke vpon old age, or to imagine that euery one ſo termed muſt needs be ancient, becauſe yeeres were reſpected in the firſt nomination of both. Wherefore to paſſe by the name, let them vſe what dialect they will, whether we call it a Prieſthood, a Presbyterſhip, or a Miniſterie, it skilleth not: Although in truth the word *Presbyter* doth ſeeme more fit

Etymol. mag.

a *Heſy. Chriſtus homo dicitur, quia natus eſt Propheta, quia futura reuelauit, ſacerdos, quia pro nobis hoſtiam ſe obtulit. Iſid. orig. lib. 7. cap. 2.*

b *1. Cor. 15. 39.*

c Ἔχει δ' ἀπορίαν τι τὸ αἰσθητήριον τὸ τοῦ ἁπλοῦ ἁπτικὸν, πότερον ἢ σαρξ ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἀνάλογον ἢ οὔ. *Ariſt. de Anim. l. 3. c. 13.*

fit, and in proprietie of ſpeech more agreeable then *Prieſt* with the drift of the whole Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt. For what are they that imbrace the Goſpell but ſonnes of God? What are Churches but his families? Seeing therefore wee receiue the adoption and ſtate of ſonnes by their miniſterie whome God hath choſen out for that purpoſe, ſeeing alſo that when we are the ſonnes of God, our continuance is ſtill vnder their care which were our progenitors, what better title could there bee giuen them then the reuerend name of *Preſbyters*, or fatherly guides? The holy Ghoſt throughout the body of the new Teſtament making ſo much mention of them, doth not any where call them Prieſts. The Prophet *Eſay* I graunt doth, but in ſuch ſort as the ancient Fathers by way of analogie. *A Presbyter* according to the proper meaning of the new Teſtament *is he, vnto whome our Sauiour Chriſt hath communicated the power of ſpirituall procreation*. Out of twelue Patriarkes iſſued the whole multitude of *Iſrael* according to the fleſh. And according to the myſterie of heauenly birth, our Lords Apoſtles wee all acknowledge to be the Patriarks of his whole Church. Saint *Iohn* therefore beheld ſitting about the Throne of God in heauen [a] foure and twentie Presbyters, the one halfe Fathers of the old, [b] the other of the new Ieruſalem. In which reſpect the Apoſtles likewiſe gaue themſelues the ſame title, albeit that name were not proper, but common vnto them with others. For of Presbyters, ſome were greater, ſome leſſe in power, and that by our Sauiours owne appointment; the greater they which receiued fulneſſe of ſpirituall power, the leſſe they to whome leſſe was graunted. The Apoſtles peculiar charge was to publiſh the Goſpell of Chriſt vnto all nations, and to deliuer them his ordinances receiued by *immediate reuelation* [c] *from himſelfe*. Which preeminence excepted, to all other offices and duties incident into their order, it was in them to ordaine and conſecrate whome ſo euer they thought meete, euen as our Sauiour did himſelfe aſſigne ſeuentie other of his owne Diſciples inferior Presbyters, whoſe commiſſion to preach and baptize, was the ſame which the Apoſtles had. Whereas therefore wee finde that the very firſt Sermon which the Apoſtles did publikely make, was the conuerſion of aboue three thouſand ſoules, vnto whome there were euerie day more and more added, they hauing no open place permitted them for the exerciſe of Chriſtian Religion, thinke wee that twelue were ſufficient to teach and adminiſter Sacraments in ſo many priuate places, as ſo great a multitude of people did require? This harueſt our Sauiour (no doubt) foreſeeing, prouided accordingly labourers for it beforehand. By which meanes it came to paſſe, that the growth of that Church being ſo great and ſo ſuddaine, they had notwithſtanding in a readineſſe Presbyters enow to furniſh it. And therefore the hiſtorie doth make no mention by what occaſion Presbyters were inſtituted in Ieruſalem, onely wee reade of things which they did, and how the like were made afterwards elſe where. To theſe two degrees appointed of our Lord and Sauiour, Chriſt his Apoſtles ſoone after annexed Deacons. Deacons therefore muſt know, ſaith *Cyprian*, that our Lord himſelfe did elect Apoſtles, but Deacons after his aſcenſion into heauen the Apoſtles ordained. Deacons were ſtewards of the Church, vnto whome at the firſt was committed the diſtribution of Church-goods, the care of prouiding therewith for the

a *Reuel.*4.4.
b *Reuel.*21.14. *Math.*19.28. 1.*Pet.*5.1.
c ὁι τῶν ἱερῶν δεσπαραδότους νομοθέτας. *Dionyſ. Areop.* p.110.
*Act.*2.41.47.
Eſay 66.21.
*Cypr. Ep.*9.l.3. *ad Rogatianum.*

the poore, and the charge to ſee that all things of expence might bee religiouſly and faithfully dealt in. A part alſo of their Office, was attendance vpon their Presbyters at the time of Diuine Seruice. For which cauſe *Ignatius*, to ſet forth the dignitie of their calling, ſayth, that they are in ſuch caſe to the Biſhop, as if Angelicall powers did ſerue him. Theſe onely being the vſes for which Deacons were firſt made, if the Church haue ſithence extended their Miniſterie farther then the circuit of their labour at the firſt was drawne, we are not herein to thinke the ordinance of Scripture violated, except there appeare ſome prohibition, which hath abridged the Church of that libertie. Which I note chiefly in regard of them to whome it ſeemeth a thing ſo monſtrous, that Deacons ſhould ſometime be licenſed to preach, whoſe inſtitution was at the firſt to another end. To charge them for this as men not contented with their owne vocations, and as breakers into that which appertaineth vnto others, is very hard. For when they are thereunto once admitted, it is a part of their owne vocation, it appertaineth now vnto them as well as others, neither is it intruſion for them to doe it being in ſuch ſort called, but rather in vs it were temeritie to blame them for doing it. Suppoſe wee the office of teaching to bee ſo repugnant vnto the office of Deaconſhip, that they cannot concurre in one and the ſame perſon? What was there done in the Church by Deacons, which the Apoſtles did not firſt diſcharge being teachers? Yea but the Apoſtles found the burthen of teaching ſo heauie, that they iudged it meete to cut off that other charge, and to haue Deacons which might vndertake it. Bee it ſo. The multitude of Chriſtians increaſing in Ieruſalem, and waxing great, it was too much for the Apoſtles to teach, and to miniſter vnto Tables alſo. The former was not to bee ſlacked, that this latter might bee followed. Therefore vnto this they appointed others. Whereupon we may rightly ground this axiome, that when the ſubiect wherein one mans labours of ſundrie kinds are imployed, doth waxe ſo great, that the ſame men are no longer able to manage it ſufficiently as before, the moſt naturall way to helpe this is, by deuiding their charge into ſlipes and ordaining of vnder-officers, as our Sauiour vnder twelue Apoſtles, ſeuentie Presbyters, and the Apoſtles by his example ſeuen Deacons to bee vnder both. Neither ought it to ſeeme leſſe reaſonable, that when the ſame men are ſufficient both to continue in that which they doe, and alſo to vndertake ſomewhat more, a combination bee admitted in this caſe, as well as diuiſion in the former. Wee may not therefore diſallow it in the Church of Geneua, that *Caluin* and *Beza* were made both Paſtors and Readers of Diuinitie, being men ſo able to diſcharge both. To ſay they did not content themſelues with their Paſtorall vocations, but brake into that which belongeth to others; to alleage againſt them, *He that exhorteth in exhortation*, as againſt vs, *He that diſtributeth in ſimplicitie*, is alleaged in great diſlike of graunting licence for Deacons to preach, were very hard. The ancient cuſtome of the Church, was to yeeld the poore much reliefe, eſpecially widdowes. But as poore people are alwayes querulous and apt to thinke themſelues leſſe reſpected then they ſhould bee, wee ſee that when the Apoſtles did what they could without hinderance to their waightier buſines,

Ignat. Epiſt. ad Tral.

Rom. 12. 8.

yet

yet there were which grudged that other had too much, and they too little, the Grecian Widowes ſhorter Commons then the Hebrewes. By meanes whereof the Apoſtles ſaw it meet to ordaine Deacons. Now tract of time hauing cleane worne out thoſe firſt occaſions, for which the Deaconſhip was then moſt neceſſary, it might the better be afterwards extended to other Seruices, and ſo remaine as at this preſent day, a degree in the Clergie of God which the Apoſtles of Chriſt did inſtitute. That the firſt ſeuen Deacons were choſen out of the ſeuentie Diſciples, is an errour in *Epiphanius*. For to draw men from places of waightier, vnto roomes of meaner labour, had not beene fit. The Apoſtles, to the end they might follow teaching with more freedome, committed the Miniſterie of Tables vnto Deacons. And ſhall we thinke they iudged it expedient to chooſe ſo many out of thoſe Seuentie to bee Miniſters vnto Tables, when Chriſt himſelfe had before made them Teachers? It appeareth therefore, how long theſe three degrees of Eccleſiaſticall Order haue continued in the Church of Chriſt, the higheſt and largeſt, that which the Apoſtles, the next that which Preſbyters, and the loweſt that which Deacons had. Touching Prophets, they were ſuch men as hauing otherwiſe learned, the Goſpell had from aboue beſtowed vpon them a ſpeciall gift of expounding Scriptures, and of foreſhewing things to come. Of this ſort *Agabus* was, and beſides him in Ieruſalem ſundry others, who notwithſtanding are not therefore to bee reckoned with the Clergie, becauſe no mans gifts or qualities can make him a Miniſter of Holy things, vnleſſe Ordination doe giue him power. And wee no where find Prophets to haue beene made by Ordination, but all whom the Church did ordaine, were either to ſerue as Preſbyters or as Deacons. Euangeliſts were Preſbyters of principall ſufficiencie, whom the Apoſtles ſent abroad, and vſed as Agents in Eccleſiaſticall affaires whereſoeuer they ſaw need. They whom wee find to haue beene named in Scripture, Euangeliſts, [m] *Ananias*, [n] *Apollos*, [o] *Timothy*, and others were thus imployed. And concerning Euangeliſts, afterwards in *Traians* dayes, the Hiſtory Eccleſiaſticall noteth that many of the Apoſtles, Diſciples and Scholers which were then aliue, and did with ſingular loue of Wiſedome affect the Heauenly Word of God, to ſhew their willing minds in executing that which Chriſt firſt of all requireth at the hands of men, they ſold their Poſſeſſions, gaue them to the poore, betaking themſelues to trauaile, vndertooke the labour of Euangeliſts, that is, they painefully preached Chriſt, and deliuered the Goſpell to them, who as yet had neuer heard the Doctrine of Faith. Finally, whom the Apoſtle nameth Paſtors and Teachers, what other were they then Preſbyters alſo, howbeit ſettled in ſome certaine charge, and thereby differing from Euangeliſts? I beſeech them therefore which haue hitherto troubled the Church with queſtions, about Degrees and Offices of Eccleſiaſticall calling, becauſe they principally ground themſelues vpon two places, that all partialitie laid aſide, they would ſincerely waigh and examine whether they haue not miſ-interpreted both places, and all by ſurmiſing incompatible Offices, where nothing is meant but ſundry graces, gifts and abilities which Chriſt beſtowed. To them of Corinth, his words are theſe, *God placed in the Church, firſt of all, ſome Apoſtles; Secondly, Prophets; Thirdly, Teachers; after them*

Epiph. lib. 1. c. 21.

Act. 21. 10.

Act. 11. 27.

m *Act. 9. 18.*
n *Act. 18. 24.*
o *2. Tim. 4. 5. 9. 1. Tim. 3. 15. 5. 14. 2. 8.*

Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. l. 3. c. 34.

1. Cor. 12. 28.

 powers,

powers, then gifts of Cures, Aides, Gouernments, kinds of Languages. Are all Apoſtles? Are all Prophets? Are all Teachers? Is there power in all? Haue all Grace to cure? Doe all ſpeake with Tongues? Can all interpret? But be you deſirous of the better Graces. They which plainly diſcerne firſt, that ſome *one generall* thing there is which the Apoſtle doth here deuide into all theſe branches, and doe ſecondly conceiue that generall to bee Church-Offices, beſides a number of other difficulties, can by no meanes poſſibly denie but that many of theſe might concurre in one man, and peraduenture, in ſome one all, which mixture notwithſtanding, their forme of Diſcipline doth moſt ſhunne. On the other ſide, admit that *Communicants of ſpeciall infuſed grace*, for the benefit of members knit into one body, the Church of Chriſt, are here ſpoken of, which was in truth the plaine drift of that whole diſcourſe, and ſee if euery thing doe not anſwere in due place with that fitneſſe, which ſheweth eaſily what is likelieſt to haue been meant. For why are Apoſtles the firſt, but becauſe vnto them was granted the Reuelation of all Truth from Chriſt immediately? Why Prophets the ſecond, but becauſe they had of ſome things knowledge in the ſame manner? Teachers the next, becauſe whatſoeuer was knowne to them it came by hearing, yet God withall made them able to inſtruct, which euery one could not doe that was taught. After Gifts of Edification there follow generall abilities to worke things aboue Nature, Grace to cure men of bodily Diſeaſes, Supplies againſt occurrent Defects and Impediments, Dexterities to gouerne and direct by Counſell; Finally, Aptneſſe to ſpeake or interpret Forraine Tongues. Which Graces not powred out equally, but diuerſly ſorted and giuen, were a cauſe why not onely they all did furniſh vp the whole Body, but each benefit and helpe other. Againe, the ſame Apoſtle otherwhere in like ſort, *To euerie one of vs is giuen grace, according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt. Wherefore he ſaith, When he aſcended vp on high, he led Captiuity captiue, and gaue gifts vnto men. He therefore gaue ſome Apoſtles, and ſome Prophets, and ſome Euangeliſts, and ſome Paſtors and Teachers, for the gathering together of Saints, for the worke of the Miniſtery, for the edification of the Body of Chriſt.* In this place none but gifts of inſtruction are expreſt. And becauſe the Teachers ſome were Euangeliſts which neither had any part of their knowledge by Reuelation as the Prophets, and yet in abilitie to teach were farre beyond other Paſtors, they are, as hauing receiued one way leſſe then Prophets, and another way more then Teachers, ſet accordingly betweene both. For the Apoſtle doth in neither place reſpect what any of them were by Office or power giuen them through Ordination, but what by Grace they all had obtained through miraculous infuſion of the Holy Ghoſt. For in Chriſtian Religion, this being the ground of our whole Beliefe, that the promiſes which God of olde had made by his Prophets concerning the wonderfull Gifts and Graces of the Holy Ghoſt, wherewith the Raigne of the true *Meſſias* ſhould bee made glorious, were immediately after our Lords Aſcenſion performed, there is no one thing whereof the Apoſtles did take more often occaſion to ſpeake. Out of men thus indued with gifts of the Spirit vpon their Conuerſion to Chriſtian Faith, the Church had her Miniſters choſen, vnto whom was giuen Eccleſiaſticall power by Ordination. Now, becauſe the Apoſtle in reckoning degrees and varieties of Grace, doth mention

Ephes.4.7.
Pſal.68.18.

mention Paſtors and Teachers, although hee mention them not in reſpect of their Ordination to exerciſe the Miniſterie, but as Examples of men eſpecially enricht with the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, diuers Learned and Skilfull men haue ſo taken it, as if thoſe places did intend to teach what Orders of Eccleſiaſticall perſons there ought to bee in the Church of Chriſt, which thing wee are not to learne from thence, but out of other parts of Holy Scripture, whereby it cleerely appeareth, that Churches Apoſtolike did know but three degrees in the power of Eccleſiaſticall Order, at the firſt Apoſtles, Preſbyters, and Deacons, afterwards in ſtead of Apoſtles, Biſhops, concerning whoſe order wee are to ſpeake in the Seuenth Booke. There is an errour which beguileth many who much intangle both themſelues and others by not diſtinguiſhing *Seruices, Offices*, and *Orders* Eccleſiaſticall, the firſt of which three, and in part the ſecond may bee executed by the Laitie, whereas none haue, or can haue the third but the Clergie. Catechiſts, Exorciſts, Readers, Singers, and the reſt of like ſort, if the nature onely of their labours and paines be conſidered, may in that reſpect ſeeme Clergie-men, euen as the Fathers for that cauſe terme them vſually Clerkes, as alſo in regard of the end whereunto they were trained vp, which was to bee ordered when yeeres and experience ſhould make them able. Notwithſtanding, in as much as they no way differed from others of the Laitie longer then during that worke of Seruice, which at any time they might giue ouer, being thereunto but admitted; not tyed by irreuocable Ordination, we find them alwaies exactly ſeuered from that bodie whereof thoſe three before rehearſed orders alone are naturall parts. Touching Widowes, of whom ſome men are perſwaded, that if ſuch as Saint *Paul* deſcribeth may bee gotten, wee ought to retaine them in the Church for euer, certaine meane Seruices there were of Attendance, as about Women, at the time of their Baptiſme, about the bodies of the ſicke and dead, about the neceſſities of Trauailers, Wayfaring men and ſuch like, wherein the Church did commonly vſe them when need required, becauſe they liued of the Almes of the Church, and were fitteſt for ſuch purpoſes. Saint *Paul* doth therefore, to auoide ſcandall, require that none but Women well experienced and vertuouſly giuen, neither any vnder threeſcore yeeres of age ſhould be admitted of that number. Widowes were neuer in the Church ſo highly eſteemed as Virgines. But ſeeing neither of them did or could receiue Ordination, to make them Eccleſiaſticall perſons were abſurd. The ancienteſt therefore of the Fathers mention thoſe three degrees of Eccleſiaſticall Order ſpecified and no moe. *When your Captaines* (ſaith TERTVLLIAN) *that is to ſay, the Deacons, Presbyters and Biſhops flye, who ſhall teach the Laitie, that they muſt be conſtant?* Againe, *What ſhould I mention Lay men* (ſaith OPTATVS) *yea, or diuers of the Miniſtery it ſelfe? To what purpoſe Deacons, which are in the third, or Presbyters in the ſecond degree of Prieſthood, when the very Heads and Princes of all, euen certaine of the Biſhops themſelues* were content to redeeme life with the loſſe of Heauen? Heaps of allegations in a caſe ſo euident & plaine are needleſſe. I may ſecurely therefore conclude, that there are at this day in the Church of England, no other then the ſame degrees of Eccleſiaſticall Order, namely, Biſhops, Preſbyters, and Deacons, which had their beginning from Chriſt, & his bleſſed Apoſtles themſelues. As for Deanes,

T.C.li.1.p.191. 1.Tim.5.9.

Tertul. de Præſcript.

Optat.lib.1.

Prebendaries, Parſons, Vicars, Curats, Archdeacons, Chancelors, Officials, Commiſſaries, and ſuch other the like names, which being not found in Holy Scripture, wee haue beene thereby through ſome mens errour thought to allow of Eccleſiaſticall Degrees not knowne, nor euer heard of in the better Ages of former times, all theſe are in truth but Titles of Office, whereunto partly Eccleſiaſticall perſons, and partly others are in ſundry formes and conditions admitted, as the ſtate of the Church doth need Degrees of Order, ſtill continuing the ſame they were from the firſt beginning. Now, what habit or attire doth beſeeme each order to vſe in the courſe of common life, both, for the grauitie of his place, and for example ſake, to other men is a matter friuolous to be diſputed of. A ſmall meaſure of Wiſdome may ſerue to teach them how they ſhould cut their coats. But ſeeing all well ordered Polities haue euer iudged it meet and fit by certaine ſpeciall diſtinct Ornaments to ſeuer each ſort of men from other when they are in publike, to the end that all may receiue ſuch Complements of Ciuill Honour, as are due to their Roomes and Callings, euen where their perſons are not knowne, it argueth a diſproportioned mind in them, whom ſo decent Orders diſpleaſe.

Of Oblations, Foundations, Endowments, Tithes, all intended for perpetuity of Religion, which purpoſe being chiefly fulfilled by the Clergies certaine and ſufficient maintenance, muſt needs by alienation of Church-liuings be made fruſtrate.

79 Wee might ſomewhat maruaile, what the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* ſhould meane to ſay that Couetouſneſſe is Idolatrie, if the daily practice of men did not ſhew, that whereas Nature requireth God to bee honoured with wealth, wee honour for the moſt part wealth as God. Faine we would teach our ſelues to beleeue, that for worldly goods it ſufficeth frugally & honeſtly to vſe them to our owne benefit, without detriment and hurt of others; or if we goe a degree farther, and perhaps conuert ſome ſmall contemptible Portion thereof to Charitable vſes, the whole dutie which we owe vnto God herein is fully ſatiſfied. But for as much as wee cannot rightly honour God, vnleſſe both our Soules and Bodies be ſometime imployed meerely in his Seruice, againe, ſith wee know that Religion requireth at our hands the taking away of ſo great a part of the time of our liues quite and cleane from our owne buſineſſe, and the beſtowing of the ſame in his, ſuppoſe we that nothing of our wealth and ſubſtance is immediately due to God, but all our owne to beſtow and ſpend as our ſelues thinke meet? Are not our riches as well his as the daies of our life are his? Wherefore, vnleſſe with part wee acknowledge his ſupreme Dominion, by whoſe beneuolence wee haue the whole, how giue wee Honour to whom Honour belongeth, or how hath God, the things that are Gods? I would know what Nation in the World did euer Honour God, and not thinke it a point of their dutie to doe him Honour with their very goods. So that this wee may boldly ſet downe as a Principle cleere in Nature, an Axiome which ought not to be called in queſtion, a truth manifeſt and infallible, that men are eternally bound to honor God with their ſubſtance, in token of thankfull acknowledgement that all they haue is from him. To honour him with our worldly goods, not only by ſpending them in lawfull manner, and by vſing them without offence, but alſo by alienating from our ſelues ſome reaſonable part or portion thereof, and by offering vp the ſame to him as a ſigne that wee gladly confeſſe his ſole and Soueraigne Dominion ouer all, is a dutie which all men are bound vnto, and a part of that very Worſhip of God, which as the Law of God and

and nature it ſelfe requireth, ſo wee are the rather to thinke all men no leſſe ſtrictly bound thereunto then to any other naturall dutie, in as much as the hearts of men doe ſo cleaue to theſe earthly things, ſo much admire them for the ſway they haue in the World, impute them ſo generally either to Nature or to Chance and Fortune, ſo little thinke vpon the Grace and Prouidence from which they come, that vnleſſe by a kind of continuall tribute we did acknowledge Gods Dominion, it may be doubted, that in ſhort time men would learne to forget whoſe Tenants they are, and imagine that the World is their owne abſolute, free and independent Inheritance. Now, concerning the kind or qualitie of gifts which God receiueth in that ſort, wee are to conſider them, partly, as firſt they proceed from vs, and partly, as afterwards they are to ſerue for Diuine vſes. In that they are Teſtimonies of our affection towards God, there is no doubt, but ſuch they ſhould bee as beſeemeth moſt his glorie to whom we offer them. In this reſpect, the fatneſſe of *Abels* Sacrifice is commended, the Flowre of all mens Increaſe aſſigned to God by *Salomon*, the Gifts and Donations of the people reiected, as oft as their cold affection to Godward, made their Preſents to bee little worth. Somewhat the Heathens ſaw, touching that which was heerein fit, and therefore they vnto their gods did not thinke they might conſecrate any thing which was *impure* or *vnſound*, or *alreadie giuen*, or elſe *not truely their owne to giue*. Againe, in regard of vſe, for as much as wee know that God hath himſelfe no need of worldly commodities, but taketh them becauſe it is our good to bee ſo exerciſed, and with no other intent accepteth them, but to haue them vſed for the endleſſe continuance of Religion, there is no place left of doubt or controuerſie, but that wee in the choice of our Gifts are to leuell at the ſame marke, and to frame our ſelues to his knowne intents and purpoſes. Whether wee giue vnto God therefore that which himſelfe by Commandement requireth; or that which the publike conſent of the Church thinketh good to allot; or that which euerie mans priuate deuotion doth beſt like, in as much as the Gift which wee offer, proceedeth not only as a Teſtimonie of our affection towards God, but alſo as a meane to vphold Religion, the exerciſe whereof cannot ſtand without the helpe of Temporall commodities, if all men be taught of Nature to wiſh, and as much as in them lyeth, to procure the perpetuitie of good things, if for that very cauſe we honour and admire their wiſedome, who hauing beene Founders of Common-weales, could deuiſe how to make the benefit they left behind them durable, if eſpecially in this reſpect we preferre *Lycurgus* before *Solon*, and the Spartan before the Athenian Politie, it muſt needes follow, that as wee doe vnto God verie acceptable Seruice in honouring him with our ſubſtance, ſo our Seruice that way is then moſt acceptable, when it tendeth to perpetuitie. The firſt permanent Donations of Honour in this kind are Temples. Which workes doe ſo much ſet forward the exerciſe of Religion, that while the World was in loue with Religion, it gaue to no ſort greater Reuerence then to whom it could point and ſay, *Theſe are the men that haue built vs Synagogues*. But of Churches we haue ſpoken ſufficiently heretofore. The next things to Churches are the Ornaments of Churches, Memorials which mens deuotion hath added to remaine in the Treaſure of Gods Houſe not on-

Purum, probum, profanum, ſuum. Feſt. lib. 14.

ly for vſes wherein the exerciſe of Religion preſently needeth them, but alſo partly for ſupply of future caſuall neceſſities, whereunto the Church is on earth ſubiect, and partly to the end that while they are kept, they may continually ſerue as Teſtimonies, giuing all men to vnderſtand, that God hath in euery Age and Nation, ſuch as thinke it no burthen to honour him with their ſubſtance. The riches firſt of the Tabernacle of God, and then of the Temple of Ieruſalem, ariſing out of voluntary Gifts and Donations, were as wee commonly ſpeake, *à Nemo ſcit*, the value of them aboue that which any man would imagine. After that the Tabernacle was made, furniſhed with all neceſſaries and ſet vp, although in the Wilderneſſe their abilitie could not poſſibly be great, the verie Metall of thoſe Veſſels which the Princes of the twelue Tribes gaue to God for their firſt Preſents, amounted euen then to two thouſand and foure hundred ſhekels of Siluer; an hundred and twentie ſhekels of Gold, euery ſhekell weighing halfe an ounce. What was giuen to the Temple which *Salomon* erected, wee may partly coniecture, when ouer and beſides Wood, Marble, Iron, Braſſe, Veſtments, Precious Stones, and Mony, the ſumme which *Dauid* deliuered into *Salomons* hands, for that purpoſe, was of Gold in Maſſe eight thouſand, and of Siluer ſeuenteene thouſand Cichars, euery Cichar containing a thouſand and eight hundred ſhekels, which riſeth to nine hundred ounces in euery one Cichar: whereas the whole charge of the Tabernacle did not amount vnto thirty Cichars. After their returne out of Babylon, they were not preſently in caſe to make their ſecond Temple of equall magnificence and glory, with that which the Enemie had deſtroyed. Notwithſtanding, what they could they did: In ſo much that the building finiſhed, there remained in the Coffers of the Church to vphold the Fabrick thereof, ſix hundred and fiftie Cichars of Siluer, one hundred of Gold. Whereunto was added by *Nehemias* of his owne gift, a thouſand drammes of Gold, fiftie Veſſels of Siluer, fiue hundred and thirtie Prieſts Veſtments; by other the Princes of the Fathers, twentie thouſand drams of Gold, two thouſand and two hundred pieces of Siluer; by the reſt of the people twentie thouſand of Gold, two thouſand of Siluer, threeſcore and ſeuen Attires of Prieſts. And they furthermore bound themſelues towards other charges, to giue by the Pole in what part of the World ſoeuer they ſhould dwell, the third of a ſhekell, that is to ſay, the ſixt part of an ounce yeerely. [a] This out of Forraine Prouinces, they alwaies ſent in Gold. Whereof [b] *Mithridates* is ſaid to haue taken vp by the way, before it could paſſe to Ieruſalem from Aſia, in one aduenture eight hundred Talents; [c] *Craſſus* after that to haue borrowed of the Temple it ſelfe eight thouſand: at which time, *Eleazar* hauing both many other rich Ornaments and all the Tapeſtry of the Temple vnder his cuſtody, thought it the ſafeſt way to grow vnto ſome compoſition, and ſo to redeeme the reſidue by parting with a certaine Beame of Gold, about ſeuen hundred and a halfe in waight, a prey ſufficient for one man as hee thought, who had neuer bargained with *Craſſus* till then, and therefore vpon the confidence of a ſolemne oath that no more ſhould bee looked for, hee ſimply deliuered vp a large morſell, whereby the value of that which remained was betrayed, and the whole loſt. Such being the caſualties whereunto moueable Treaſures are ſubiect, the Law of *Moſes*

*Numb.*7.85.86.

1.*Chron.*29.

Exod. 25.28.& 37.24. *Ezr.*2.68.69. *Hag.*2.4. *Ezr.*8.24.

*Nehem.*7.70.

*Nehem.*10.32.

a *Cic. orat. pro L. Flac. Cum aurum Iudæorum nomine quotannis ex Italia & ex omnibus veſtris Prouincys Hieroſolymam exportari ſoleret Flaccus Sanxit edicto, ne ex Aſia exportari liceret.*

b *Ioſeph. Antiq. lib.*14.*cap.*12.

c Euery Talent in value 600. Crownes.

ſes did both require eight and twentie Cities together with their Fields, and whole Territories in the Land of Iewrie, to be reſerued for God himſelfe, and not only prouide for the libertie of farther additions, if men of their owne accord ſhould thinke good, but alſo for the ſafe preſeruation thereof vnto all poſterities, that no mans auarice or fraud, by defeating ſo vertuous intents, might diſcourage from like purpoſes. Gods third indowment did therefore of old conſiſt in Lands. Furthermore, ſome cauſe no doubt there is why beſides ſundrie other more rare donations of vncertaine rate, the tenth ſhould be thought a reuenue ſo naturall to bee alotted out vnto God. For of the ſpoiles which *Abraham* had taken in warre, he deliuered vnto *Melchiſedeck* the Tithes. The vow of *Iacob* at ſuch time as he tooke his iourney towards Haran was, *If God will be with me, and will keepe me in this voyage which I am to goe, and will giue me bread to eate, and clothes to put on, ſo that I may returne to my fathers houſe in ſafetie, then ſhall the Lord be my God, and this ſtone which I haue ſet vp as a pillar, the ſame ſhall be Gods houſe, and of all thou ſhalt giue me, I will giue vnto thee the Tithe.* And as *Abraham* gaue voluntarily, as *Iacob* vowed to giue God Tithes, ſo the Law of *Moſes* did require at the hands of all men the ſelfe-ſame kinde of tribute, the tenth of their Corne, Wine, Oile, Fruit, Cattel, and whatſoeuer increaſe his heauenly prouidence ſhould ſend. In ſo much that Paynims being herein followers of their ſteps, payed Tithes likewiſe: Imagine wee that this was for no cauſe done, or that there was not ſome ſpeciall inducement to iudge the tenth of our worldly profites the moſt conuenient for Gods portion? Are not all things by him created in ſuch ſort, that the formes which giue them their diſtinction are number, their operations meaſure, and their matter waight? *Three*, being the myſticall number of Gods vnſearchable perfection within himſelfe; *Seuen*, the number whereby our owne perfections through grace are moſt ordered; and *Ten*, the number of natures perfections (for the beautie of nature is order, and the foundation of order number, and of number ten the higheſt wee can riſe vnto without iteration of numbers vnder it) could nature better acknowledge the power of the God of nature, then by aſſigning vnto him that quantitie which is the continent of all ſhee poſſeſſeth? There are in *Philo* the Iew many arguments to ſhew the great congruitie and fitneſſe of this number in things conſecrated vnto God. But becauſe ouer nice and curious ſpeculations become not the earneſtneſſe of holy things, I omit what might be farther obſerued as well out of others as out of him, touching the quantitie of this generall ſacred Tribute, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that the meaneſt and the very pooreſt amongſt men yeelding vnto God as much in proportion, as the greateſt, and many times in affection more, haue this as a ſenſible token alwayes aſſuring their mindes, that in his ſight, from whom all good is expected, they are concerning acceptation, protection, diuine priuiledges and preeminences whatſoeuer, Equals and Peeres with them vnto whom they are otherwiſe in earthly reſpects inferiours, being furthermore well aſſured that the top as it were thus preſented to God is neither loſt, nor vnfruitfully beſtowed, but doth ſanctifie to them againe the whole Maſſe, and that hee by receiuing a little, vnder-taketh to bleſſe all. In which conſideration the Iewes were accuſtomed to name their Tithes, the

Num. 35.2. *Leuit.* 25.34. & 27.38.

Gen. 14.20.

Gen. 28.20.

Deut. 14.22.

Plin. hiſt. Nat. lib. 12. *cap.* 14.

[a] *hedge*

* *Maſſoreth ſepes eſt legis, diuitiarum ſepes decimæ*, R. Aquiba in Pirk. Aboth.

* hedge of their riches. Albeit a hedge doe onely fence and preſerue that which is contayned, whereas their Tithes and Offerings did more, becauſe they procured increaſe of the heape, out of which they were taken. God demandeth no ſuch debt for his owne neede, but for their onely benefit that owe it. Wherefore detayning the ſame, they hurt not him whom they wrong, and themſelues whom they thinke they relieue, they wound, except men will haply affirme, that God did by faire ſpeeches, and large promiſes, delude the world, in ſaying, *Bring ye all the Tithes into the ſtore-houſe, that there may be meate in mine houſe* (deale truely, defraude not God of his due, but bring all) *and proue if I will not open vnto you the windowes of heauen, and powre downe vpon you an immeaſurable bleſſing*. That which Saint *Iames* hath concerning the effect of our prayers vnto God, is for the moſt part of like moment in our gifts. Wee pray and obtayne not, becauſe hee which knoweth our hearts, doth ſee our deſires are euill. In like manner wee giue, and wee are not the more accepted, becauſe hee beholdeth how vnwiſely wee ſpill our gifts in the [a] bringing. It is to him which needeth nothing, all one whether any thing or nothing bee giuen him. But for our owne good, it alwayes behoueth that whatſoeuer wee offer vp into his hands, wee bring it ſeaſoned with this cogitation, *Thou Lord art worthy of all honour*. With the Church of Chriſt touching theſe matters it ſtandeth as it did with the whole World before *Moſes*. Whereupon for many yeeres men being deſirous to honour God in the ſame manner, as other vertuous and holy perſonages before had done, both during the time of their life, and if farther abilitie did ſerue, by ſuch deuice as might cauſe their workes of pietie to remayne alwayes, it came by theſe meanes to paſſe that the Church from time to time had treaſure proportionable vnto the poorer or wealthier eſtate of Chriſtian men. And aſſoone as the ſtate of the Church could admit thereof, they eaſily condeſcended to thinke it moſt naturall and moſt fit, that God ſhould receiue as before of all men his ancient accuſtomed reuenewes of Tithes. Thus therefore both God and Nature haue taught to conuert things temporall to eternall vſes, and to prouide for the perpetuitie of Religion, euen by that which is moſt tranſitorie. For to the end that in worth and value there might bee no abatement of any thing once aſſigned to ſuch purpoſes, the Law requireth preciſely the beſt of that we poſſeſſe, and to preuent all damages by way of commutation, where in ſtead of naturall commodities, or other rights, the price of them might bee taken, the Law of *Moſes* determined their rates, and the payments to bee alwayes made by the Sicle of the Sanctuarie, wherein there was great aduantage of waight aboue the ordinarie currant Sicle. The trueſt and ſureſt way for God to haue alwayes his owne, is by making him payment in kind out of the very ſelfe-ſame riches, which through his gracious benediction the Earth doth continually yeeld. This where it may bee without inconuenience, is for euery mans conſcience ſake. That which commeth from God to vs, by the naturall courſe of his prouidence, which wee know to bee innocent and pure, is perhaps beſt accepted, becauſe leaſt ſpotted with the ſtaine of vnlawfull, or indirect procurement. Beſides, whereas prices daily change, nature which commonly is one, muſt needes bee the moſt indifferent and permanent Standard betweene God and

[a] *Nemo libenter debet quod non accepit ſed expreſſit*, Sen. de Benef. l. 1. c. 1.

Mal. 3. 10.

Leuit. 27. 25.

and Man. But the mayne foundation of all, whereupon the ſecuritie of theſe things dependeth, as farre as any thing may bee aſcertayned amongſt men, is, that the Title and Right which man had in euery of them before Donation, doth by the act, & from the time of any ſuch Donation, or Dedication, or grant, remayne the proper poſſeſſion of God till the worlds end, vnleſſe himſelfe renounce or relinquiſh it. For if equitie haue taught vs, that euery one ought to enioy his owne; that what is ours, no other can alienate from vs, but with our [a] owne [b] deliberate conſent; finally, that no man hauing paſt his conſent or deede, may [c] change it to the preiudice of any other, ſhould wee preſume to deale with God worſe then God hath allowed any man to deale with vs? Albeit therefore wee bee now free from the Law of *Moſes*, and conſequently, not thereby bound to the payment of Tithes, yet becauſe Nature hath taught men to honour God with their ſubſtance, and Scripture hath left vs an example of that particular proportion, which for morall conſiderations hath beene thought fitteſt, by him whoſe wiſedome could beſt iudge; furthermore, ſeeing that the Church of Chriſt hath long ſithence entred into like obligation, it ſeemeth in theſe dayes a queſtion altogether vaine and ſuperfluous, whether Tithes bee a matter of diuine Right: becauſe howſoeuer at the firſt, it might haue beene thought doubtfull, our caſe is cleerely the ſame now with theirs, vnto whom Saint *Peter* ſometime ſpake, ſaying, *While it was whole, it was whole thine?* When our Tithes might haue probably ſeemed our owne, wee had colour of libertie to vſe them as wee our ſelues ſaw good. But hauing made them his whoſe they are, let vs bee warned by other mens example what it is ροφισαδς, to waſh or clip that coyne which hath on it the marke of God. For that all theſe are his poſſeſſions, and that he doth himſelfe ſo reckon them, appeareth by the forme of his owne ſpeeches. Touching Gifts and Oblations, *Thou ſhalt giue* them *me*; touching Oratories and Churches, *My houſe* ſhall be called the houſe of Prayer; touching Tithes, *Will a man ſpoile God?* Yet behold, euen mee your God yee haue [d] *ſpoiled*, notwithſtanding yee aske wherein, as though yee were ignorant, what iniurie there hath beene offered in *Tithes*: yee are heauily accurſed, becauſe with a kinde of publike conſent yee haue ioyned your ſelues in one to rob me, imagining the commonneſſe of your offence to bee euery mans particular iuſtification; touching Lands, *Yee ſhall offer to the Lord a ſacred portion of ground, and that ſacred portion ſhall belong to the Prieſts.* Neither did God onely thus ordayne amongſt the Iewes, but the very purpoſe, intent, and meaning of all that haue honoured him with their ſubſtance, was to inueſt him with the propertie of thoſe benefits, the vſe whereof muſt needes bee committed to the hands of men. In which reſpect the ſtile of ancient Grants and Charters, is, *Wee haue giuen vnto God both for Vs and our Heires for euer.* Yea, we know, ſaith *Charles* the Great, that *the goods of the Church are the ſacred indowments of God, to the Lord our God we offer and dedicate whatſoeuer we deliuer vnto his Church.* Whereupon the Lawes Imperiall doe likewiſe diuide all things in ſuch ſort, that they make ſome to belong by right of Nature indifferently vnto euery man, ſome to bee the certayne goods and poſſeſſions of Common-weales, ſome to appertayne vnto ſeuerall Corporations or Companies of men, ſome to bee priuately mens owne in particular, and ſome to bee ſeparated

a *Lib.11.de Reg.Iur.*

b *Cuius per errorem data repetitio eſt, eius conſulto dati donatio eſt*, lib. 1. D. de cond. indeb. This the ground of *Conſideration* in alienations from man to man.

c *Nemo poteſt mutare conſilium ſuum in alterius præiudicium*, lib.75. de Reg.Iur. *Act.5.4.*

Exod.32.29,30.
Matth.21.13.
Mal.3.8.

d *Non videntur rem admittere quibus propria non fuit*, lib.83. de Reg.Iur.

Ezech.45.1,4.

Magn.Char.c.1.
Capitul. Caru. lib.6. cap.284.

separated quite * from all men, which laſt branch comprizeth things ſacred and holy, becauſe thereof God alone is owner. The ſequell of which receiued opinion, as well without as within the walls of the houſe of God touching ſuch poſſeſſions hath beene euer, that there is not an act more honourable, then by all meanes to amplifie and to defend the patrimonie of Religion, not any more [a] impious and hatefull, then to impaire thoſe poſſeſſions which men in former times, when they gaue vnto holy vſes, were wont at the Altar of God, and in preſence of their ghoſtly Superiors, to make as they thought inuiolable, by wordes of fearefull execration, ſaying, *Theſe things we offer to God, from whom if any take them away (which we hope no man will attempt to doe) but if any ſhal, let his account be without fauour in the laſt day, when he commeth to receiue the doome which is due for ſacriledge againſt that Lord and God, vnto whom we dedicate the ſame.* The beſt and moſt renowmed Prelates of the Church of Chriſt haue in this conſideration rather ſuſtayned the wrath, then yeelded to ſatisfie the hard deſire of their greateſt Commanders on earth, coueting with ill aduice and counſell that which they willingly ſhould haue ſuffered God to inioy. There are of Martyrs, whom poſteritie doth much honour, for that hauing vnder their hands the cuſtodie of ſuch [b] treaſures, they could by vertuous deluſion inuent how to ſaue them from prey, euen when the ſafetie of their own liues they gladly neglected, as one, ſometime an Archdeacon vnder *Xiſtus* the Biſhop of Rome, did, whom when his Iudge vnderſtood to bee one of the Church Stewards, thirſt of bloud began to ſlake, and another humour to worke, which firſt by a fauourable countenance, and then by quiet ſpeech did thus calmely diſcloſe it ſelfe, *You that profeſſe the Chriſtian Religion, make great complaint of the wonderfull crueltie wee ſhew towards you. Neither peraduenture altogether without cauſe. But for my ſelfe, I am farre from any ſuch bloudie purpoſe. Yee are not ſo willing to liue, as I vnwilling that out of theſe lips ſhould proceede any capitall ſentence againſt you. Your Biſhops are ſaid to haue rich veſſels of gold and ſiluer, which they vſe in the exerciſe of their Religion, beſides, the fame is, that numbers ſell away their Lands and Liuings, the huge prices whereof are brought to your Church-coffers, by which meanes the deuotion that maketh them and their whole poſteritie poore, muſt needes mightily inrich you, whoſe God wee know was no Coyner of money, but left behinde him many wholeſome and good Precepts, as namely, that Caeſar ſhould haue of you the things that are fit for, and due to Caeſar. His warres are coſtly and chargeable vnto him. That which you ſuffer to ruſt in corners, the affaires of the Common-wealth doe neede. Your profeſſion is not to make account of things tranſitorie. And yet if ye can be contented but to forgoe that which ye care not for, I dare vndertake to warrant you both ſafetie of life, and freedome of vſing your conſcience, a thing more acceptable to you then wealth.* Which faire parly the happy Martyr quietly hearing, and perceiuing it neceſſarie to make ſome ſhift for the ſafe concealement of that which being now deſired, was not vnlikely to bee more narrowly afterwards ſought, hee craued reſpit for three dayes, to gather the riches of the Church together, in which ſpace againſt the time the Gouernour ſhould come to the doores of the Temple, bigge with hope to receiue his prey, a miſerable ranke of poore, lame, and impotent perſons was prouided, their names deliuered him vp in writing as a true Inuentorie of the Churches goods,

* *Nullius autem ſunt res ſacræ & religioſæ & ſanctæ. Quod enim diuini iuris eſt, id nullius in bonis eſt*, Inſtit. lib. 2. tit. 1.

a *Soli cum Dijs ſacrilegi pugnãt*, Curt. lib. 7. *Sacrum ſacrone commendatum qui dempſerit rapſeritue, parricida eſto*, Leg. 12. tab. Capitul. Carul. lib. 6 cap. 285.

b *Depoſita pietatis*, Tertul. Apologet. *Prudent. Periſteph.*

goods, and ſome few words vſed to ſignifie how proud the Church was of theſe treaſures. If men did not naturally abhorre ſacriledge, to reſiſt or to deſeate ſo impious attempts would deſerue ſmall praiſe. But ſuch is the generall deteſtation of rapine in this kind, that whereas nothing doth either in peace or war more vphold mens reputation then proſperous ſucceſſe, becauſe in common conſtruction, vnleſſe notorious improbitie bee ioyned with proſperitie, it ſeemeth to argue fauor with God, they which once haue ſtayned their hands with theſe odious ſpoiles, do therby faſten vnto al their actions an eternal preiudice, in reſpect whereof, for that it paſſeth through the world as an vndoubted rule & principle, that ſacriledge is open defiance to God, whatſoeuer afterward they vndertake, if they proſper in it, men reckon it but *Dionyſius* his nauigation, and if any thing befal them otherwiſe, it is not, as cõmonly, ſo in them aſcribed to the great vncertainty of caſual euents, wherin the prouidence of God doth controll the purpoſes of men oftentimes, much more for their good then if al things did anſwere fully their hearts deſire, but the cenſure of the world is euer directly againſt them both [a] bitter and peremptorie. To make ſuch actions therefore leſſe odious, and to mitigate the enuy of them, many colourable ſhifts and inuentions haue beene vſed, as if the world did hate onely Woolues, and thinke the Foxe a goodly creature. The time [b] it may be will come, when they that either violently haue ſpoiled or thus ſmoothly defrauded God, ſhal finde they did but deceiue themſelues. In the meane while there will bee alwayes ſome skilful perſons, which can teach a way how to grind treatably the Church with iawes that ſhall ſcarſe mooue, and yet deuoure in the end more then they that come rauening with open mouth, as if they would worry the whole in an inſtant; others alſo who hauing waſtfully eaten out their own patrimony, would be glad to repaire, if they might, their decayed eſtates, with the ruine they care not of what nor of whom, ſo the ſpoile were theirs, whereof in ſome part if they happen to ſpeede, yet commonly they are men borne vnder that conſtellation which maketh them, I know not how, as vnapt to enrich themſelues as they are readie to impouerish others, it is their lot to ſuſtayne during life both the miſerie of beggers, and the infamie of robbers. But though no other plague and reuenge ſhould follow ſacrilegious violations of holy things, the naturall ſecret diſgrace and ignominie, the very turpitude of ſuch actions in the eye of a wiſe vnderſtanding heart, is it ſelfe a [c] heauie puniſhment. Men of vertuous qualitie are by this ſufficiently moued to beware how they anſwere and requite the mercies of God with iniuries, whether openly or indirectly offered. I will not abſolutely ſay concerning the goods of the Church, that they may in no caſe bee ſeized on by men, or that no Obligation, Commerce and Bargaine made betweene man and man, can euer bee of force to alienate the propertie which God hath in them. Certayne caſes I grant there are wherein it is not ſo darke what God himſelfe doth warrant, but that wee may ſafely preſume him as willing to forgoe for our benefit, as alwayes to vſe and conuert to our benefit whatſoeuer our Religion hath honoured him withall. But ſurely vnder the name of that which may bee, many things that ſhould not bee are often done. By meanes whereof the Church moſt commonly for gold hath ſtanell, and whereas the vſuall Saw of old was *Glaucus his*

[a] *Nouimus multa regna, & reges eorum propterea cecidiſſe, quia Eccleſias ſpoliauerãt, reſq; earum vaſtauerunt, alienauerunt vel diripuerunt, Epiſcopiſq; & Sacerdotibus, atque quod maius eſt Eccleſijs eorum abſtulerunt, & pugnantibus dederunt. Quapropter nec fortes in bello, nec in fide ſtabiles fuerunt, nec victores extiterunt, ſed terga multi vulnerati & plures interfecti verterunt, regnaq; & regiones, & quod peius eſt, regna cœleſtia perdiderunt, atq; propry hereditatib' caruerunt & hactenus carent.* Verba Carol. Ma. in Capitu. Caru. l. 7. c. 104

[b] *Turne tempus erit magno cum optauerit emptum intactis Pallanta & cum ſpolia iſta diemq; Oderit.* Virgil. AEn. lib. 10.

[c] ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνη ἐ δημίας ἐλάττων ζημία τοῖς γε σώφροσιν, Demoſt. *Pœnam non dico legum quas ſæpe perrumpunt, ſed ipſius turpitudinis quæ acerbiſſima eſt non vident.* Cic. Offic. lib. 3. *Impunita tu credis eſſe inuiſa ſunt? aut vllum ſupplicio grauius exiſtimas publico odio?* Senec. de Benef. lib. 3. c. 17.

his change, the Prouerbe is now, *A Church bargaine*. And for feare leſt couetouſneſſe alone ſhould linger out the time too much, and not to be able to make hauocke of the houſe of God with that expedition, which the mortall Enemie thereof did vehemently wiſh, hee hath by certayne ſtrong inchantments ſo deepely bewitcht Religion it ſelfe, as to make it in the end an earneſt Sollicitor, and an eloquent Perſwader of ſacriledge, vrging confidently, that the very beſt ſeruice which men of power can doe to Chriſt, is without any more Ceremonie, to ſweepe all, and to leaue the Church as bare as in the day it was firſt borne, that fulneſſe of bread hauing made the children of the houſhold wanton, it is without any ſcruple to bee taken away from them, and throwne to Dogs, that they which laid the prices of their Lands as offerings at the Apoſtles feete, did but ſow the ſeedes of ſuperſtition; that they which endowed Churches with Lands, poyſoned Religion, that Tithes and Oblations are now in the ſight of God as the ſacrificed bloud of Goates, that if we giue him our hearts and affections, our goods are better beſtowed otherwiſe, that *Irenæus Polycarps* Diſciple ſhould not haue ſaid, *We offer vnto God our goods as tokens of thankefulneſſe for that we receiue*, neither ORIGEN, *He which worſhippeth God, muſt by Gifts and Oblations acknowledge him the Lord of all*; in a word, that to giue vnto God is errour, reformation of errour, to take from the Church, that which the blindneſſe of former Ages did vnwiſely giue. By theſe or the like ſuggeſtions receiued with all ioy, and with like ſedulitie practiſed in certayne parts of the Chriſtian world, they haue brought to paſſe, that as *Dauid* doth ſay of man, ſo it is in hazzard to bee verified concerning the whole Religion and Seruice of God: *The time thereof may peraduenture fall out to bee threeſcore and ten yeeres, or if ſtrength doe ſerue vnto foureſcore, what followeth, is likely to bee ſmall ioy for them whatſoeuer they bee that behold it.* Thus haue the beſt things beene ouer-throwne, not ſo much by puiſſance and might of Aduerſaries, as through defect of counſell, in them that ſhould haue vpheld and defended the ſame.

Irene. lib. 4. 34.
Orig. in 18. Numbom. 11.
Pſal. 90. 10.

Of Ordinations lawfull without title, and without any popular election precedent, but in no caſe without regard of due information what their qualitie is, that enter into holy Orders.

80 There are in a Miniſter of God theſe foure things to bee conſidered, his Ordination which giueth him power to meddle with things ſacred, the charge or portion of the Church allotted vnto him for exerciſe of his Office; the performance of his duetie, according to the exigence of his charge, and laſtly, the maintenance which in that reſpect hee receiueth. All Eccleſiaſticall Lawes and Canons which either concerne the beſtowing or the vſing of the power of miniſteriall Order, haue relation to theſe foure. Of the firſt we haue ſpoken before at large. Concerning the next, for more conuenient diſcharge of Eccleſiaſticall duties, as the body of the people muſt needes bee ſeuered by diuers precincts, ſo the Clergie likewiſe accordingly diſtributed. Whereas therefore Religion did firſt take place in Cities, and in that reſpect was a cauſe why the name of Pagans, which properly ſignifieth Country people, came to bee vſed in common ſpeech for the ſame that Infidels and Vnbeleeuers were, it followed thereupon that all ſuch Cities had their Eccleſiaſticall Colledges, conſiſting of Deacons and of Preſbyters, whom firſt the Apoſtles or their Delegates the Euangeliſts, did both ordayne and gouerne. Such were the Colledges of Ieruſalem, Antioch, Epheſus, Rome, Corinth, and the reſt, where the

the Apoſtles are knowne to haue planted our Faith and Religion. Now becauſe Religion and the Cure of ſoules was their generall charge in common ouer all that were neere about them, neither had any one Preſbyter his ſeuerall Cure apart, till *Euariſtus* Biſhop in the See of Rome, about the yeere 112. beganne to aſſigne precincts vnto euery Church, or Title, which the Chriſtians held, and to appoint vnto each Preſbyter a certayne compaſſe, whereof himſelfe ſhould take charge alone, the commodiouſneſſe of this inuention cauſed all parts of Chriſtendome to follow it, and at the length amongſt the reſt our owne Churches, about the yeere 636. became diuided in like manner. But other diſtinction of Churches, there doth not appeare any in the Apoſtles writings, ſaue onely, according to thoſe * Cities wherein they planted the Goſpell of Chriſt, and erected Eccleſiaſticall Colleges. Wherefore to ordayne [a] κατὰ πόλιν, throughout euery Citie, and [b] κατ' ἐκκλησίαν, throughout euery Church, doe in them ſignifie the ſame thing. Churches then neither were, nor could bee in ſo conuenient ſort limited as now they are, firſt, by the bounds of each ſtate, and then within each ſtate by more particular precincts, till at the length we deſcend vnto ſeuerall Congregations, termed *Pariſhes*, with farre narrower reſtraint, then this name at the firſt was vſed. And from hence hath growne their errour, who as oft as they reade of the duetie which Eccleſiaſticall perſons are now to performe towards the Church, their manner is alwayes to vnderſtand by that Church, ſome particular Congregation, or Pariſh Church. They ſuppoſe that there ſhould now bee no man of Eccleſiaſticall order, which is not tyed to ſome certayne Pariſh. Becauſe the names of all Church-Officers are words of relation, becauſe a Shepherd muſt haue his Flocke, a Teacher his Scholers, a Miniſter his Companie which he miniſtreth vnto, therefore it ſeemeth a thing in their eyes abſurd and vnreaſonable, that any man ſhould bee ordayned a Miniſter, otherwiſe, then onely for ſome particular Congregation. Perceiue they not, how by this meane they make it vnlawfull for the Church to imploy men at all, in conuerting Nations? For if ſo be the Church may not lawfully admit to an Eccleſiaſticall function, vnleſſe it tye the partie admitted vnto ſome particular Pariſh, then ſurely, a thankeleſſe labour it is, whereby men ſeeke the conuerſion of Infidels, which know not Chriſt, and therefore cannot be as yet diuided into their ſpeciall Congregations and Flocks. But to the end it may appeare how much this one thing amongſt many more hath beene miſtaken, there is firſt no Precept, requiring that Preſbyters and Deacons be made in ſuch ſort, and not otherwiſe. Albeit therefore the Apoſtles did make them in that order, yet is not their example ſuch a Law, as without all exception bindeth to make them in no other order but that. Againe, if we will conſider that which the Apoſtles themſelues did, ſurely, no man can iuſtly ſay, that herein wee practiſe any thing repugnant to their example. For by them there was ordayned onely in each Chriſtian Citie, a College of Preſbyters and Deacons to adminiſter holy things. *Euariſtus* did a hundred yeeres after the birth of our Sauiour Chriſt, begin the diſtinction of the Church into Pariſhes. Preſbyters and Deacons hauing beene ordayned before to exerciſe Eccleſiaſticall functions, in the Church of Rome promiſcuouſly, hee was the firſt that tyed them each one to his owne ſtation. So that

* *Act.*15.36. *Apoc.*1.20.

a *Tit.*1.6.
b *Act.*14.23.

of the two, indefinite Ordination of Presbyters and Deacons doth come more neere the Apostles Example, and the tying of them to be made onely for particular Congregations, may iustlier ground it selfe vpon the Example of *Enaristus* then of any Apostle of Christ. It hath beene the opinion of Wise men and good men heretofore, that nothing was euer deuised more singularly beneficiall vnto Gods Church, then this which our Honorable Predecessors haue to their endlesse praise found out by erecting such Houses of Studie, as those two most famous Vniuersities doe containe, and by prouiding that choice wits, after reasonable time spent in contemplation, may at the length eyther enter into that Holy Vocation for which they haue beene so long nourished and brought vp, or else giue place and suffer others to succeed in their roomes, that so the Church may bee alwaies furnished with a number of men, whose abilitie being first knowne by publike tryall in Church-labours there where men can best iudge of them, their calling afterwards vnto particular charge abroad may bee according. All this is fruitrate, those worthy Foundations wee must dissolue, their whole deuice and Religious purpose which did erect them is made void, their Orders and Statutes are to bee cancelled and disanulled, in case the Church bee forbidden to grant any power of order, vnlesse it be with restraint to the partie ordained vnto some particular Parish or Congregation. Nay, might wee not rather affirme of Presbyters and of Deacons, that the verie nature of their Ordination is vnto necessarie locall restraint a thing opposite and repugnant? The Emperour *Iustinian* doth say of Tutors, *Certæ rei vel causæ tutor dari non potest, quia personæ non causæ vel rei tutor datur.* Hee that should grant a Tutorship, restraining his grant to some one certaine thing or cause, should doe but idlely, because Tutors are giuen for personall defence generally, and not for menaging of a few particular things or causes. So hee that ordaining a Presbyter or a Deacon, should in the forme of Ordination restraine the one or the other to a certaine place, might with much more reason bee thought to vse a vaine and a friuolous addition, then they reasonably to require such locall restraint, as a thing which must of necessitie concurre euermore with all lawfull Ordinations. Presbyters and Deacons are not by Ordination consecrated vnto places, but vnto Functions. In which respect, and in no other it is, that sith they are by vertue thereof bequeathed vnto God, seuered and sanctified to bee imployed in his Seruice, which is the highest aduancement that mortall creatures on earth can bee raysed vnto, the Church of Christ hath not beene acquainted in former Ages, with any such prophane and vnnaturall custome, as doth hallow men with Ecclesiasticall Functions of Order onely for a time, and then dismisse them againe to the common affaires of the World. Whereas, contrariwise from the place or charge where that power hath beene exercised, wee may bee by sundry good and lawfull occasions translated, retaining neuertheless the selfe-same power which was first giuen. It is some griefe to spend thus much labour in refuting a thing that hath so little ground to vphold it, especially sith they themselues that teach it, doe not seeme to giue thereunto any great credit, if wee may iudge their minds by their actions. There are amongst them that haue done the worke of Ecclesiasticall persons, sometime in the Families of Noble men,

Iust. lib. 1. tit. 14. §. 4.

men, ſometime in much more publike and frequent Congregations, there are that haue ſucceſſiuely gone thorow, perhaps ſeuen or eight particular Churches after this ſort, yea ſome that at one and the ſame time haue beene, ſome which at this preſent houre are in reall obligation of Eccleſiaſticall dutie, and poſſeſſion of commoditie thereto belonging, euen in ſundry particular Churches within the Land, ſome there are amongſt them which will not ſo much abridge their libertie, as to bee faſtned or tyed vnto any place, ſome which haue bound themſelues to one place, onely for a time, and that time being once expired, haue afterwardes voluntarily giuen other places the like experience and tryall of them. All this I preſume they would not doe, if their perſwaſion were as ſtrict as their words pretend. But for the auoiding of theſe and ſuch other the like confuſions as are incident into the cauſe and queſtion whereof wee preſently treat, there is not any thing more materiall, then firſt to ſeparate exactly the nature of the Miniſterie, from the vſe and exerciſe thereof; Secondly, to know that the onely true and proper Act of Ordination is, to inueſt men with that power which doth make them Miniſters by conſecrating their perſons to God, and his ſeruice in Holy things during terme of life, whether they exerciſe that power or no; Thirdly, that to giue them a title or charge where to vſe their Miniſterie, concerneth not the making, but the placing of Gods Miniſters, and therefore the Lawes which concerne onely their Election or Admiſſion vnto place of charge, are not applyable to infringe any way their Ordination; Fourthly, that as oft as any ancient Conſtitution, Law or Canon is alleaged, concerning either Ordinations, or Elections, wee forget not to examine whether the preſent caſe bee the ſame which the ancient was, or elſe doe containe ſome iuſt reaſon for which it cannot admit altogether the ſame Rules which former affaires of the Church now altered did then require. In the queſtion of making Miniſters without a *Title*, which to doe they ſay is a thing vnlawfull, they ſhould at the veric firſt haue conſidered what the name of *Title* doth imploy, and what affinitie or coherence Ordinations haue with Titles, which thing obſerued would plainly haue ſhewed them their owne errour. They are not ignorant that when they ſpeake of a Title, they handle that which belongeth to the placing of a Miniſter in ſome charge, that the place of charge wherein a Miniſter doth execute his Office, requireth ſome Houſe of God for the people to reſort vnto, ſome definite number of Soules vnto whom hee there adminiſtreth holy things, and ſome certaine allowance whereby to ſuſtaine life; that the Fathers at the firſt named *Oratories*, and Houſes of Prayer, Titles, thereby ſignifying how God was intereſſed in them and held them as his owne Poſſeſſions. But becauſe they know that the Church had Miniſters before Chriſtian Temples and Oratories were, therefore ſome of them vnderſtand by a Title, a *definite Congregation* of people onely, and ſo deny that any Ordination is lawful which maketh Miniſters, that haue no certaine Flocke to attend, forgetting how the Seuentie whom Chriſt himſelfe did ordaine Miniſters, had their calling in that manner, whereas yet no certaine charge could bee giuen them. Others referring the name of a Title, eſpecially to the *maintenance* of the Miniſter, infringe all Ordinations made, *except they which receiue Orders bee firſt intitled

* Vnlawfull to ordaine a Miniſter without a Title. *Abſtract. p.243. & p.246.* The Law requireth that euery one admitted vnto Orders hauing for his preſent Reliefe ſome Eccleſiaſticall Benefice, ſhuld alſo haue ſome other Title vnto ſome annuall rent or penſion whereby he might be releeued in caſe he were not able through infirmity, ſickneſs or other lawfull impediment to execute his Eccleſiaſticall Office and Function.

titled to a competent Eccleſiaſticall Benefice and (which is moſt ridiculouſly ſtrange) except beſides their preſent Title to ſome ſuch Benefice, they haue likewiſe ſome other Title of Annuall Rent or Penſion whereby they may be releeued, in caſe through infirmitie, ſickneſſe or other lawfull impediment they grow vnable to execute their Eccleſiaſticall Function. So that euery man lawfully ordained muſt bring a Bow which hath two ſtrings, a Title of preſent Right, and another to prouide for future poſſibilitie or chance. Into theſe abſurdities and follies they ſlide by miſconceiuing the true purpoſe of certaine Canons, which indeed haue forbidden to ordaine a Miniſter without a Title, not that ſimply it is vnlawfull ſo to ordaine, but becauſe it might grow to an inconuenience, if the Church did not ſomewhat reſtraine that libertie. For ſeeing they which haue once receiued Ordination, cannot againe returne into World, it behoooueth them which ordaine, to foreſee how ſuch ſhall bee afterwards able to liue, leſt their pouertie and deſtitution ſhould redound to the diſgrace and diſcredit of their calling. Which euill preuented, thoſe verie Lawes which in that reſpect forbid, doe expreſly admit Ordinations to bee made at large, and without Title, namely, if the partie ſo ordained haue of his owne for the ſuſtenance of this life, or if the Biſhop which giueth him Orders will find him competent allowance, till ſome place of Miniſtration, from whence his maintenance may ariſe, bee prouided for him, or if any other fit and ſufficient meanes bee had againſt the danger before mentioned. Abſolutely therfore it is not true, that any ancient Canon of the Church which is, or ought to bee with vs in force, doth make Ordinations at large vnlawfull, and as the ſtate of the Church doth ſtand, they are moſt neceſſarie. If there bee any conſcience in men touching that which they write or ſpeake, let them conſider as well what the preſent condition of all things doth now ſuffer, as what the Ordinances of former Ages did appoint, as well the waight of thoſe cauſes, for which our affaires haue altered, as the reaſons in regard whereof our Fathers and Predeceſſors did ſometime ſtrictly and ſeuerely keepe that which for vs to obſerue now, is neither meete nor alwayes poſſible. In this our preſent Cauſe and Controuerſie, whether any not hauing Title of Right to a Benefice may bee lawfully ordained a Miniſter, is it not manifeſt in the eyes of all men, that whereas the name of a Benefice doth ſignifie ſome ſtanding Eccleſiaſticall Reuenew, taken out of the Treaſure of God, and allotted to a Spirituall Perſon, to the end hee may vſe the ſame, and inioy it as his owne for terme of life, vnleſſe his default cauſe Depriuation: the Clergie for many yeeres after Chriſt had no other Benefices, but onely their Canonicall Portions, or Monethly Diuidends allowed them according to their ſeuerall Degrees & Qualities, out of the common Stock of ſuch Gifts, Oblations, and Tithes, as the feruour of Chriſtian Pietie did then yeeld? Yea, that euen when Miniſters had their Churches and Flockes aſſigned vnto them in ſeuerall, yet for mantenance of life, their former kind of allowance continued, till ſuch time as Biſhops and Churches Cathedrall being ſufficiently endowed with Lands, other Preſbyters enioyed in ſtead of their firſt Benefices, the Tithes and Profits of their owne Congregations whole to themſelues? Is it not manifeſt that in this Realme, and ſo in other the like Dominions,

where

where the tenure of Lands is altogether grounded on Militarie Lawes, and held as in Fee vnder Princes which are not made Heads of the people by force of voluntarie Election, but borne the Soueraigne Lords of thoſe whole and intire Territories, which Territories their famous Progenitors obtaining by way of Conqueſt, retained what they would in their owne hands, and diuided the reſt to others with reſeruation of Soueraigntie and Capitall intereſt, the building of Churches, and conſequently the aſſigning of either Pariſhes or Benefices, was a thing impoſſible without conſent of ſuch as were principall Owners of Land, in which conſideration, for their more incouragement hereunto, they which did ſo farre benefit the Church, had by common conſent granted (as great equitie and reaſon was) a right for them and their Heires till the Worlds end, to nominate in thoſe Benefices men whoſe qualitie the Biſhop allowing might admit them thereunto? Is it not manifeſt, that from hence ineuitably ſuch inequalitie of Pariſhes hath growne, as cauſeth ſome through the multitude of people which haue reſort vnto one Church, to be more then any one man can weild, and ſome to bee of that nature by reaſon of Chappels annext, that they which are Incumbents ſhould wrong the Church, if ſo bee they had not certaine Stipendaries vnder them, becauſe where the Corps of the profit or Benefice is but one, the Title can bee but one mans, and yet the charge may require more? Not to mention therefore any other reaſon whereby it may cleerely appeare how expedient it is, and profitable for this Church to admit Ordinations without Title, this little may ſuffice to declare, how impertinent their allegations againſt it are out of ancient Canons, how vntrue their confident aſſeuerations, that onely through negligence of Popiſh Prelates the cuſtome of making ſuch kind of Miniſters hath preuailed in the Church of Rome againſt their Canons, and that with vs it is expreſly againſt the Lawes of our owne Gouernment, when a Miniſter doth ſerue as a ſtipendarie Curate, which kind of ſeruice neuertheleſſe the greateſt Rabbins of that part doe altogether follow. For howſoeuer they are loth peraduenture to be named Curats, Stipendaries they are, and the labour they beſtow, is in other mens Cures, a thing not vnlawfull for them to doe, yet vnſeemely for them to condemne which practiſe it. I might heere diſcouer the like ouerſight throughout all their Diſcourſes, made in behalfe of the peoples pretended right to elect their Miniſters before the Biſhop may lawfully ordaine. But becauſe we haue otherwhere at large diſputed of popular Elections, and of the right of Patronage, wherein is drowned whatſoeuer the people vnder any pretence or colour may ſeeme to challenge about admiſſion and choice of the Paſtors that ſhall feed their ſoules, I cannot ſee what one dutie there is which alwayes ought to goe before Ordination, but only care of the parties worthineſſe, as well for integritie and vertue, as knowledge, yea, for vertue more, in as much as defect of knowledge may ſundry waies bee ſupplyed, but the ſcandall of vicious and wicked life, is a deadly euill.

Of the Learning that ſhould bee in Miniſters, their Reſidence, and the number of their Liuings.

81 The truth is, that of all things hitherto mentioned, the greateſt is that threefold blot or blemiſh of notable ignorance, vnconſcionable abſence from the Cures whereof men haue charge, and vnſatiable hunting after

ſpirituall preferments, without eyther care or conſcience of the publike good. Whereof, to the end that wee may conſider as in Gods owne ſight and preſence with all vprightneſſe, ſincerities and truth, let vs particularly waigh and examine in euerie of them; Firſt, how far forth they are reproueable by Reaſons and Maximes of common right; Secondly, whether that which our Lawes doe permit, be repugnant to thoſe Maximes, and with what equitie wee ought to iudge of things practiſed in this caſe, neither on the one hand defending that which muſt be acknowledged out of ſquare, nor on the other ſide condemning raſhly whom we liſt, for whatſoeuer wee diſallow. Touching Arguments therefore, taken from the principles of common right, to prooue that Miniſters ſhould be [n] learned, that they ought to bee [o] Reſident vpon their Liuings, and that [p] more then one onely Benefice or Spirituall Liuing may not be granted vnto one man, the firſt, becauſe S. *Paul* requireth in a Miniſter ability to teach, to conuince, to diſtribute the Word rightly, becauſe alſo the Lord himſelfe hath proteſted, they ſhall be no Prieſts to him which haue reiected knowledge, and becauſe if the Blind lead the Blind, they muſt both needs fall into the pit; the ſecond, becauſe Teachers are Shepheards whoſe Flockes can be at no time ſecure from danger, they are Watchmen whom the Enemie doth alwaies beſiege, their labours in the Word and Sacraments admit no intermiſſion, their dutie requireth inſtruction and conference with men in priuate, they are the liuing Oracles of God, to whom the people muſt reſort for counſell, they are commanded to bee Patternes of Holineſſe, Leaders, Feeders, Superuiſors amongſt their owne, it ſhould be their griefe, as it was the Apoſtles to be abſent, though neceſſarily from them ouer whom they haue taken charge; finally, the laſt, becauſe Pluralitie and Reſidence are oppoſite, becauſe the placing of one Clarke in two Churches, is a point of Marchandize and filthy gaine, becauſe no man can ſerue two Maſters, becauſe euery one ſhould remaine in that Vocation whereto he is called, what conclude they of all this? Againſt Ignorance, againſt Non-reſidence, and againſt Pluralitie of Liuings, is there any man ſo raw and dul, but that the Volumes which haue bin written, both of old and of late, may make him in ſo plentifull a cauſe eloquent? For if by that which is *generally* iuſt and requiſite, we meaſure what knowledge there ſhould be in a Miniſter of the Goſpell of Chriſt, the Arguments which Light of Nature offereth, the Lawes and Statutes which Scripture hath, the Canons that are taken out of ancient Synods, the Decrees, and Conſtitutions of ſincereſt Times, the Sentences of Antiquitie, and in a word, euen euery mans ful conſent and conſcience is againſt Ignorance in them that haue charge and cure of Soules. Againe, what auaileth it if wee be Learned and not Faithfull? or what benefit hath the Church of Chriſt, if there bee in vs ſufficiencie without endeuour or care to doe that good which our place exacteth? Touching the paines and induſtrie therefore, wherewith men are in conſcience bound to attend the worke of their Heauenly Calling, euen as much as in them lyeth, bending thereunto their whole endeuour, without either fraud, ſophiſtication or guile, I ſee not what more effectuall Obligation or Bond of Dutie there ſhould bee vrged, then their owne onely Vow and Promiſe made vnto God himſelfe, at the time of their Ordination.

n *T.C.l.1.p.70.*
o *66.*
p *69.*
1.Tim.3.2.
Tit.1.9.
2.Tim.2.15.
Hoſ.4.6.
Mat.15.14.
Luke 2.8.
Act.20.2.
1.Sam.1.19.
1.Tim.4.12.
Iohn 10.4.
1.Pet.5.2.
Act.20.28.
1.Theſſ.2.17.
Concil.Nic.c.15.
Mat.6.24.
1.Cor.7.24.

on. The worke which they haue vndertaken, requireth both care & feare. Their ſloth that negligently performe it, maketh them ſubiect to malediction. Beſides we alſo know that the fruit of our paynes in this Function, is life both to our ſelues and others. And doe wee yet neede incitements to labour? Shall wee ſtop our eares both againſt thoſe coniuring exhortations which Apoſtles, and againſt the fearefull comminations which Prophets haue vttered out of the mouth of God, the one for preuention, the other for reformation of our ſluggiſhneſſe in this behalfe? Saint PAVL, *Attend to your ſelues, and to all the flocke, whereof the holy Ghoſt hath made you ouer-ſeers, to feede the Church of God, which he hath purchaſed with his owne bloud. Againe, I charge thee before God and the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which ſhall iudge the quicke and the dead at his comming, preach the word; be inſtant.* IEREMIE, *Woe vnto the Paſtors that deſtroy and ſcatter the ſheepe of my paſture, I will viſit you for the wickedneſſe of your workes, ſaith the Lord, the remnant of my ſheepe, I will gather together out of all Countries, and will bring them againe to their folds, they ſhall grow and increaſe, and I will ſet vp ſhepherds ouer them, which ſhall feede them.* EZECHIEL, *Should not the ſhepherds, ſhould they not feede the flocks? Yee eate the fat, and yee clothe your ſelues with the wooll, but the weake yee haue not ſtrengthened, the ſicke yee haue not cured, neither haue yee bound vp the broken, nor brought home againe that which was driuen away, yee haue not inquired after that which was loſt, but with crueltie and rigor yee haue ruled. Wherefore, as I liue, ſaith the Lord God, I will require my ſheepe at their hands, nor ſhall the ſhepherds feede themſelues any more, for I will deliuer my ſheepe from their mouthes, they ſhall no more deuoure them.* Nor let vs thinke to excuſe our ſelues, if haply wee labour, though it bee at randome, and ſit not altogether idle abroad. For wee are bound to attend that part of the flocke of Chriſt, whereof the holy Ghoſt hath made vs ouer-ſeers. The reſidence of Miniſters vpon their owne peculiar charge, is by ſo much the rather neceſſarie, for that abſenting themſelues from the place, where they ought to labour, they neither can doe the good which is looked for at their hands, nor reape the comfort which ſweetneth life to them that ſpend it in theſe trauailes vpon their owne. For it is in this as in al things elſe, which are through priuate intereſt dearer, then what concerneth either others wholly, or vs but in part, and according to the rate of a generall regard. As for pluralitie, it hath not onely the ſame inconueniences which are obſerued to grow by abſence, but ouer and beſides, at the leaſt in common conſtruction, a ſhew of that worldly humour which men doe thinke ſhould not raigne ſo high. Now from hence their Collections are as followeth, firſt, a repugnancie or contradiction betweene the Principles of common right, and that which our Lawes in ſpeciall conſiderations haue allowed: ſecondly, a nullitie or fruſtration of all ſuch acts, as are by them ſuppoſed oppoſite to thoſe Principles, an inualiditie in all Ordinations of men vnable to preach, and in all diſpenſations which mitigate the Law of common right for the other two. And why ſo? Forſooth, becauſe whatſoeuer wee doe in theſe three caſes, and not by vertue of common right, wee muſt yeeld it of neceſſitie done by warrant of peculiar right or priuiledge. Now a priuiledge is ſaid to be that, that for fauour of certayne perſons commeth forth *againſt* common right; things *prohibited* are diſpenced with, becauſe things

Act. 20. 27.

Ier. 23. 2.

Ezech. 34. 2.

Abſtract. p. 119.

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permitted are diſpatched by common right, but things *forbidden* require diſpenſations. By which deſcriptions of a priuiledge and diſpenſation it is (they ſay) apparent, that a priuiledge muſt licence and authorize the ſame, which the Law againſt ignorance, non-reſidence and pluralitie doth infringe, and ſo bee a Law cõtrariant or repugnant to the law of Nature, & the Law of God, becauſe all the reaſons whereunto the Poſitiue Law of man againſt theſe three was firſt eſtabliſhed, are taken and drawne from the Law of Nature & the Law of God. For anſwere whereunto wee will but leade them to anſwere themſelues. Firſt therefore if they will grant (as they muſt) that all direct oppoſitions of ſpeech require one and the ſelfe-ſame ſubiect, to be meant on both parts where oppoſition is pretended, it will follow that either the maximes of common right doe inforce *the very ſame things* not to be good, which we ſay are good, grounding of our ſelues on the Reaſons, by vertue whereof our priuiledges are eſtabliſhed; or if the one doe not reach vnto that *particular ſubiect*, for which the other haue prouided, then is there no contradiction betweene them. In all contradictions, if the one part be true, the other eternally muſt be falſe. And therefore if the Principles of common right, doe at any time truly inforce *that particular* not to be good, which priuiledges make good, it argueth inuincibly, that ſuch priuiledges haue beene grounded vpon ſome error. But to ſay, that euery priuiledge is oppoſite vnto the principles of common right, becauſe it diſpenſeth with that which common right doth prohibit, hath groſſe abſurditie. For the voice of Equitie and Iuſtice is, that a generall Law doth neuer derogate from a ſpeciall Priuiledge, whereas if the one were contrariant to the other, a generall Law being in force ſhould alwayes diſſolue a Priuiledge. The reaſon why many are deceiued by imagining that ſo it ſhould doe, and why men of better inſight conclude directly it ſhould not, doth reſt in the *ſubiect or matter* it ſelfe, which matter *indefinitely* conſidered in Lawes of common right, is in Priuiledges conſidered as *beſet and limited with ſpeciall circumſtances*, by meanes whereof to them which reſpect it, but by way of generalitie it ſeemeth one and the ſame in both, although it bee not the ſame, if once wee deſcend to particular conſideration thereof. Precepts doe alwayes propoſe perfection, not ſuch as none can attayne vnto, for then in vaine ſhould wee aske or require it at the hands of men, but ſuch perfection as all men muſt aime at, to the end that as largely as humane prouidence and care can extend it, it may take place. Morall Lawes are the rules of Politique, thoſe Politique, which are made to order the whole Church of God, Rules vnto all particular Churches, and the Lawes of euery particular Church, Rules vnto euery particular man, within the body of the ſame Church. Now becauſe the higher we aſcend in theſe rules, the further ſtill we remoue from thoſe ſpecialties, which being proper to the ſubiect, whereupon our actions muſt worke, are therefore chiefly conſidered by vs, by them leaſt thought vpon that wade altogether in the two firſt kindes of generall directions, their iudgement cannot be exact and ſound, concerning either Lawes of Churches, or Actions of men in particular, becauſe they determine of effects by a part of the cauſes onely out of which they grow, they iudge concluſions by demipremiſes and halfe principles, they lay them in the ballance ſtript from thoſe neceſſarie materiall

teriall circumſtances, which ſhould giue them waight, and by ſhew of falling vneuen with the ſcale of moſt vniuerſall and abſtracted rules, they pronounce that too light which is not, if they had the skill to waigh it. This is the reaſon why men altogether conuerſant in ſtudie, doe know how to teach, but not how to gouerne; men experienced contrariwiſe gouerne well, yet know not which way to ſet downe orderly the Precepts and Reaſons of that they doe. Hee that will therefore iudge rightly of things done, muſt ioyne with his formes and conceits of generall ſpeculation, the matter wherein our actions are conuerſant. For by this ſhall appeare what equitie there is in thoſe Priuiledges and peculiar Grants or Fauours, which otherwiſe will ſeeme repugnant to iuſtice, and becauſe in themſelues conſidered they haue * a ſhew of repugnancy, this deceiueth thoſe great Clarkes, which hearing a priuiledge defined to be *an eſpeciall right brought in by their power and authoritie, that make it for ſome publike benefit againſt the generall courſe of reaſon*, are not able to comprehend how the word *againſt* doth import *exception*, without any *oppoſition* at all. For in as much as the hand of Iuſtice muſt diſtribute to euery particular what is due, and iudge what is due with reſpect had, no leſſe of particular circumſtances then of generall rules and axiomes, it cannot fit all ſorts with one meaſure, the wills, counſels, qualities and ſtates of men being diuers. For example, the Law of common right bindeth all men to keep their promiſes, performe their compacts, and anſwere the Faith they haue giuen either for themſelues, or others. Notwithſtanding he which bargayneth with one vnder yeeres, can haue no benefit by this allegation, becauſe hee bringeth it againſt a perſon which is exempt from the common rule. Shall we then conclude, that thus to exempt certayne men from the Law of common right, is againſt God, againſt Nature, againſt whatſoeuer may auaile to ſtrengthen and iuſtifie that Law before alleaged, or elſe acknowledge (as the truth is) that ſpeciall cauſes are to be ordered by ſpeciall rules, that if men growe vnto ripe age, diſaduantage themſelues by bargayning, yet what they haue wittingly done, is ſtrong, and in force againſt them, becauſe they are able to diſpoſe and manage their owne affaires, whereas youth for lacke of experience and iudgement, being eaſily ſubiect to circumuention, is therefore iuſtly exempt from the Law of common right, whereunto the reſt are iuſtly ſubiect? This plaine inequalitie betweene men of yeeres, and vnder yeeres, is a cauſe why Equitie and Iuſtice cannot apply equally the ſame generall Rule to both, but ordereth the one by common right, and granteth to the other a ſpeciall priuiledge. Priuiledges are either tranſitorie or permanent. * Tranſitorie, ſuch as ſerue only ſome one turne, or at the moſt extend no farther then to this or that man, with the end of whoſe naturall life they expire; Permanent, ſuch as the vſe wherof doth continue ſtill, for that they belong vnto certayne *kinds* of men and cauſes which neuer die. Of this nature are all immunities and preeminences, which for iuſt conſiderations one ſort of men enioyeth aboue another, both in the Church and Common-wealth, no man ſuſpecting them of contrarietie to any branch of thoſe Lawes or Reaſons, whereupon the generall right is grounded. Now there being generall Lawes & Rules whereby it cannot be denyed, but the Church of God ſtandeth bound to prouide that the Miniſtery may be learnd, that they which haue charge may reſide vpon

* *Ius ſingulare eſt, quod contra tenorem rationis propter aliquam vtilitatem auctoritate conſtituentium introductum eſt*, Paulus, ff. de Legib.

* *Priuilegium perſonale cum perſona extinguitur, & priuilegium datum actioni tranſit cum actione*, Op. de regulis, part. 1. 227.

vpon it, and that it may not be free from them in ſcandalous manner to multiply Eccleſiaſticall liuings, it remayneth in the next place to be examined, what the Lawes of the Church of England do admit, which may be thought repugnant to any thing hitherto alleaged, and in what ſpeciall conſideration they ſeeme to admit the ſame. Conſidering therefore, that to furniſh all places of Cure in this Realme, it is not an Armie of twelue thouſand learned men that would ſuffice, nor two Vniuerſities that can alwayes furniſh as many as decay in ſo great a number, nor a fourth part of the liuings with Cure, that when they fall are able to yeeld ſufficient maintenance for learned men, is it not plaine, that vnleſſe the greateſt part of the people ſhould bee left vtterly without the publike vſe and exerciſe of Religion, there is no remedie but to take into the Eccleſiaſticall order, a number of men meanely qualified in reſpect of learning? For whatſoeuer we may imagine in our priuate Cloſets, or talke for communication ſake at our Boords, yea, or write in our Bookes, through a notionall conceit of things needfull, for performance of each mans dutie, if once we come from the Theorie of learning, to take out ſo many learned men, let them be diligently viewed, out of whom the choice ſhall be made, and thereby an eſtimate made, what degree of skill we muſt either admit, or elſe leaue numbers, vtterly deſtitute of guides, and I doubt not but that men indued with ſenſe of common equitie, will ſoone diſcerne, that beſides eminent and competent knowledge, wee are to deſcend to a lower ſtep, receiuing knowledge in that degree, which is but tolerable. When wee commend any man for learning, our ſpeech importeth him to bee more then meanely qualified that way; but when Lawes doe require learning as a qualitie, which maketh capable of any function, our meaſure to iudge a learned man by, muſt bee ſome certayne degree of learning, beneath which we can hold no man ſo qualified. And if euery man that liſteth may ſet that degree himſelfe, how ſhall wee euer know when Lawes are broken, when kept, ſeeing one man may thinke a lower degree ſufficient, another may iudge them vnſufficient that are not qualified in ſome higher degree. Wherefore of neceſſitie either we muſt haue ſome Iudge in whoſe conſcience they that are thought and pronounced ſufficient, are to be ſo accepted and taken, or elſe the Law it ſelfe is to ſet downe the very loweſt degree of fitneſſe, that ſhall be allowable in this kinde. So that the queſtion doth grow to this iſſue. Saint *Paul* requireth learning in Preſbyters, yea ſuch learning as doth inable them to exhort in doctrine which is ſound, and to diſproue them that gaine-ſay it. What meaſure of abilitie in ſuch things ſhall ſerue to make men capable of that kinde of Office, he doth not himſelfe preciſely determine, but referreth it to the conſcience of *Titus*, and others, which had to deale in ordayning Preſbyters. Wee muſt therefore of neceſſitie make this demand, whether the Church lacking ſuch as the Apoſtle would haue choſen, may with good conſcience take out of ſuch as it hath in a meaner degree of fitneſſe, them that may ſerue to performe the ſeruice of publike Prayer, to miniſter the Sacraments vnto the People, to ſolemnize Marriage, to viſit the Sicke, and bury the dead, to inſtruct by reading, although by preaching they be not as yet ſo able to benefit and feed Chriſts flocke. We conſtantly hold, that in this caſe the Apoſtles Law is not broken. He requireth more in

Tit. 1. 9.

Preſbyters

Preſbyters then there is found in many whom the Church of England alloweth. But no man being tyed vnto impoſſibilities, to doe that wee cannot, we are not bound. It is but a ſtratagem of theirs therefore and a very indirect practice, when they publiſh large declamations to proue that learning is required in the miniſterie, and to make the ſilly people beleeue that the contrarie is maintayned by the Biſhops, and vpheld by the Lawes of the Land, whereas the queſtion in truth is not whether learning bee required, but whether a Church wherein there is not ſufficient ſtore of learned men to furniſh all Congregations, ſhould doe better to let thouſands of ſoules grow ſauage, to let them liue without any publique ſeruice of God, to let their children dye vnbaptized, to with-hold the benefit of the other Sacrament from them, to let them depart this world like Pagans, without any thing, as much as reade vnto them concerning the way of life, then as it doth in this neceſſitie, to make ſuch Preſbyters as are ſo farre forth ſufficient, although they want that abilitie of preaching which ſome others haue. In this point therefore wee obey neceſſitie, and of two euills wee take the leſſe; in the reſt a publique vtilitie is ſought, and in regard thereof ſome certayne inconueniences tolerated, becauſe they are recompenced with greater good. The Law giueth libertie of non-Reſidence for a time to ſuch as will liue in Vniuerſities, if they faithfully there labour to grow in knowledge, that ſo they may afterwards the more edifie and the better inſtruct their Congregations. The Church in their abſence is not deſtitute, the peoples ſaluation not neglected for the preſent time, the time of their abſence is in the intendment of Law beſtowed to the Churches great aduantage and benefit, thoſe neceſſarie helps are procured by it, which turne by many degrees more to the peoples comfort in time to come, then if their Paſtors had continually abidden with them. So that the Law doth hereby prouide in ſome part to remedie and helpe that euill, which the former neceſſitie hath impoſed vpon the Church. For compare two men of equall meaneneſſe, the one perpetually reſident, the other abſent for a ſpace, in ſuch ſort as the Law permitteth. Allot vnto both ſome nine yeeres continuance with Cure of ſoules. And muſt not three yeeres abſence in all probabilitie and likelihood, make the one more profitable then the other vnto Gods Church, by ſo much as the increaſe of his knowledge, gotten in thoſe three yeeres, may adde vnto ſixe yeeres trauaile following? For the greater abilitie there is added to the inſtrument, wherewith it pleaſeth God to ſaue ſoules, the more facilitie and expedition it hath to worke that which is otherwiſe hardlier effected. As much may bee ſaid touching abſence, granted to them that attend in the families of Biſhops, which Schooles of grauitie, diſcretion and wiſedome, preparing men againſt the time that they come to reſide abroad, are in my poore opinion euen the fitteſt places that any ingenuous minde can wiſh to enter into, betweene departure from priuate ſtudie, and acceſſe to a more publike charge of ſoules, yea no leſſe expedient, for men of the beſt ſufficiencie and moſt maturitie in knowledge, then the very Vniuerſities themſelues are for the ripening of ſuch as bee raw. Imployment in the families of Noble men, or in Princes Courts hath another end, for which the ſelfe-ſame leaue is giuen, not without great reſpect to the good of the whole Church. For aſſuredly

redly whoſoeuer doth well obſerue, how much all inferiour things depend vpon the orderly courſes & motions of thoſe greater Orbes, will hardly iudge it either meete or good, that the Angels aſſiſting them ſhould bee driuen to betake themſelues vnto other Stations, although by nature they were not tyed where now they are, but had charge alſo elſewhere, as long as their abſence from beneath might but tolerably bee ſupplyed, and by deſcending their roomes aboue ſhould become vacant. For wee are not to dreame in this caſe of any platforme, which bringeth equally high and low vnto Pariſh Churches, nor of any conſtraint to maintayne at their owne charge men ſufficient for that purpoſe; the one ſo repugnant to the Maieſtie and Greatneſſe of Engliſh Nobilitie, the other ſo improbable and vnlikely to take effect, that they which mention either of both, ſeeme not indeede to haue conceiued what either is. But the eye of the Law is the eye of God, it looketh into the hearts and ſecret diſpoſitions of men, it beholdeth how farre one ſtarre differeth from another in glorie, and as mens ſeuerall degrees require, accordingly it guideth them, granting vnto principall Perſonages priuiledges correſpondent to their high eſtates, and that not onely in Ciuill, but euen in Spirituall affaires, to the end they may loue that Religion the more, which no way ſeeketh to make them vulgar, no way diminiſheth their dignitie and greatneſſe, but to doe them good, doth them honour alſo, and by ſuch extraordinarie fauours teacheth them to bee in the Church of God, the ſame which the Church of God eſteemeth them, more worth then thouſands. It appeareth therefore in what reſpect the Lawes of this Realme haue giuen libertie of non-reſidence to ſome, that their knowledge may bee increaſed, and their labours by that meanes bee made afterwards the more profitable to others, leſt the houſes of great Men ſhould want that daily exerciſe of Religion, wherein their example auayleth as much, yea many times peraduenture more then the Lawes themſelues, with the common ſort. A third thing reſpected both in permitting abſence, and alſo in granting to ſome that libertie of addition, or pluralitie, which neceſſarily inforceth their abſence, is a meere both iuſt and conſcionable regard, that as men are in qualitie, and as their ſeruices are in waight for the publike good, ſo likewiſe their rewards and incouragements by ſpeciall priuiledge of Law, might ſomewhat declare how the State it ſelfe doth accept their paines, much abhorring from their beaſtiall and ſauage rudeneſſe, which thinke that Oxen ſhould onely labour, and Aſſes feede. Thus to Readers in Vniuerſities, whoſe very paper and booke-expences, their ancient allowances and ſtipends at this day doe either not or hardly ſuſtayne; to Gouernors of Colleges, leſt the great ouer-plus of charges neceſſarily inforced vpon them, by reaſon of their place, and very ſlenderly ſupplyed, by meanes of that change in the preſent condition of things, which their Founders could not foreſee; to men call'd away from their Cures, & imployed in waightier buſineſſe, either of the Church or Common-wealth, becauſe to impoſe vpon them a burthen which requireth their abſence, and not to releaſe them from the duetie of Reſidence, were a kinde of cruell and barbarous iniuſtice; to Reſidents in Cathedrall Churches, or vpon dignities Eccleſiaſticall, for as much as theſe being roomes of greater Hoſpitalitie, places of more reſpect and conſequence then the reſt, they

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are the rather to be furniſhed with men of beſt qualitie, and the men for their qualities ſake to bee fauoured aboue others, I ſay vnto all theſe in regard of their worth and merit, the Law hath therefore giuen leaue while themſelues beare waightier burthens, to ſupply inferiour by deputation, and in like conſideration partly, partly alſo by way of honour to learning, Nobilitie and Authoritie permitteth, that men which haue taken Theologicall degrees in Schooles, the Suffraganes of Biſhops, the houſhold Chapplens of men of honour, or in great Offices, the brethren and ſonnes of Lords temporall, or of Knights, if God ſhall mooue the hearts of ſuch to enter at any time into holy Orders, may obtayne to themſelues a facultie or licence to hold two Eccleſiaſticall Liuings though hauing cure, any ſpirituall Perſon of the Queenes Councell three ſuch Liuings, her Chapplens, what number of promotions her ſelfe in her owne Princely wiſedome thinketh good to beſtow vpon them. But, as it fareth in ſuch caſes, the gap which for iuſt conſiderations wee open vnto ſome, letteth in others through corrupt practices, to whom ſuch fauours were neither meant, nor ſhould be communicated. The greatneſſe of the Harueſt, and the ſcarcitie of able Workemen hath made it neceſſarie, that Law ſhould yeeld to admit numbers of men but ſlenderly and meanely qualified. Hereupon becauſe whom all other worldly hopes haue forſaken, they commonly reſerue miniſteriall Vocation, as their laſt and ſureſt refuge euer open to forlorne men, the Church that ſhould nouriſh them, whoſe ſeruice ſhee needeth, hath obtruded vpon her their ſeruice, that know not otherwiſe how to liue and ſuſtaine themſelues. Theſe finding nothing more eaſie then meanes to procure the writing of a few lines to ſome one or other, which hath authoritie, and nothing more vſuall then too much facilitie in condiſcending vnto ſuch requeſts, are often receiued into that Vocation whereunto their vnworthineſſe is no ſmall diſgrace. Did any thing more aggrauate the crime of *Ieroboams* prophane Apoſtaſie, then that he choſe to haue his Clergie the ſcumme and refuſe of his whole Land? Let no man ſpare to tell it them, they are not faithfull towards God, that burthen wilfully his Church with ſuch ſwarmes of vnworthy creatures. I will not ſay of all degrees in the Miniſterie, that which Saint *Chryſoſtome* doth of the higheſt, *He that will vndertake ſo waightie a charge, had need to bee a man of great vnderſtanding, rarely aſſiſted with Diuine grace, for integritie of manners, puritie of life, and for all other vertues, to haue in him more then a man*; but ſurely this will I ſay with *Chryſoſtome*, *We need not doubt whether God bee highly diſpleaſed with vs, or what the cauſe of his anger is, if things of ſo great feare and holineſſe as are the leaſt and loweſt duties of his ſeruice, be throwne wilfully on them whoſe not only meane, but bad and ſcandalous qualitie doth defile whatſoeuer they handle.* Theſe eye-ſores and blemiſhes, in continuall attendants about the Seruice of Gods Sanctuarie, doe make them euery day fewer, that willingly reſort vnto it, till at length all affection and zeale towards God bee extinct in them through a weariſome contempt of their perſons, which for a time onely liue by Religion, and are for recompence in fine, the death of the Nource that feedeth them. It is not obſcure, how incommodious the Church hath found both this abuſe of the libertie, which Law is enforced to grant, and not onely this, but the like abuſe of that fauour alſo, which Law in other conſidera-

Chryſoſt. de Sacerd. l. 3. c. 15.

tions alreadie mentioned, affoordeth touching reſidence and pluralitie of ſpirituall Liuings. Now that which is practiſed corruptly to the detriment and hurt of the Church, againſt the purpoſe of thoſe very Lawes, which notwithſtanding are pretended in defence and iuſtification thereof, wee muſt needes acknowledge no leſſe repugnant to the grounds and principles of common right, then the fraudulent proceedings of Tyrants to the principles of iuſt Soueraignetie. Howbeit not ſo thoſe ſpeciall priuiledges which are but inſtruments wreſted and forced to ſerue malice. There is in the Patriarke of Heathen Philoſophers this precept, [a] *Let no Husband-man, nor no Handy-craftſman be a Prieſt.* The reaſon whereupon he groundeth, is a maxime in the law of Nature. It importeth greatly the good *of all men that God be reuerenced*, with whoſe honour it ſtandeth not that they which are publikely imployed in his ſeruice, ſhould liue of baſe & manuarie Trades. Now compare herewith the Apoſtles words, [b] *Ye know that theſe hands haue miniſtred to my neceſſities, and them that are with me.* What thinke wee? Did the Apoſtle any thing oppoſite herein, or repugnant to the Rules and Maximes of the Law of Nature? The ſelfe-ſame reaſons that accord his actions with the law of Nature ſhall declare, our Priuiledges and his Lawes no leſſe conſonant. Thus therefore wee ſee, that although they vrge very colourably the Apoſtles owne ſentences, requiring that a Miniſter ſhould be able to diuide rightly the word of God, that they who are placed in charge, ſhould attend vnto it themſelues, which in abſence they cannot doe, and that they which haue diuers Cures, muſt of neceſſitie be abſent from ſome, whereby the Law Apoſtolique ſeemeth apparently broken, which Law requiring attendance, cannot otherwiſe bee vnderſtood, then ſo as to charge them with perpetuall reſidence: againe, though in euery of theſe cauſes, they infinitely heape vp the Sentences of Fathers, the Decrees of Popes, the ancient Edicts of Imperiall authoritie, our owne Nationall Lawes & Ordinances prohibiting the ſame, and grounding euermore their prohibitions, partly on the Lawes of God, and partly on reaſons drawne from the light of Nature, yet hereby to gather and inferre contradiction betweene thoſe Lawes which forbid indefinitly, and ours which in certaine caſes haue allowed the ordaining of ſundry Miniſters, whoſe ſufficiencie for learning is but meane, againe the licenſing of ſome to be abſent from their Flockes, and of others to hold more then one onely Liuing which hath cure of Soules, I ſay, to conclude repugnancie betweene theſe eſpeciall permiſſions, & the former generall prohibitions, which ſet not downe their owne limits, is erronious, and the manifeſt cauſe thereof ignorance in differences of matter which both ſorts of Law concerne. If then the conſiderations be reaſonable, iuſt and good, whereupon wee ground whatſoeuer our Lawes haue by ſpeciall right permitted; if onely the effects of abuſed Priuiledges be repugnant to the Maximes of common right, this maine foundation of repugnancie being broken, whatſoeuer they haue built thereupon, falleth neceſſarily to ground. Whereas therefore, vpon ſurmiſe or vaine ſuppoſall of oppoſition betweene our ſpeciall, and the principles of common right, they gather that ſuch as are with vs ordained Miniſters, before they can preach, be neither lawfull, becauſe the Lawes already mentioned, forbid generally to create ſuch, neither are they indeed Miniſters, although wee commonly

[a] ὔτε γεωργὸν ὔτε βάναυσον ἱερέα καταστατέον ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν πάντων πρέπει τιμᾶσθαι τοὺς θεούς, Ariſt. Po. 7. c. 9.

[b] *Act.* 20. 34. 1. *Cor.* 4. 12. 1. *Theſ.* 2. 9. 2. *Theſ.* 3. 8.

monly ſo name them, but whatſoeuer they execute by vertue of ſuch, their pretended Vocation is void; that all our grants and tolerations, as well of this as the reſt are fruſtrate and of no effect, the perſons that enioy them, poſſeſſe them wrongfully, and are depriuable at all howers; finally, that other iuſt and ſufficient remedie of euils there can bee none, beſides the vtter abrogation of theſe our Mitigations, and the ſtrict eſtabliſhment of former Ordinances to be abſolutely executed whatſoeuer follow, albeit the anſwere alreadie made in diſcouerie of the weake and vnſound foundation whereupon they haue built theſe erronious collections may be thought ſufficient, yet becauſe our deſire is rather to ſatisfie if it be poſſible, then to ſhake them off, wee are with verie good will contented to declare the cauſes of all particulars more formally and largely, then the equitie of our owne defence doth require. There is crept into the mindes of men, at this day a ſecret, pernicious and peſtilent conceit, that the greateſt perfection of a Chriſtian man doth conſiſt in diſcouerie of other mens faults, and in wit to diſcourſe of our owne profeſſion. When the World moſt abounded with Iuſt, Righteous and perfect men, their chiefeſt ſtudie was the exerciſe of Pietie, wherein for their ſafeſt direction, they reuerently harkened to the Readings of the Law of God, they kept in minde the Oracles and Aphoriſmes of wiſedome, which tended vnto vertuous life, if any ſcruple of conſcience did trouble them for matter of actions which they tooke in hand, nothing was attempted before counſell and aduice were had, for feare leſt raſhly they might offend. Wee are now more confident, not that our knowledge and iudgement is riper, but becauſe our deſires are another way. Their ſcope was obedience, ours is skill; their endeuour was reformation of life, * our vertue nothing but to heare gladly the reproofe of vice; they in the practice of their Religion, wearied chiefely their knees and hands, wee eſpecially our eares and tongues. We are growne as in many things elſe, ſo in this to a kind of intemperancie which (onely Sermons excepted) hath almoſt brought all other duties of Religion out of taſte. At the leaſt, they are not in that account and reputation which they ſhould bee. Now, becauſe men bring all Religion in a manner to the only Office of hearing of Sermons, if it chance that they who are thus conceited, doe imbrace any ſpeciall opinion different from other men, the Sermons that relliſh not that opinion, can in no wiſe pleaſe their appetite. Such therefore as preach vnto them, but hit not the ſtring they looke for, are receiued as vnprofitable, the reſt as vnlawfull, and indeed no Miniſters, if the facultie of Sermons want. For why? A Miniſter of the Word ſhould, they ſay, bee able rightly to *diuide* the Word. Which Apoſtolike Canon, many thinke they doe well obſerue, when in opening the Sentences of Holy Scripture, they draw all things fauourably ſpoken vnto one ſide, but whatſoeuer is reprehenſiue, ſeuere and ſharpe, they haue others on the contrary part, whom that muſt alwaies concerne, by which their ouer-partiall and vnindifferent proceeding, while they thus labour amongſt the people to diuide the Word, they make the Word a meane to diuide and diſtract the people. Ὀρθοτομεῖν, *to diuide aright*, doth note in the Apoſtles Writings, ſoundneſſe of Doctrine onely, and in meaning ſtandeth oppoſite to καινοτομεῖν.

* Ἀλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς πράξεσιν ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν λόγον καταφεύγοντες οἴονται φιλοσοφεῖν, καὶ ὕτως ἔσεσθαι σπουδαῖοι: ὅμοιόν τι πεῖο ωἰῆες τοῖς κάμνουσιν οἱ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀκούσι, μὲν ἐπιμελῶς, τοῖσι δὲ ὑδὲν τῶν προσταττομένων ὅσπερ ὅ ωι ὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι ζῦ ἔξουσι τὸ σῶμα ὕτω θεραπευόμενοι, ὐδ' ὕτοι τλὼ ψυχλὼ ὕτω φιλοσοφοῦντες, Ariſt. Eth. lib. 2. cap. 5.

r 2. *Tim.* 2. 15.

the broching of new opinions against that which is receiued. For queſtionleſſe the firſt things deliuered to the Church of Chriſt, were pure and ſincere truth. Which whoſoeuer did afterwards oppugne, could not chooſe but diuide the Church into two moities, in which diuiſion, ſuch as taught what was firſt beleeued, held the truer part, the contrary ſide, in that they were Teachers of Noueltie, erred. For preuention of which euill, there are in this Church many ſingular and well deuiſed remedies, as namely, the vſe of ſubſcribing to the Articles of Religion before admiſſion to degrees of Learning, or to any Eccleſiaſticall Liuing, the cuſtome of reading the ſame Articles, and of approouing them in publike Aſſemblies, whereſoeuer men haue Benefices with cure of Soules, the order of teſtifying vnder their hands, allowance of the Booke of Common Prayer, and the Booke of ordaining Miniſters, finally, the Diſcipline and moderate ſeueritie which is vſed either in otherwiſe correcting or ſilencing them that trouble and diſturbe the Church with Doctrines which tend vnto Innouation, it being better that the Church ſhould want altogether the benefit of ſuch mens labours, then indure the miſchiefe of their inconformitie to good Lawes; in which caſe if any repine at the courſe and proceedings of Iuſtice, they muſt learne to content themſelues with the anſwere of *M. Curius*, which had ſometime occaſion to cut off one from the body of the Common-wealth, in whoſe behalfe, becauſe it might haue beene pleaded that the partie was a man ſeruiceable, he therefore beganne his iudiciall ſentence with this preamble, *Non eſſe opus Reip. eo ciue qui parere neſciret; The Common-wealth needeth men of quality, yet neuer thoſe men which haue not learned how to obey.* But the wayes which the Church of England hath taken to prouide that they who are Teachers of others may doe it ſoundly, that the puritie and vnitie as well of ancient Diſcipline as Doctrine may bee vpheld, that auoiding ſingularities, we may all glorifie God with one heart, and one tongue, they of all men doe leaſt approue, that moſt vrge the Apoſtles Rule and Canon. For which cauſe they alleage it not ſo much to that purpoſe, as to prooue that vnpreaching Miniſters (for ſo they terme them) can haue no true, nor lawfull calling in the Church of God. Saint *Auguſtine* hath ſaid of the will of man, that *ſimply to will proceedeth from nature, but our wel-willing is from grace.* Wee ſay as much of the Miniſter of God, *Publikely to teach and inſtruct the Church, is neceſſarie in euery Eccleſiaſticall Miniſter, but ability to teach by Sermons, is a grace which God doth beſtow on them whom he maketh ſufficient for the commendable diſcharge of their dutie.* That therefore wherein a Miniſter differeth from other Chriſtian men, is not as ſome haue childiſhly imagined, the *ſound preaching of the Word of God*, but as they are lawfully and truely Gouernours, to whom authoritie of Regiment is giuen in the Common-wealth, according to the order which Politie hath ſet; ſo Canonicall Ordination in the Church of Chriſt, is that which maketh a lawfull Miniſter, *as touching the validitie of any act which appertaineth to that Vocation.* The cauſe why Saint *Paul* willed *Timothie* not to bee ouerhaſtie in ordaining Miniſters, was (as wee verie well may coniecture) becauſe Impoſition of hands doth conſecrate and make them Miniſters, whether they haue gifts and qualities fit for the laudable diſcharge of their duties or no.

Valer. l. 6. c. 3.

Oxf. Man. p. 21.

If

If want of learning and skill to preach did fruſtrate their Vocation, Miniſters ordained before they be growne vnto that maturitie, ſhould receiue new Ordination, whenſoeuer it chanceth, that ſtudie and induſtrie doth make them afterwards more able to performe the Office, then which what conceit can bee more abſurd? Was not Saint *Auguſtine* himſelfe contented to admit an Aſſiſtant in his owne Church, a man of ſmall Erudition, conſidering that what hee wanted in knowledge, was ſupplied by thoſe vertues, which made his life a better Oratour, then more learning could make others whoſe conuerſation was leſſe holy? Were the Prieſts, ſithence *Moſes*, all able and ſufficient men, learnedly to interpret the Law of God? or was it euer imagined, that this defect ſhould fruſtrate what they executed, and depriue them of right vnto any thing they claimed by vertue of their Prieſthood? Surely as in Magiſtrates, the want of thoſe gifts which their Office needeth, is cauſe of iuſt imputation, of blame in them that wittingly chooſe vnſufficient and vnfit men when they might doe otherwiſe, and yet therefore is not their choice void, nor euerie action of Magiſtracie fruſtrate in that reſpect. So whether it were of neceſſitie, or euen of verie careleſneſſe, that men vnable to preach ſhould bee taken in Paſtors roomes, neuertheleſſe, it ſeemeth to bee an errour in them, which thinke that the lacke of any ſuch perfection defeateth vtterly their Calling. To wiſh that all men were ſo qualified, as their Places and Dignities require, to hate all ſiniſter and corrupt dealings which hereunto are any let; to couet ſpeedie redreſſe of thoſe things whatſoeuer, whereby the Church ſuſtained detriment, theſe good and vertuous deſires cannot offend any but vngodly minds. Notwithſtanding, ſome in the true vehemencie, and others vnder the faire pretence of theſe deſires, haue aduentured that which is ſtrange, that which is violent and vniuſt. There are which in confidence of their generall allegations concerning the knowledge, the Reſidence and the ſingle Liuings of Miniſters, preſume not onely to annihilate the Solemne Ordinations of ſuch as the Church muſt of force admit, but alſo to vrge a kind of vniuerſall proſcription againſt them, to ſet downe Articles, to draw Commiſſions, and almoſt to name themſelues of the *Quorum*, for inquirie into men eſtates and dealings, whom at their pleaſure they would depriue and make obnoxious to what puniſhment themſelues liſt, and that not for any violation of Lawes, either Spirituall or Ciuill, but becauſe men haue truſted the Lawes too farre, becauſe they haue held and inioyed the libertie which Law granteth, becauſe they had not the wit to conceiue as theſe men doe, that Lawes were made to intrap the ſimple, by permitting thoſe things in ſhew and appearance, which indeed ſhould neuer take effect, for as much as they were but granted with a ſecret condition to bee put in practice, *If they ſhould bee profitable and agreeable with the Word of God*, which condition fayling in all Miniſters that cannot preach, in all that are abſent from their Liuings, and in all that haue diuers Liuings (for ſo it muſt bee preſumed, though neuer as yet prooued) therefore as men which haue broken the Law of God, and Nature, they are depriueable at all houres. Is this the Iuſtice of that Diſcipline whereunto all Chriſtian Churches muſt ſtoop and ſubmit themſelues? is this the equitie wherewith they labour to reforme the World? I will no

The Author of the *Abſtract*.

way diminish the force of those Arguments whereupon they ground. But if it please them to behold the visage of these collections in another Glasse, there are Ciuill as well as Ecclesiasticall Vnsufficiencies, Non-residences, and Pluralities; yea, the reasons which Light of Nature hath ministred against both are of such affinitie, that much lesse they cannot inforce in the one then in the other. When they that beare great Offices, bee persons of meane worth, the contempt whereinto their authoritie groweth, [n] weakeneth the sinew of the whole State. Notwithstanding, where many Gouernours are needfull, and they not many, whom their qualitie can commend, [o] the penurie of worthier must needs make the meaner sort of men capable: Cities in the absence of their Gouernours, are as Ships wanting Pilots at Sea. But were it therefore [p] Iustice to punish whom Superiour authoritie pleaseth to call from home, or alloweth to bee imployed elsewhere? In committing [q] many Offices to one man there are apparantly these inconueniences, the Commonwealth doth lose the benefit of seruiceable men, which might bee trained vp in those roomes; it is not easie for one man to discharge many mens duties well; in seruice of Warfare and Nauigation, were it not the ouerthrow of whatsoeuer is vndertaken, if one or two should ingrosse such Offices as being now diuided into many hands, are discharged with admirable both perfection and expedition? Neuertheless bee it farre from the minde of any reasonable man to imagine, that in these considerations, Princes either ought of dutie to reuoke all such kind of grants, though made with very speciall respect to the extraordinary merit of certaine men, or might in honour demaund of them the Resignation of their Offices, with speech to this or the like effect, *For as much as you A. B. by the space of many yeeres, haue done vs that faithfull seruice in most important affaires, for which wee alwaies iudging you worthy of much honour, haue therefore committed vnto you from time to time, very great and waightie Offices, which hitherto you quietly inioy; we are now giuen to vnderstand, that certaine Graue and Learned men haue found in the Bookes of ancient Philosophers, diuers Arguments drawne from the common light of Nature, and declaring the wonderfull discommodities which vse to grow by Dignities thus heaped together in one; For which cause at this present, mooued in conscience and tender care for the publike good, wee haue summoned you hither, to dispossesse you of those places, and to depose you from those roomes, whereof indeed by vertue of our owne grant, yet against reason, you are possessed. Neither ought you, or any other to thinke vs rash, light, or vnconstant in so doing: For wee tell you plaine, that herein wee will both say and doe that thing which the Noble and wise Emperour sometime both said, and did in a matter of farre lesse waight then this,* Quod inconsultò fecimus, consultò reuocamus, *That which wee vnaduisedly haue done, we aduisedly will reuoke and vndoe.* Now for mine owne part, the greatest harme I would wish them who thinke that this were consonant with equitie and right, is, that they might but liue where all things are with such kind of Iustice ordered, till experience haue taught them to see their errour. As for the last thing which is incident into the cause whereof wee speake, namely, what course were the best and safest whereby to remedie such euils as the Church of God may sustaine, where the present libertie of Law is turned to great abuse, some light wee may receiue from abroad, not vnprofitable for direction of Gods

n μεγάλων κύριοι καθεσῶτες ἀν ἐύσελεῖς ὦσι μεγάλα βλάπτουσι. Aristo.

o *Nec ignoro maximos honores ad parum dignos penuria meliorum solere deferri. Mamertin paneg. ad Julian.*

p *Neque enim æquum visum est absentem reipub. causa inter reos referri dum reipub. oneratur.* Vlpian. li. 15. *si maritus, ad legem* Iulian *de adulter.*

q *Arist. Polit. lib. 2. cap. 11.*

See the like Preamble framed by the Author of the *Abstract*, where hee tancieth a Bishop deposing one vnapt to preach, whom himselfe had before ordained.

Gods owne ſacred houſe and family. The Romanes being a people full of generoſitie, and by nature courteous, did no way more ſhew their gentle diſpoſition, then by eaſie condeſcending to ſet their bondmen at libertie. Which benefit in the happier and better times of the Common-wealth, was beſtowed for the moſt part as an ordinarie reward of vertue, ſome few now and then alſo purchaſing freedome with that which their iuſt labours could gaine, & their honeſt frugalitie ſaue. But as the Empire daily grew vp, ſo the manners and conditions of men decayed, wealth was honoured, and vertue not cared for, neither did any thing ſeeme opprobrious out of which there might ariſe commoditie and profit, ſo that it could be no maruell in a State thus farre degenerated, if when the more ingenious ſort were become baſe, the baſer laying aſide all ſhame and face of honeſtie, did ſome by robberies, burglaries, and proſtitutions of their bodies gather wherewith to redeeme libertie; others obtayne the ſame at the hands of their Lords, by ſeruing them as vile inſtruments in thoſe attempts, which had beene worthy to be reuenged with ten thouſand deaths. A learned, iudicious, and polite Hiſtorian hauing mentioned ſo foule diſorders, giueth his iudgement and cenſure of them in this ſort, *Such eye-ſores in the Common-wealth haue occaſioned many vertuous minds, to condemne altogether the cuſtome of granting libertie to any bond-ſlaue, for as much as it ſeemed a thing abſurd, that a people which commanded all the world, ſhould conſiſt of ſo vile refuſe. But neither is this the only cuſtome wherin the profitable inuentions of former are depraued by latter Ages, and for my ſelfe I am not of their opinion that wiſh the abrogation of ſo groſſely vſed cuſtomes, which abrogation might peraduenture bee cauſe of greater inconueniences enſuing, but as much as may be I would rather aduiſe that redreſſe were ſought, through the carefull prouidence of chiefe Rulers and Ouer-ſeers of the Common-wealth, by whom a yeerely ſeruay being made of all that are manumiſed, they which ſeeme worthy might bee taken and diuided into Tribes with other Citizens, the reſt diſperſed into Colonies abroad, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of, that the Common-wealth might ſuſtayne neither harme nor diſgrace by them.* The wayes to meete with diſorders, growing by abuſe of Lawes, are not ſo intricate & ſecret eſpecially in our caſe, that men ſhould neede either much aduertiſement or long time for the ſearch thereof. And if counſell to that purpoſe may ſeeme needfull, this Church (God be thanked) is not deſtitute of men indued with ripe iudgement, whenſoeuer any ſuch thing ſhall be thought neceſſary. For which end at this preſent to propoſe any ſpeciall inuentions of mine own, might argue in a man of my place and calling more preſumption perhaps then wit. I will therefore leaue it intire vnto grauer conſideration, ending now with requeſt onely and moſt earneſt ſute, firſt, that they which giue Ordination, would, as they tender the very honor of Ieſus Chriſt, the ſafetie of men, and the endleſſe good of their owne ſoules, take heed, leſt vnneceſſarily, and through their default the Church be found worſe, or leſſe furniſhed then it might be: Secondly, that they which by right of Patronage haue power to preſent vnto ſpirituall Liuings, and may in that reſpect much damnifie the Church of God, would, for the eaſe of their owne account in that dreadful day, ſomwhat conſider what it is to betray for gaine the ſoules which Chriſt hath redeemed with bloud, what to violate the ſacred bond of fidelitie and ſolemne promiſe, giuen at the firſt to God & his Church by them,

Dionyſ. Halicar. Rom. antiq. l. 4.

from

from whoſe originall intereſt together with the ſelfe-ſame Title of right, the ſame Obligation of dutie likewiſe is deſcended: Thirdly, that they vnto whom the granting of Diſpenſations is committed; or which otherwiſe haue any ſtroke in the diſpoſition of ſuch preferments as appertayne vnto learned men, would bethinke themſelues what it is to reſpect any thing either aboue or beſides merit, conſidering how hardly the world taketh it, when to men of commendable note and qualitie there is ſo little reſpect had, or ſo great vnto them whoſe deſerts are very meane, that nothing doth ſeeme more ſtrange then the one ſort, becauſe they are not accounted of, and the other becauſe they are, it being euery mans hope and expectation in the Church of God, eſpecially that the onely purchaſe of greater rewards ſhould be alwayes greater deſerts, and that nothing ſhould euer bee able to plant a Thorne where a Vine ought to grow: Fourthly, that honorable perſonages, and they, who by vertue of any principall Office in the Common-wealth are inabled to qualifie a certayne number, and make them capable of fauours or faculties aboue others, ſuffer not their names to be abuſed, contrarie to the true intent & meaning of wholeſome Lawes, by men in whom there is nothing notable beſides couetouſneſſe and ambition: Fiftly, that the grauer and wiſer ſort in both Vniuerſities, or whoſoeuer they be, with whoſe approbation the markes and recogniſances of all learning are beſtowed, would thinke the Apoſtles caution againſt vnaduiſed Ordinations, not impertinent or vnneceſſary to be borne in minde, euen when they grant thoſe degrees of Schooles, which degrees are not *gratiæ gratis datæ*, kindneſſes beſtowed by way of humanitie, but they are *gratiæ gratum facientes*, fauours which alwayes imply a teſtimonie giuen to the Church and Common-wealth concerning mens ſufficiency for manners and knowledge; a teſtimonie, vpon the credit whereof ſundry Statutes of the Realme are built, a teſtimonie ſo farre auaileable, that nothing is more reſpected for the warrant of diuers mens abilities, to ſerue in the affaires of the Realme, a teſtimonie wherein if they violate that Religion wherewith it ought to bee alwayes giuen, and doe thereby induce into errour ſuch as deeme it a thing vnciuill to call the credit thereof in queſtion, let them looke that God ſhall returne backe vpon their heads, and cauſe them in the ſtate of their owne Corporations, to feele either one way or other the puniſhment of thoſe harmes, which the Church through their negligence doth ſuſtayne in that behalfe: Finally, and to conclude, that they who inioy the benefit of any ſpeciall Indulgence or fauour, which the Lawes permit, would as well remember what in dutie towards the Church, and in conſcience towards God they ought to doe, as what they may doe by vſing to their owne aduantage whatſoeuer they ſee tolerated, no man being ignorant that the cauſe why abſence in ſome caſes hath beene yeelded vnto, and in equitie thought ſufferable, is the hope of greater fruit through induſtrie elſewhere, the reaſon likewiſe wherefore pluralities are allowed vnto men of note, a very ſoueraigne and ſpeciall care, that as Fathers in the ancient world did declare the preeminence of prioritie in birth, by doubling the worldly portions of their firſt borne; ſo the Church by a courſe not vnlike in aſſigning mens rewards, might teſtifie an eſtimation, had proportionably of their vertues, according to the ancient rule Apoſtolike, *They which excell in labour, ought to excell*

to excell in honour: and therefore vnleſſe they anſwere faithfully the expectation of the Church herein, vnleſſe ſincerely they bend their wits day and night, both to ſow becauſe they reape, and to ſow as much more abundantly, as they reape more abundantly then other men, whereunto by their very acceptance of ſuch benignities, they formally binde themſelues, let them be well aſſured that the honey which they eate with fraude, ſhall turne in the end into true gall, for as much as Lawes are the ſacred Image of his wiſedome, who moſt ſeuerely puniſheth thoſe colourable and ſubtle crimes, that ſeldome are taken within the walke of humane Iuſtice. I therefore conclude, that the grounds and maximes of common right whereupon Ordinations of Miniſters vnable to preach, tolerations of abſence from their Cures, and the multiplications of their ſpirituall Liuings are diſproued, doe but indefinitely enforce them vnlawfull, not vnlawfull vniuerſally and without exception; that the Lawes which indefinitely are againſt all theſe things, and the priuiledges which make for them in certayne caſes, are not the one repugnant to the other, that the Lawes of God and Nature are violated through the effects of abuſed priuiledges; that neither our Ordinations of men vnable to make Sermons, nor our Diſpenſations for the reſt, can be iuſtly proued fruſtrate by vertue of any ſuch furmiſed oppoſition, betweene the ſpeciall Lawes of this Church which haue permitted, and thoſe generall which are alleaged to diſproue the ſame; that when priuiledges by abuſe are growne incommodious, there muſt be redreſſe; that for remedie of ſuch euills, there is no neceſſitie, the Church ſhould abrogate either in whole or in part, the ſpecialties before mentioned; and that the moſt to be deſired were a voluntarie reformation thereof on all hands, which may giue paſſage vnto any abuſe.

For the maine hypotheſis or foundation of theſe concluſtons, let that before ſet downe in the 9. be red together with this laſt the 81. Paragraph.

FINIS.

TO THE READER.



He pleaſures of thy ſpacious walkes in Maſter HOOKERS Temple-Garden (*not vnfitly ſo called, both for the* Temple *whereof he was* Maſter, *and the Subiect*, Eccleſiaſticall Politie) *doe promiſe acceptance to theſe* Flowers, *planted and watered by the ſame hand, and for thy ſake compoſed into this Poſie. Sufficiently are they commended, by their fragrant ſmell, in the dogmaticall Truth; by their beautifull colours, in the accurate ſtile; by their medicinable vertue, againſt ſome diſeaſes in our neighbour-Churches now prouing epidemicall, and threatning farther infection; by their ſtrait feature and ſpreading nature, growing from the root of* Faith (*which, as here is proued, can neuer be rooted vp*) *and extending the branches of* Charitie *to the couering of* Noahs nakednesſe, *opening the windowes of* Hope *to mens miſtie conceits of their bemiſted forefathers. Thus and more then thus, doe the workes commend themſelues; the Work-man needs a better workman to commend Him* (ALEXANDERS *picture requires* APELLES *his pencill*) *nay, he needs it not,* His owne workes commend him in the gates, *and* being dead, he yet ſpeaketh; *the ſyllables of that memorable name, Maſter* RICHARD HOOKER, *proclayming more, then if I ſhould here ſtile him a painefull Student, a profound Scholer, a iudicious Writer, with other due titles of his honour. Receiue then this poſtume Orphan, for his owne, yea for thine owne ſake: and if the Printer hath with ouer-much haſte, like* MEPHIBOSHETHS *Nurſe, lamed the Child with ſlips and falls, yet be thou of* DAVIDS *mind,* Shew kindneſſe to him for his Father IONATHANS ſake. *God grant that the reſt of his brethren be not more then lamed, and that as* SAVLS three ſonnes died the ſame day with him, *ſo thoſe Three promiſed to perfect his* Politie, *with other iſſues of that learned braine, be not buried in the graue with their renowned Father. Farewell.*

W. S.

The Contents of these Treatises following.

1. *A Supplication made to the Councell by Master* WALTER TRAVERS.

2. *Master* HOOKERS *answere to the Supplication that Master* TRAVERS *made to the Councell.*

3. *A learned Discourse of Iustification, Workes, and how the foundation of Faith is ouer-throwne.*

4. *A learned Sermon of the nature of Pride:*

5. *A Remedie against Sorrow and Feare, deliuered in a Funerall Sermon.*

6. *Of the certaintie and perpetuitie of Faith in the Elect: especially of the Prophet* HABAKKVKS *Faith.*

7. *Two Sermons vpon part of Saint* IVDES *Epistle.*

A SVPPLICATION MADE TO THE COVNCELL BY MASTER WALTER TRAVERS.

RIGHT Honourable, the manifold benefits which all the Subiects within this Dominion do at this present, and haue many yeares enioyed vnder her Maiesties most happy and prosperous raigne, by your godly wisdome, and carefull watching ouer this estate night and day: I humbly and vnfainedly acknowledge from the bottome of my heart, ought worthily to binde vs all, to pray continually to Almighty God for the continuance and encrease of the life and good estate of your Honours, and to be readie with all good duties to satisfie and serue the same to our power. Besides publique benefites common vnto all, I must needs, and doe willingly confesse my selfe to stand bound by most speciall obligation to serue and honour you more then any other, for the honourable fauour it hath pleased you to vouchsafe both oftentimes heretofore, and also now of late, in a matter more deare vnto me then any earthly commoditie, that is, the vpholding and furthering of my seruice in the ministring of the Gospell of Iesus Christ. For which cause, as I haue beene alwaies carefull so to carrie my selfe as I might by no meanes giue occasion to be thought vnworthie of so great a benefit, so doe I still, next vnto her Maieſties gracious countenance, hold nothing more deare and precious vnto me, then that I may alwaies remaine in your Honours fauor, which hath oftentimes bin helpfull and comfortable vnto me in my Ministerie, and to all such as reaped any fruit of my simple and faithfull labour. In which dutifull regard, I humbly beseech your Honours to vouchsafe to doe me this grace, to conceiue nothing of me otherwise then according to the dutie wherein I ought to liue, by any information against me, before your Honours haue heard my answere, and been throughly informed of the matter. Which although it be a thing, that your

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wisdomes, not in fauour, but in iustice yeeld to all men: yet the state of the calling vnto the Ministerie, whereunto it hath pleased God of his goodnesse to call me, though vnworthiest of all, is so subiect to mis-information, as except we may find this fauour with your Honours, wee cannot looke for any other, but that our vnlike affected parties may easily procure vs to be hardly esteemed of; and that we shall be made like the poore fisher-boates in the Sea, which euery swelling wane and billow taketh and ouer-whelmeth ouer. Wherein my estate is yet harder then any others of my ranke and calling, who are indeed to fight against flesh and bloud in what part soeuer of the Lords hoste and field they shall stand marshalled to serue, yet many of them deale with it naked and vnfurnished of weapons: but my seruice was in a place where I was to encounter with it well appointed and armed with skill and with authoritie, whereof as I haue alwaies thus deserued, and therefore haue bin carefull by all good meanes to entertaine still your Honors fauourable respect of me, so haue I speciall cause at this present, wherein mis-information to the Lord Archbishop of Canterburie, and other of the high Commission hath bin able so farre to preuaile against me, that by their letter they haue inhibited me to preach, or execute any act of Ministerie in the Temple or elsewhere, hauing neuer once called me before them to vnderstand by mine answere the truth of such things as had bin enformed against mee. We haue a storie in our bookes, wherein the Pharises proceeding against our Sauiour Christ without hauing heard him, is reproued by an honorable Counseller (as the Euangelist doth reckone him) saying, Doth our law iudge a man before it heare him, and know what he hath done? Which I doe not mention, to the end that by an indirect and couert speech I might so compare those, who haue without euer hearing me, pronounced a heauie sentence against me, for, notwithstanding such proceedings, I purpose by Gods grace to carrie my selfe towards them in all seeming dutie agreeable to their places: much lesse doe I presume to liken my cause to our Sauior Christs, who hold it my chiefest honor and happinesse to serue him, though it be but among the hindes and hired seruants, that serue him in the basest corners of his house. But my purpose in mentioning it, is, to shew by the iudgement of a Prince and great man in Israel, that such proceeding standeth not with the law of God, and in a princely patterne to shew it to be a noble part of an honorable Counceller, not to allow of indirect dealings, but to allow and affect such a course in iustice, as is agreeable to the law of God. We haue also a plaine rule in the word of God, not to proceed any otherwise against any Elder of the Church; much lesse against one that labourreth in the word and in teaching: which rule is deliuered with this most earnest charge and obtestation, I beseech and charge thee in the sight of God, and the Lord Iesus Christ, and the elect Angels, that thou keepe those [rules] without preferring one before another, doing nothing of partialitie, or enclining to either part; with Apostolicall and most earnest charge, I referre it to your Honors wisdome how it hath bin regarded in so heauie a iudgement against mee, without euer hearing my cause, and whether, as hauing God before their eies, and the Lord Iesus, by whom all former iudgements shall be tried againe, and as in the presence of the elect Angels witnesses, & obseruers of the regiment of the Church, they haue proceeded thus to such a sentence. They alleage indeed

1. Tim. 5. verse 19, 21.

two

two reasons in their letters whereupon they restraine my Ministerie, which, if they were as strong against me as they are supposed, yet I referre to your Honors wisdomes, whether the qualitie of such an offence as they charge me with, which is in effect but an indiscretion, deserue so grieuous a punishment both to the Church and me, in taking away my Ministerie, and that poore little commoditie which it yeeldeth for the necessarie maintenance of my life; if so vnequall a ballancing of faults and punishments, should haue place in the commonwealth, surely we should shortly haue no actions vpon the case, nor of trespasse, but all should be pleas of the Crowne, nor any man amerced, or fined, but for euery light offence put to his ransome. I haue credibly heard, that some of the Ministerie haue bin committed for grieuous transgressions of the lawes of God and men, being of no abilitie to doe other seruice in the Church then to reade, yet hath it bin thought charitable and standing with Christian moderation and temperancie, not to depriue such of ministery and beneficency, but to inflict some more tolerable punishment. Which I write not because such as I thinke, were to be fauoured, but to shew how vnlike their dealing is with me, being through the goodnesse of God not to be touched with any such blame, and one who according to the measure of the gift of God, haue laboured now some yeeres painefully, in regard of the weake estate of my body in preaching the Gospel, and as I hope, not altogether vnprofitably in respect of the Church. But I beseech your Honours to giue me leaue briefly to declare the particular reasons of their Letters, and what answer I haue to make vnto it.

The first is, that as they say I am not lawfully called to the function of the Ministerie, nor allowed to preach according to the lawes of this Church of England.

For answer to this, I had need to diuide the point, and first to make answer to the former, where in leauing to shew what by the holy Scriptures is required in a lawfull calling, and that all that is to be found in mine, that I be not too long for your other waightie affaires, I rest.

I this answer: My calling to the Ministery was such as in the calling of any thereunto, is appointed to be vsed by the orders agreed vpon in the Nationall Synods of the Low Countries, for the direction and guidance of their Churches, which orders are the same with those whereby the French and Scottish Churches are gouerned, whereof I haue shewed such sufficient testimoniall to my Lord the Archbishop of Canterburie, as is requisite in such a matter: whereby it must needs fall out, if any man be lawfully called to the Ministery in those Churches, then is my calling, being the same with theirs, also lawfull. But I suppose notwithstanding they vse this generall speech, they meane only my calling is not sufficient, to deale in the Ministerie within this land, because I was not made Minister according to that order which in this cause is ordained by our lawes. Whereunto I beseech your Honours to consider throughly of mine answer, because exception now againe is taken to my Ministery, whereas hauing beene heretofore called in question for it, I so answered the matter, as I continued my ministery and for any thing I discerned, looked to heare no more obiected vnto me. The communion of Saints (which euery Christian man professeth to beleeue) is such, as that the acts which are done in any true Church

of Christs according to his word, are held as lawfull, being done in one Church, as in another. Which as it holdeth in other acts of ministery, as baptisme, marriage, and such like, so doth it in the calling to the ministerie; by reason whereof all Churches doe acknowledge and receiue him for a minister of the word, who hath beene lawfully called thereunto in any Church of the same profession. A Doctor created in any Vniuersitie of Christendome, is acknowledged sufficiently qualified to teach in any country. The Church of Rome it selfe, and the Canon law holdeth it, that being ordered in Spaine, they may execute that belongeth to their order in Italie, or in any other place. And the Churches of the Gospell neuer made any question of it. Which if they shall now begin to make doubt of, and denie such to be lawfully called to the Ministery, as are called by another order then our owne, then may it well be looked for that other Churches will doe the like: and if a Minister called in the Low Countries bee not lawfully called in England, then may they say to our Preachers which are there, that being made by another order then theirs, they cannot suffer them to execute any act of Ministery amongst them; which in the end must needs breed a schisme and dangerous diuision in the Churches. Further I haue heard of those that are learned in the lawes of this land, that by expresse Statute to that purpose *Anno* 13. vpon subscription of the Articles agreed vpon *Anno* 62. that they who pretend to haue beene ordered by another order then that which is now established, are of like capacitie to enioy any place of ministery within the land, as they that haue bin ordered according to that is now by law in this case established. Which comprehending manifestly all, euen such as were made Priests according to the order of the Church of Rome, it must needs be, that the law of a Christian land professing the Gospell, should be as fauorable for a Minister of the Word as for a Popish Priest, which also was so found in M. *Whittingames* case, who notwithstanding such replies against him, enioyed still the benefit he had by his ministerie, and might haue done vntill this day if God had spared him life so long; which if it be vnderstood so & practised in others, why should the change of the person alter the right, which the law giueth to all other? The place of ministery, whereunto I was called, was not presentatiue: and if it had beene so, surely they would neuer haue prefented any man whom they neuer knew; and the order of this Church is agreeable herein to the Word of God, and the ancient and best Canons, that no man should be made minister *sine titulo*; therefore hauing none, I could not by the orders of this Church haue entred into the ministerie, before I had charge to tend vpon. When I was at *Antwerp*, and to take a place of ministerie among the people of that nation, I see no cause why I should haue returned againe ouer the seas for orders here, nor how I could haue done it, without disallowing the orders of the Churches prouided in the countrie where I was to liue. Whereby I hope it appeareth, that my calling to the ministerie is lawfull, and maketh mee by our law of capacitie to enioy any benefit or commoditie, that any other by reason of his ministerie may enioy. But my cause is yet more easie, who reaped no benefit of my ministerie by law, receiuing onely a benenolence and voluntarie contribution, and the ministerie I dealt with being preaching onely, which euery Deacon here may doe being licensed, and certaine that are neither Ministers

nor

nor Deacons: thus I answere the former of these two points, whereof if there be yet any doubt, I humbly desire for a finall end thereof, that some competent Iudges in Law may determine of it; whereunto I referre and submit my selfe with all reuerence and dutie.

The second is, that I preached without licence: whereunto this is my answere; I haue not presumed vpon the calling I had to the Ministery abroad, to preach, or deale with any part of the Ministery within this Church, without the consent and allowance of such as were to allow me vnto it: my allowance was from the Bishop of *London*, testified by his two seuerall Letters to the Inner Temple, who without such testimonie would by no meanes rest satisfied in it; which letters being by me produced, I referre it to your Honors wisedome, whether I haue taken vpon me to preach without being allowed (as they charge) according to the orders of the Realme. Thus hauing answered the second point also, I haue done with the obiection of dealing without calling or licence.

The other reason they alleage is, concerning a late action wherein I had to deale with Master *Hooker*, Master of the Temple: in the handling of which cause they charge me with an indiscretion and want of dutie, in that I inueighed (as they say) against certaine points of doctrine taught by him as erroneous, not conferring with him, nor complayning of it to them. My answere hereunto standeth in declaring to your Honors the whole course and carriage of that cause, and the degrees of proceeding in it, which I will doe as briefly as I can, and according to the truth, God be my witnesse, as neere as my best memorie, and notes of remembrance may serue me thereunto. After that I haue taken away that which seemeth to haue moued them to thinke me not charitably minded to Master *Hooker*; which is, because he was brought into Master *Alueyes* place, wherein this Church desired that I might haue succeeded; which place, if I would haue made sute to haue obtayned, or if I had ambitiously affected and sought, I would not haue refused to haue satisfied by subscription such as the matter then seemed to depend vpon: whereas contrariwise, notwithstanding I would not hinder the Church to doe that they thought to be most for their edification and comfort, yet did I neither by speech, nor letter, make sute to any for the obtayning of it, following herein that resolution which I iudge to be most agreeable to the Word and Will of God, that is, That labouring and suing for places and charges in the Church is not lawfull. Further, whereas at the sute of the Church some of your Honors entertayned the cause, and brought it to a neere issue, that there seemed nothing to remayne, but the commendation of my Lord the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, when as he could not be satisfied but by my subscribing to his late Articles, and that my answere agreeing to subscribe according to any Law, and to the Statute prouided in that case, but praying to be respited for subscribing to any other, which I could not in conscience doe, either for the Temple (which otherwise, he said, he would not commend me to) nor for any other place in the Church, did so little please my Lord Archbishop, as hee resolued that otherwise I should not be commended to it. I had vtterly here no cause of offence against Master *Hooker*, whom I did in no sort esteeme to haue preuented

uented or vnderminded me, but that God disposed of me as it pleased him, by such meanes and occasions as I haue declared. Moreouer, as I had taken no cause of offence at Master *Hooker* for being preferred, so there were many witnesses that I was glad that the place was giuen him, hoping to liue in all godly peace and comfort with him, both for acquaintance and good will which hath beene betweene vs, and for some kinde of affinitie in the marriage of his neerest kinred and mine: since his comming I haue so carefully endeuoured to entertaine all good correspondence and agreement with him, as I thinke he himselfe will beare mee witnesse of many earnest Disputations and Conferences with him about the matter; the rather, because that contrarie to my expectation, he enclined from the beginning but smally thereunto, but ioyned rather with such as had alwaies opposed themselues to any good order in this charge, and made themselues to be brought indisposed to his present state and proceedings. For both knowing that Gods commandement charged mee with such dutie, and discerning how much our peace might further the good seruice of God and his Church, and the mutuall comfort of vs both, I had resolued constantly to seeke for peace, and though it should flie from me (as I saw it did by meanes of some, who little desired to see the good of our Church) yet according to the rule of Gods Word to follow after it. Which being so (as hereof I take God to witnesse, who searcheth the heart, and reines, and by his Sonne will iudge the World, both the quicke and dead) I hope no charitable iudgement can suppose me to haue stood euill-affected towards him for his place, or desirous to fall into any Controuersie with him. Which my resolution I pursued, that whereas I discouered sundrie vnsound matters in his doctrine (as many of his Sermons tasted of some sowre leauen, or other) yet thus I carried my selfe towards him. Matters of smaller weight, and so couertly discouered, that no great offence to the Church was to be feared in them, I wholly passed by, as one that discerned nothing of them, or had beene vnfurnished of replyes. For other of greater moment, and so openly deliuered, as there was iust cause of feare, lest the Truth and Church of God should bee preiudiced and perilled by it, and such as the conscience of my dutie and calling would not suffer me altogether to passe ouer, this was my course, to deliuer, when I should haue iust cause by my Text, the truth of such doctrine as he had otherwise taught in generall speeches, without touch of his person in any sort, and further at conuenient oportunities to conferre with him in such points. Accordling to which determination, whereas he had taught certaine things concerning Predestination otherwise then the Word of God doth, as it is vnderstood by all Churches professing the Gospell, and not vnlike that wherewith *Carlostad* sometimes troubled his Church, I both deliuered the truth of such points in a generall doctrine, without any touch of him in particular, and conferred with him also priuately vpon such Articles. In which Conference, I remember, when I vrged the consent of all Churches, and Good Writers against him that I knew, and desired if it were otherwise, what Authours he had seene of such doctrine, he answered me, That his best Authour was his owne reason: which I wished him to take heed of, as a matter standing with Christian modestie and wisedome in a doctrine not receiued by the Church,

not to truſt to his owne iudgement ſo farre, as to publiſh it before he had conferred with others of his profeſſion, labouring by daily prayer and ſtudie, to know the will of God, as he did, to ſee how they vnderſtood ſuch Doctrine: notwithſtanding, hee with wauering replying, that hee would ſome other time deale more largely in the matter, I wiſhed him, and prayed him not ſo to doe, for the Peace of the Church, which by ſuch meanes might be hazarded; ſeeing he could not but thinke, that men, who make any conſcience of their Miniſterie, will iudge it a neceſſarie dutie in them, to teach the Truth, and to conuince the contrarie. Another time, vpon like occaſion of this Doctrine of his, that the aſſurance of that wee beleeue by the Word, is not ſo certaine, as of that wee perceiue by ſenſe; I both taught the Doctrine otherwiſe, namely, the aſſurance of Faith to bee greater, which aſſureth both of things aboue, and contrarie to all ſenſe and humane vnderſtanding, and dealt with him alſo priuately vpon that point. According to which courſe, of late, when as he had taught that the Church of Rome is a true Church of Chriſt, and a ſanctified Church by profeſſion of that Truth, which God hath reuealed vnto vs by his Sonne, though not a pure, and perfect Church: and further that hee doubted not, but that thouſands of the Fathers, which liued and died in the Superſtitions of that Church, were ſaued becauſe of their ignorance, which excuſeth them, miſ-alleaging to that end a * Text of Scripture to prooue it: * 1. *Tim.* 1. 13. the matter being of ſet purpoſe openly and at large handled by him, and of that moment that might preiudice the Faith of Chriſt, encourage the ill-affected to continue ſtill in their damnable wayes, and other weake in Faith to ſuffer themſelues eaſily to bee ſeduced to the deſtruction of their Soules; I thought it my moſt bounden dutie to God, and to his Church, whileſt I might haue opportunitie to ſpeake with him, to teach the Truth in a generall ſpeech in ſuch points of Doctrine.

At which time I taught that ſuch as dye, or haue dyed at any time in the Church of Rome, holding in their ignorance that Faith, which is taught in it, and namely, Iuſtification in part by Workes, could not bee ſaid by the Scriptures to be ſaued. In which matter foreſeeing that, if I waded not warily in it, I ſhould bee in danger to bee reported (as hath falne out ſince notwithſtanding) to condemne all the Fathers: I ſaid directly and plainly to all mens vnderſtanding, that it was not indeed to bee doubted, but many of the Fathers were ſaued, but the meanes (I ſaid) was not their ignorance, which excuſeth no man with God, but their knowledge and Faith of the Truth, which it appeareth God vouchſafed them by many notable Monuments and Records extant of it in all Ages. Which being the laſt point in all my Sermon, riſing ſo naturally from the Text I then expounded, as would haue occaſioned mee to haue deliuered ſuch matter, notwithſtanding the former Doctrine had beene ſound, and being dealt in by a generall ſpeech without touch of his particular: I looked not that a matter of controuerſie would haue beene made of it, no more then had beene of my like dealing in former time. But farre otherwiſe then I looked for, Maſter *Hooker* ſhewing no griefe of offence taken at my ſpeech all the weeke long, the next Sabbath, leauing to proceed vpon his ordinary Text, profeſſed to preach againe that he had done the day before, for

ſome

some question that his Doctrine was drawne into, which he desired might bee examined with all seueritie.

So proceeding, he bestowed his whole time in that Discourse, concerning his former doctrine, and answering the places of Scripture, which I had * alleaged, to proue that a man dying in the Church of Rome, is not to be iudged by the Scriptures to be saued. In which long Speech, and vtterly impertinent to his Text, vnder colour of answering for himself, he impugned directly and openly to all mens vnderstanding the true Doctrine which I had deliuered, and added to his former points some other like (as willingly one error followeth another) that is, that the Galathians ioyning with Faith in Christ Circumcision, as necessarie to Saluation, might not be saued. And that they of the Church of Rome may be saued by such a Faith of Christ as they had, with a generall Repentance of all their errours, notwithstanding their opinion of Iustification, in part by their Workes and Merits: I was necessarily, though not willingly drawne to say some thing to the points he obiected against sound Doctrine, which I did in a short Speech in the end of my Sermon, with protestation of so doing, not of any sinister affection to any man, but to beare witnesse to the Truth according to my Calling. And wished, if the matter should needs further be dealt in, some other more conuenient way might be taken for it; wherein I hope, my dealing was manifest to the consciences of all indifferent hearers of me that day, to haue beene according to Peace, and without any vncharitableneese being duly considered.

* Act. 18.4. Gal. 5.2,3,4.

For that I conferred with him the first day, I haue shewed that the cause requiring of mee the dutie, at the least not to bee altogether silent in it, being a matter of such consequence, that the time also being short, wherein I was to preach after him, the hope of the fruit of our communication being small, vpon experience of former Conferences, my expectation being that the Church should be no further troubled with it, vpon the motion I made of taking some other course of dealing, I suppose my deferring to speake with him till some fit oportunitie, cannot in Charitie be iudged vncharitable.

The second day, his vnlooked for opposition with the former reasons, made it to be a matter that required of necessitie some publique answere; which being so temperate, as I haue shewed, if notwithstanding it be censured as vncharitable, and punished so grieuously as it is, what should haue beene my punishment, if (without all such cautions and respects as qualified my speech) I had before all, and in the vnderstanding of all so reproued him offending openly, that other might haue feared to doe the like? Which yet if I had done, might haue beene warranted by the rule and charge of the Apostle, *Them that offend openly, rebuke openly, that the rest may also feare*, and by his example, who when *Peter* in this very case which is now betweene vs, had (not in preaching) but in a matter of conuersation not gone with a right foot, as was fit, for the truth of the Gospell, conferred not priuately with him, but, as his owne rule required, reproued him openly before all, that other might beare, and feare, and not dare to doe the like: all which reasons together weighed, I hope, will shew the manner of my dealing to haue beene charitable, and warrantable in euery sort.

The

The next Sabbath day after this, Maſter *Hooker* kept the way hee had entred into before, and beſtowed his whole houre and more only vpon the queſtions he had moued and maintayned, wherein he ſo ſet forth the agreement of the Church of Rome with vs, and their diſagreement from vs, as if we had conſented in the greateſt, and waightieſt points, and differed onely in certaine ſmaller matters: which agreement noted by him in two chiefe points, is not ſuch as he would haue made men beleeue. The one in that he ſaid, They acknowledged all men ſinners, euen the bleſſed Virgin, though ſome of them freed her from ſinne: for the Counſell of Trent holdeth that ſhee was free from ſinne. Another in that he ſaid, They teach Chriſts righteouſneſſe to be the only meritorious cauſe of taki g away ſinne, and differ from vs only in the applying of it. For *Thomas Aquinas* their chiefe Schoole-man, and Archbiſhop *Catherinus* teach, That Chriſt tooke away only originall ſinne, and that the reſt are to be taken away by our ſelues; yea, the Councell of Trent teacheth, that righteouſneſſe, whereby we are righteous in Gods ſight, is an inherent righteouſneſſe: which muſt needs be of our owne workes, and cannot be vnderſtood of the righteouſneſſe inherent only in Chriſts perſon, and accounted vnto vs. Moreouer, he taught the ſame time, that neither the Galathians, nor the Church of Rome did directly ouerthrow the foundation of Iuſtification by Chriſt alone, but onely by conſequent, and therefore might well be ſaued; or elſe neither the Churches of *Lutheranes*, nor any which hold any manner of error could be ſaued, becauſe (ſayth he) euery error by conſequent ouerthroweth the foundation. In which diſcourſes and ſuch like he beſtowed his whole time and more, which, if he had affected either the Truth of God, or the Peace of the Church, he would truly not haue done. Whoſe example could not draw me to leaue the Scripture I tooke in hand, but ſtanding about an houre to deliuer the doctrine of it, in the end vpon iuſt occaſion of the Text, leauing ſundry other his vnſound ſpeeches, and keeping me ſtill to the principall; I confirmed the beleeuing the doctrine of Iuſtification by Chriſt onely, to be neceſſarie to the iuſtification of all that ſhould be ſaued, and that the Church of Rome directly denyeth that a man is ſaued by Chriſt, or by Faith alone without the workes of the Law. Which my anſwere, as it was moſt neceſſarie for the ſeruice of God, and the Church, ſo was it without any immodeſt, or reprochfull ſpeech in Maſter *Hooker*, whoſe vnſound and wilfull dealings in a cauſe of ſo great importance to the faith of Chriſt, and ſaluation of the Church, notwithſtanding I knew well what ſpeech it deſerued, and what ſome zealous earneſt man of the ſpirit of *Iohn* and *Iames*, ſur-named * *Boanerges*, ſonnes of Thunder, would haue ſaid in ſuch a caſe: yet I choſe rather to content my ſelfe in exhorting him to reuiſite his doctrine, as [a] *Nathan* the Prophet did, the deuice which without conſulting with God, he had of himſelfe giuen to *Dauid*, concerning the building of the Temple: and with [b] *Peter* the Apoſtle to indure to bee withſtood in ſuch a caſe, not vnlike vnto this. This in effect was that which paſſed betweene vs concerning this matter, and the inuectiues I made againſt him, wherewith I am charged; which rehearſall, I hope, may cleere me (with all that ſhall indifferently conſider it) of the blames laid vpon me for want of dutie to Maſter *Hooker*, in not conferring with him,

* *Mark.3.17.*

a 2. *Sam.7.2, 3,4,5.*

b *Gal.2. 11,14.*

him, whereof I haue ſpoken ſufficiently alreadie: and to the high Commiſſion, in not reuealing the matter to them, which yet now I am further to anſwere. My anſwere is, That I proteſt, no contempt nor wilfull neglect of any lawful authoritie ſtayed me from complayning vnto them, but theſe Reaſons following.

Firſt, I was in ſome hope, that Maſter *Hooker*, notwithſtanding he had beene ouer-carried with a ſhew of charitie to preiudice the Truth, yet when it ſhould be ſufficiently proued, would haue acknowledged it, or at the leaſt induced with peace, that it might be offered without either offence to him, or to ſuch as would receiue it; either of which would haue taken away any cauſe of iuſt complaint. When neither of theſe fell out according to my expectation, and deſire, but that he replyed to the truth, and obiected againſt it, I thought he might haue ſome doubts, and ſcruples in himſelfe, which yet if they were cleered, hee would either embrace ſome doctrine, or at leaſt ſuffer it to haue his courſe; which hope of him I nouriſhed ſo long as the matter was not bitterly, and immodeſtly handled betweene vs.

Another reaſon was the cauſe it ſelfe, which according to the parable of the Tares (which are ſaid to be ſowne amongſt the Wheat) ſprung vp firſt in his graſſe. Therefore as the Seruants in that place are not ſaid to haue come to complaine to the Lord, till the Tares came to ſhew their fruits in their kind: ſo I thinking it yet but a time of diſcouering of it, what it was, deſired not their ſickle to cut it downe.

For further anſwere, it is to be conſidered, that the conſcience of my dutie to God, and to his Church, did binde me at the firſt to deliuer ſound doctrine in ſuch points, as had beene otherwiſe vttered in the place, where I had now ſome yeeres taught the truth. Otherwiſe the rebuke of the [b] Prophet had fallen vpon me for not going vp to the breach, and ſtanding in it, and the [c] perill for anſwering the bloud of the Citie, in whoſe watch Tower I ſate, if it had beene ſurpriſed by my default. Moreouer, my publike proteſtation in being vnwilling, that if any were not yet ſatisfied, ſome other more conuenient way might be taken for it. And laſtly, that I had reſolued (which I vttered before to ſome, dealing with me about the matter) to haue proteſted the next Sabbath day, that I would no more anſwere in that place any obiections to the doctrine taught by any meanes, but ſome other way ſatisfie ſuch as ſhould require it. Theſe I truſt may make it appeare, that I fayled not in dutie to authoritie; notwithſtanding I did not complaine, nor giue ouer ſo ſoone dealing in the caſe. If I did, how is he cleere, which can alleage none of all theſe for himſelfe, who leauing the expounding of the Scriptures, and his ordinarie calling, voluntarily diſcourſed vpon ſchoole-points and queſtions, neither of edification nor of truth, who after all this, as promiſing to himſelfe, and to vntruth a victorie by my ſilence, added yet in the next Sabbath day to the maintenance of his former opinions, theſe which follow?

b *Ezec.22.30.*
c *Ezec.33.6.*

That no additament taketh away the foundation, except it be a priuatiue, of which ſort neither the workes added to Chriſt by the Church of Rome, nor circumciſion by the Galathians were: as one denyeth him not to be a man, that ſaith he is a righteous man, but he that ſaith he is a dead man: whereby it might

might ſeeme that a man might, without hurt, adde workes to Chriſt, and pray alſo, that God and S. *Peter* would ſaue him.

That the Galathians caſe is harder then the caſe of the Church of Rome, becauſe the Galathians ioined Circumciſion with Chriſt, which God hath forbidden, and aboliſhed: but that which the Church of Rome ioined with Chriſt, were good works which God hath commanded. Wherein he committed a double fault; one, in expounding all the queſtion of the Galathians, and conſequently of the Romans, and other Epiſtles of Circumciſion only, and the Ceremonies of the Law (as they doe who anſwer for the Church of Rome in their Writings) contrary to the cleere meaning of the Apoſtle, as may appeare by many ſtrong, and ſufficient reaſons: the other, in that he ſaid, the addition of the Church of Rome was of works commanded of God, whereas the leaſt part of the works, whereby they looked to merit, was of ſuch works, and moſt were of ſupererogation, and of works which God neuer commanded, but was highly diſpleaſed with, as of Maſſes, Pilgrimages, Pardons, paines of Purgatory, and ſuch like: further, that no one ſequell vrged by the Apoſtle againſt the Galathians for ioining Circumciſion with Chriſt, but might bee aſwell enforced againſt the Lutherans, that is, that for their vbiquitie it may bee aſwell ſaid to them, If yee hold the Bodie of Chriſt to be in all places, you are fallen from grace, you are vnder the curſe of the Law, ſaying, Curſed be he that fulfilleth not all things written in this Booke, with ſuch like: he added yet further, that to a Biſhop of the Church of Rome, to a Cardinall, yea to the Pope himſelfe, acknowledging Chriſt to be the Sauiour of the World denying other errours, and being diſcomforted for want of workes whereby he might be iuſtified, he would not doubt but vſe this ſpeech; Thou holdeſt the foundation of Chriſtian Faith, though it bee but by a ſlender thread; thou holdeſt Chriſt, though but as by the hem of his Garment, why ſhouldſt thou not hope that vertue may paſſe from Chriſt to ſaue thee? That, which thou holdeſt of Iuſtification by thy works, ouerthroweth indeed by conſequent the foundation of Chriſtian Faith; but be of good cheere, thou haſt not to doe with a captious Sophiſter, but with a mercifull God, who will iuſtifie thee for that thou holdeſt, and not take the aduantage of doubtfull conſtruction to condemne thee. And if this, he ſaid, be an errour, I hold it willingly; for it is the greateſt comfort I haue in this World, without which I would not wiſh either to ſpeake or to liue. Thus far, being not to be anſwered in it any more, he was bold to proceed; the abſurditie of which ſpeech I need not to ſtand vpon. I thinke the like to this and other ſuch in this Sermon, and the reſt of this matter hath not beene heard in publike places within this Land ſince Queene *Maries* dayes. What conſequence this Doctrine may be of, if he be not by authoritie ordered to reuoke it, I beſeech your HH. as the truth of God and his Goſpel is deare and precious vnto you, according to your godly wiſdomes to conſider.

I haue beene bold to offer to your HH. a long and tedious Diſcourſe of theſe matters, but ſpeech being like to Tapeſtry, which if it be folded vp, ſheweth but part of that which is wrought, and being vnlapt and laid open, ſheweth plainely to the eye all the worke that is in it; I thought it neceſſarie to vnfold this Tapeſtrie, and to hang vp the whole chamber of it in your moſt Ho-

norable Senate: that ſo you may the more eaſily diſcerne of all the pieces, and the ſundry workes and maters contained in it. Wherein my hope is, your HH. may ſee I haue not deſerued ſo great a puniſhment as is laid vpon the Church for my ſake, and alſo vpon my ſelfe in taking from mee the exerciſe of my Miniſtery: which puniſhment how heauie it may ſeeme to the Church, or fall out indeed to be, I referre it to them to iudge, and ſpare to write what I feare; but to my ſelfe it is exceeding grieuous, for that it taketh from mee the exerciſe of my Calling. Which I doe not ſay is deare vnto me as the meanes of that little benefit whereby I liue (although this bee a lawfull conſideration, and to bee regarded of mee in due place, and of the authoritie vnder whoſe protection I moſt willingly liue, euen by Gods Commandement, both vnto them, and vnto me:) but which ought to bee more precious to me then my life, for the loue which I ſhould beare to the glory and honour of Almightie God, and to the edification and ſaluation of his Church, for that my life cannot any other way be of like ſeruice to God, nor of ſuch vſe and profit to men by any meanes: for which cauſe, as I diſcerne, how deare any Miniſtery ought to be vnto me, ſo it is my hearty deſire, and moſt humble requeſt vnto God, to your HH. and to all the authoritie I liue vnder, to whom any dealing herein belongeth, that I may ſpend my life according to his Example, who in a word of like ſound of fuller ſenſe, comparing by it the beſtowing of his life to the Offring powred out vpon the Sacrifice of the faith of Gods people, and eſpecially of this Church, whereupon I haue already powred out a great part thereof in the ſame Calling, from which I ſtand now reſtrayned. And if your HH. ſhall finde it ſo that I haue not deſerued ſo great a puniſhment, but rather performed the dutie, which a good and faithfull Seruant ought in ſuch a caſe to doe his Lord, and the people hee putteth him in truſt withall carefully to keepe; I am a moſt humble Suiter by theſe preſents to your HH. that by your godly Wiſdome, ſome good courſe may be taken for the reſtoring of me to my Miniſterie and place againe. Which ſo great a fauour ſhall bind mee yet in a greater obligation of duty (which is already ſo great, as it ſeemed nothing could be added vnto it, to make it greater) to honour God daily for the continuance and increaſe of your good eſtate, and to bee readie with all the poore meanes God hath giuen mee, to doe your HH. that faithfull ſeruice I may poſſibly performe: but if, notwithſtanding my cauſe bee neuer ſo good, your HH. can by no meanes pacifie ſuch as are offended, nor reſtore mee againe, then am I to reſt in the good pleaſure of God, and to commend to your HH. protection vnder her Maieſties my priuate life, while it ſhall be led in dutie, and the Church to him, who hath redeemed to himſelfe a people with his precious bloud, and is making ready to come to iudge both the quick and the dead, to giue to euery one according as hee hath done in this life, bee it good or euill, to the wicked and vnbeleeuer, iuſtice vnto death, but to the faithfull, and ſuch as loue his truth, mercie and grace to life euerlaſting.

Your Honours moſt bounden, and moſt humble Suppliant,
WALTER TRAVERS, *Miniſter of the Word of God.*

THE ANSWERE OF Mr. Richard Hooker TO A SVPPLICATION, Preferred by Mr. WALTER TRAVERS, to the *Honorable Lords of the* Priuie Councell.

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1622.

MASTER HOOKERS ANSWERE TO THE SVPPLICATION THAT MASTER TRAVERS made to the COVNCELL.

To my LORD of Canterbury *his Grace.*

MY dutie in moſt humble wiſe remembred. May it pleaſe your Grace to vnderſtand, that whereas there hath been a late Controuerſie rayſed in in the Temple, and purſued by Maſter *Trauers*, vpon cõceit taken at ſome words by me vttered with a moſt ſimple and harmleſſe meaning; in the heate of which purſuit, after three publike Inuectiues, ſilence being enioyned him by authoritie; he hath hereupon for defence of his proceedings, both preſented the right Honorable Lords and others of her Maieſties Priuie Councell with a writing, and alſo cauſed or ſuffered the ſame to be copied out, and ſpred through the hands of ſo many, that wel-nigh all ſorts of men haue it in their boſomes; the matters wherewith I am therein charged being of ſuch qualitie as they are, and my ſelfe being better knowne to your Grace, then to any other of their Honours beſides; I haue choſen to offer to your Graces hands, a plaine declaration of my innocency in all thoſe things, wherewith I am ſo hardly and ſo heauily charged, leſt if I ſtill remayne ſilent, that which I doe for quietneſſe ſake, be taken as an Argument, that I lacke what to ſpeake truely and iuſtly in mine owne defence.

2 Firſt, becauſe Maſter *Trauers* thinketh it is expedient to breed an opinion in mens minds, that the roote of all inconuenient euents which are now ſprung out, is the ſurly and vnpeaceable diſpoſition of the man with whom he hath to doe, therefore the firſt in the ranke of accuſations laid againſt me is my inconformitie, which haue ſo little inclined to ſo many and ſo earneſt Exhortations and Conferences, as my ſelfe, hee ſaith, can witneſſe, to haue beene

ſpent vpon mee, for my better faſhioning vnto good correſpondence and agreement.

3 Indeed, when at the firſt, by meanes of ſpeciall well-willers, without any ſute of mine, as they very well know, (although I doe not thinke it had beene a mortall ſinne, in a reaſonable ſort to haue ſhewed a moderate deſire that way) yet when by their indeuour without inſtigation of mine, ſome reuerend and honourable, fauourably affecting mee, had procured her Maieſties grant of the place, at the very point of my entring thereinto, the euening before I was firſt to preach, hee came and two other Gentlemen ioyned with him: the effect of his Conference then was, that he thought it his dutie to aduiſe me not to enter with a ſtrong hand, but to change my purpoſe of preaching there the next day, and to ſtay till he had giuen notice of mee to the Congregation, that ſo their allowance might ſeale my calling. The effect of mine Anſwere was, that as in place where ſuch order is, I would not breake it; ſo here where it neuer was, I might not of mine owne head take vpon me to beginne it; but liking very well the motion for the opinion which I had of his good meaning who made it, requeſted him not to miſlike my Anſwer, though it were not correſpondent to his mind.

4 When this had ſo diſpleaſed ſome, that whatſoeuer was afterwardes done, or ſpoken by me, it offended their taſte, angry informations were daily ſent out, intelligence giuen farre and wide what a dangerous enemy was crept in, the worſt that iealouſie could imagine was ſpoken and written to ſo many, that at the length ſome knowing me well, and perceiuing how iniurious the reports were, which grew daily more and more vnto my diſcredit, wrought meanes to bring Mr. *Trauers* and me to a ſecond conference. Wherein when a common friend vnto vs both, had quietly requeſted him to vtter thoſe things wherewith hee found himſelfe any way grieued, hee firſt renewed the memorie of my entring into this charge by vertue only of an humane creature (for ſo the want of that * formalitie of popular allowance was then cenſured;) and vnto this was annexed a Catalogue, partly of cauſeleſſe ſurmiſes; as that I had conſpired againſt him, and that I ſought ſuperioritie ouer him; and partly of faults, which to note, I ſhould haue thought it a greater offence then to commit, if I did account them faults and had heard them ſo curiouſly obſerued in any other then my ſelfe, they are ſuch ſilly things; as praying in the entrance of my Sermons only, and not in the end, naming Biſhops in my Prayer, kneeling when I pray, and kneeling when I receiue the Communion, with ſuch like, which I would be as loth to recite as I was ſorrie to heare them obiected, if the rehearſall thereof were not by him thus wreſted from mee. Theſe are the conferences wherewith I haue been wooed to entertayne peace and good agreement.

* A meere formalitie it had beene to me in that place, whereas no man had euer vſed it before me; ſo it could neyther further me, if I did vſe it, nor hinder me, if I did not.

5 As for the vehement exhortations he ſpeaketh of, I would gladly know ſome reaſon wherefore he thought them needfull to be vſed. Was there any thing found in my ſpeeches or dealings which gaue them occaſion, who are ſtudious of peace, to thinke that I diſpoſed my ſelfe to ſome vnquiet kinde of proceedings? Surely, the ſpeciall Prouidence of God, I doe now ſee it was, that the firſt words I ſpake in this place, ſhould make the firſt thing whereof I

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am accuſed, to appeare not onely vntrue, but improbable to as many as then heard me with indifferent eares, and doe, I doubt not, in their conſciences cleere me of this ſuſpicion. Howbeit I grant this were nothing if it might be ſhewed, that my deeds following were not ſuteable to my words. If I had ſpoken of peace at the firſt, and afterwards ſought to moleſt and grieue him, by croſſing him in his function, by ſtorming if my pleaſure were not asked and my will obeyed in the leaſt occurrences, by carping needleſly ſometimes at the manner of his teaching; ſometimes at this, ſometimes at that point of his doctrine; I might then with ſome likelihood haue beene blamed, as one diſdaining a peaceable hand when it hath beene offered. But if I be able (as I am) to prooue, that my ſelfe haue now a full yeere together borne the continuance of ſuch dealings, not onely without any manner of reſiſtance; but alſo without any ſuch complaint as might let or hinder him in his courſe; I ſee no cauſe in the world, why of this I ſhould be accuſed, vnleſſe it be left I ſhould accuſe, which I meant not. If therefore I haue giuen him occaſion to vſe conferences and exhortations vnto peace, if when they were beſtowed vpon me I haue diſpiſed them; it wil not be hard to ſhew ſome one word or deed wherewith I haue gone about to worke diſturbance: one is not much, I require but one. Only I require if any thing be ſhewed, it may be prooued, and not obiected only as this is, *That I haue ioyned with ſuch as haue alwaies oppoſed to any good order in this Church, and made themſelues to be thought indiſpoſed to the preſent eſtate and proceedings.* The words haue reference as it ſeemeth, vnto ſome ſuch things as being attempted before my comming to the Temple, went not ſo effectually perhaps forward as he which deuiſed them would haue wiſhed. An order as I learne there was tendred, that Communicants ſhould neither kneele, as in the moſt places of the Realme; nor ſit, as in this place the cuſtome is; but walke to the one ſide of the Table, and there ſtanding till they had receiued, paſſe afterwards away round about by the other. Which being on a ſudden begun to be practiſed in the Church, ſome ſate wondering what it ſhould meane, others deliberating what to doe: till ſuch time as at length by name one of them being called openly thereunto, requeſted that they might doe as they had beene accuſtomed, which was granted, and as Maſter *Trauers* had miniſtred his way to the reſt, ſo a Curate was ſent to miniſter to them after their way. Which vnproſperous beginning of a thing, (ſauing onely for the inconuenience of needleſſe alterations otherwiſe harmeleſſe) did ſo diſgrace that order in their conceit, who had to allow or diſallow it, that it tooke no place. For neither they could euer induce themſelues to thinke it good, and it ſo much offended Maſter *Trauers* who ſuppoſed it to be the beſt, that he ſince that time, although contented himſelfe to receiue it as they doe at the hands of others, yet hath not thought it meete they ſhould euer receiue it out of his, which would not admit that order of receiuing it, and therefore in my time hath beene alwayes preſent not to miniſter, but onely to be miniſtred vnto.

6 Another order there was likewiſe deuiſed, but an order of much more waight and importance. This ſoile, in reſpect of certaine immunities and other ſpecialties belonging vnto it, ſeemed likely to beare that which in other places

places of the Realme of England doth not take. For which cauſe requeſt was made to ſome of her Maieſties Priuie Councell, that whereas it is prouided by a Statute, there ſhould bee Collectors and Side-men in Churches, which thing or ſomewhat correſpondent vnto it, this place did greatly want, it would pleaſe their Honors to motion ſuch a matter to the Ancients of the Temple. And according to their Honorable manner of helping forward all motions ſo grounded, they wrote their Letters, as I am informed, to that effect. Whereupon although theſe Houſes neuer had vſe of ſuch Collectors and Side-men, as are appointed in other places, yet they both erected a Boxe to receiue mens deuotion for the poore, appointing the Treaſurer of both Houſes to take care for beſtowing it where need is, and granting further, that if any could bee intreated (as in the end ſome were) to vndertake the labour of obſeruing mens ſlackneſſe in diuine duties, they ſhould be allowed, their complaints heard all times, and the faults they complained of, if Maſter *Alueyes* priuate admoniſhion did not ſerue, then by ſome other meanes redreſſed, but according to the old receiued Orders of both Houſes. Whereby the ſubſtance of their Honors Letters were indeed fully ſatisfied. Yet becauſe Maſter *Trauers* intended not this, but as it ſeemed another thing, therefore notwithſtanding the Orders which haue beene taken, and for any thing I know, doe ſtand ſtill in as much force in this Church now, as at any time heretofore: He complaineth much of the good Orders which hee doth meane haue beene withſtood. Now it were hard if as many, as any way oppoſe vnto theſe and the like Orders, in his perſwaſion good, do thereby make themſelues to be thought diſlikers of the preſent ſtate and proceedings. If they, whom he aymeth at, haue any otherwiſe made themſelues to be thought ſuch, it is likely hee doth know wherein, and will, I hope, diſcloſe to whom it appertayneth, both the perſons whom hee thinketh, and the cauſes why hee thinketh them ſo ill-affected. But whatſoeuer the men be, doe their faults make mee faultie? They doe, if I ioyne my ſelfe with them. I beſeech him therefore to declare wherein I haue ioyned with them. Other ioyning then this with any man here, I cannot imagine: It may be I haue talked, or walked, or eaten, or interchangeably vſed the duties of common humanitie, with ſome ſuch as he is hardly perſwaded of. For I know no Law of God or Man by force whereof they ſhould be as Heathens and Publicans vnto me, that are not gracious in the eyes of another man, perhaps without cauſe, or if with cauſe, yet ſuch cauſe as he is priuy vnto, and not I. Could hee or any reaſonable man thinke it a charitable courſe in mee, to obſerue them that ſhew by externall courteſies a fauourable inclination towards him, and if I ſpie out any one amongſt them, of whom I thinke not well, herevpon to draw ſuch an accuſation as this againſt him, and to offer it where he hath giuen vp his againſt me? Which notwithſtanding I will acknowledge to be iuſt and reaſonable, if he or any man liuing ſhall ſhew that I vſe as much as the bare familiar companie but of one, who by word or deed hath euer giuen me cauſe to ſuſpect or coniecture him, ſuch as here they are termed, with whom complaint is made that I ioyne my ſelfe. This being ſpoken therefore and written without all poſſibilitie of proofe, doth not Maſter *Trauers* giue me ouer great cauſe to ſtand in ſome feare, leſt hee make too little conſcience

how

how he vſeth his tongue or penne? Theſe things are not laid againſt mee for nothing, they are to ſome purpoſe if they take place. For in a mind perſwaded that I am as he deciphereth me, one which refuſe to be at peace with ſuch as imbrace the truth, and ſide my ſelfe with men ſiniſterly affected thereunto, any thing that ſhal be ſpoken concerning the vnſoundnes of my doctrine, cannot chooſe but be fauourably entertained. This preſuppoſed, it will haue likelyhood enough, which afterwards followeth, that *many of my Sermons haue taſted of ſome ſowre leauen or other*, that in them he hath *diſcouered ſundry vnſound matters*. A thing much to be lamented, that ſuch a place as this which might haue beene ſo well prouided for, hath falne into the hands of one no better inſtructed in the truth. But what if in the end it be found that hee iudgeth my words, as they doe colours, which looke vpon them with greene ſpectacles, and thinke that which they ſee is greene, when indeed that is greene whereby they ſee?

7 Touching the firſt point of this diſcouerie which is about the matter of Predeſtination, to ſet downe that I ſpake, (for I haue it written) to declare and confirme the ſeuerall branches thereof, would be tedious now in this writing, where I haue ſo many things to touch, that I can but touch them onely. Neither is it herein ſo needfull for mee to iuſtifie my ſpeech, when the verie place and preſence where I ſpake doth it ſelfe ſpeake ſufficiently for my cleering. This matter was not broached in a blind Alley, or vttered where none was to heere it that had skill with authoritie to controll, or couertly inſinuated by ſome glyding ſentence.

8 That which I taught was at *Pauls Croſſe*; it was not hudled in amongſt other matters in ſuch ſort that it could paſſe without noting, it was opened, it was prooued, it was ſome reaſonable time ſtood vpon. I ſee not which way my Lord of *London*, who was preſent and heard it, can excuſe ſo great a fault as patiently without rebuke or coſtrolement afterwards, to heare any man there teach otherwiſe then *the Word of God doth*, not as it is vnderſtood by the priuate interpretation of ſome one or two men, or by a ſpeciall conſtruction receiued in ſome few bookes, but as it is vnderſtood *by all Churches profeſſing the Goſpel*, by them all, and therefore euen by our owne alſo amongſt others. A man that did meane to prooue that hee ſpeaketh, would ſurely take the meaſure of his words ſhorter.

9 The next thing diſcouered, is an opinion about the aſſurance of mens perſwaſion in matters of faith. I haue taught he ſaith; *That the aſſurance of things which we beleeue by the Word, is not ſo certain as of that we perceiue by ſence*. And is it as certain? Yea, I taught as he himſelfe, I truſt, wil not deny, that the things which God doth promiſe in his Word, are ſurer vnto vs then any thing wee touch, handle, or ſee. But are we ſo ſure and certaine of them? If wee be, why doth God ſo often proue his promiſes vnto vs, as he doth by argument taken from one ſenſible experience? Wee muſt be ſurer of the proofe then of the thing prooued, otherwiſe it is no proofe. How is it, that if ten men do all looke vpon the Moone, euery one of them knoweth it as certainly to be the Moone as another: but many beleeuing one and the ſame promiſes, all haue not one and the ſame fulneſſe of perſwaſion? How falleth it out, that men being aſſured

red of any thing by ſence, can bee no ſurer of it then they are, whereas the ſtrongeſt in faith that liueth vpon the earth, hath alwayes need to labour, and ſtriue, and pray, that his aſſurance concerning heauenly and ſpirituall things, may grow, increaſe, and be augmented?

10 The Sermon wherein I haue ſpoken ſomewhat largely of this point, was long before this late controuerſie roſe betweene him and mee, vpon requeſt of ſome of my friends ſeene, and read by many, and amongſt many, ſome who are thought able to diſcerne: and I neuer heard that any one of them hitherto hath condemned it as containing vnſound matter. My caſe were very hard, if as oft as any thing I ſpeake diſpleaſing one mans taſte, my doctrine vpon his onely word ſhould be taken for ſowre leauen.

11 The reſt of this diſcouerie is all about the matter now in queſtion, wherein hee hath two faults predominant, which would tyre out any that ſhould anſwer vnto euery point ſeuerally: vnapt ſpeaking of Schoole controuerſies; and of my words ſometimes ſo vntoward a reciting, that hee which ſhould promiſe to draw a mans countenance, & did indeed expreſſe the parts, at leaſtwiſe the moſt of them truely, but peruerſly place them, could not repreſent a more offenſiue viſage, then vnto mee my owne ſpeech ſeemeth in ſome places as hee hath ordered it. For anſwer whereunto, that writing is ſufficient wherein I haue ſet downe both my words and meaning inſuch ſort, that where this accuſation doth depraue the one, and either miſinterpret, or without iuſt cauſe miſlike the other, it will appeare ſo plainely, that I may ſpare very well to take vpon me a new and a needleſſe labour here.

12 Onely at one thing which is there to be found, becauſe Maſter *Trauers* doth here ſeeme to take ſuch a ſpeciall aduantage, as if the matter were vnanſwerable, hee conſtraineth mee either to detect his ouer-ſight, or to confeſſe mine owne in it. In ſetting the queſtion betweene the Church of Rome and vs about Grace and Iuſtification, leſt I ſhould giue them an occaſion to ſay, as commonly they doe, that when we cannot refute their opinions, wee propoſe to our ſelues ſuch in ſtead of theirs, as we can refute, I tooke it for the beſt and moſt perſpicuous way of teaching, to declare firſt, how farre we doe agree, and then to ſhew our diſagreement; not generally (as Maſter *Trauers* his * words would carry it, for the eaſier faſtning that vpon me, wherewith, ſauing only by him, I was neuer in my life touched;) but about the matter onely of Iuſtification: for further I had no cauſe to meddle at that time. What was then my

* His words betheſe: *The next Sabbath day after this* M. Hooker *kept the way he had entred into before, and beſtowed his whole houre and more only vpon the queſtions he had mooued and maintained. Wherein hee ſo ſet out the agreement of the Church of Rome with vs, and their diſagreement from vs, as if we had conſented in the greateſt and waightieſt points, and differed onely in certaine ſmaller matters. VVhich agreement noted by him in two chiefe points, is not ſuch as he would haue made men beleeue: The one, in that he ſaid they acknowledge all men ſinners, euen the bleſſed Virgin, though ſome of them freed her from ſinne: for the Councell of Trent holdeth that ſhe was free from ſinne: Another in that he ſaid, They teach Chriſts righteouſneſſe to be the onely meritorious cauſe of taking away ſinne, and differ from vs only in the applying of it. For* Thomas Aquinas *their chiefe Schoole-man, and Archbiſhop* Catharinus *teach, That Chriſt tooke away onely originall ſinne, and that the reſt are to be taken away by our ſelues: yea the Councell of Trent teacheth, That the righteouſneſſe whereby we are righteous in Gods ſight, is inherent righteouſneſſe, which muſt needs be of our owne workes, and cannot be vnderſtood of the righteouſneſſe inherent onely in Chriſts perſon and accounted vnto vs.*

offence

offence in this caſe? I did, as he ſaith, ſo ſet it out, as if we had conſented in the greateſt and waightieſt points, and differed onely in ſmaller matters. I will not be found, when it commeth to the ballance, a light difference where we diſagree, as I did acknowledge that we doe about the very eſſence of the Medicine whereby Chriſt cureth our diſeaſe. Did I goe about to make a ſhew of agreement in the waightieſt points, and was I ſo fond as not to conceale our diſagreement about this? I doe wiſh that ſome indifferencie were vſed by them, that haue taken the waighing of my words.

13 Yea, but our agreement is not ſuch in two of the chiefeſt points, as I would haue men beleeue it is: and what are they? The one is, I ſaid, *They acknowledge all men ſinners, euen the bleſſed Virgin, though ſome of them free her from ſin.* Put the caſe I had affirmed, that only ſome of them free her from ſin, and had deliuered it as the moſt currant opinion amongſt them, that ſhe was conceiued in ſinne: doth not *Bonauenture* ſay plainely, *Omnes fere*; In a manner all men doe hold this? Doth he not bring many reaſons wherefore all men ſhould hold it? Were there voices ſince that time euer counted, and their number found ſmaller which hold it, then theirs that hold the contrarie? Let the queſtion then be, whether I might ſay, The moſt of them *acknowledged all men ſinners, euen the bleſſed Virgin her ſelfe.* To ſhew that their generall receiued opinion is the contrarie, The Tridentine Councell is alledged, peraduenture not altogether ſo conſiderately. For if that Councell haue by reſolute determination freed her, if it hold as Maſter *Trauers* ſaith it doth, that ſhee was free from ſin; then muſt the Church of Rome needs condemne them that hold the contrarie. For what that Councell holdeth, the ſame they all doe and muſt hold. But in the Church of Rome, who knoweth not, that it is a thing indifferent to thinke and defend the one or the other? So that by this argument; the Councell of Trent holdeth the Virgin free from ſinne, *Ergo*, It is plaine that none of them may, and therefore vntrue that moſt of them doe acknowledge her a ſinner, were forcible to ouerthrow my ſuppoſed Aſſertion, if it were true that the Councell did hold this. But to the end it may cleerely appeare, how it neither holdeth this nor the contrarie, I will open what many do conceiue of the Canon that concerneth this matter. The Fathers of Trent perceiued, that if they ſhould define of this matter, it would bee dangerous, howſoeuer it were determined. If they had freed her from her originall ſinne, the reaſons againſt them are vnanſwerable which *Bonauenture* and others doe alledge, but eſpecially *Thomas*, whoſe line as much as may be they follow. Againe, if they did reſolue the other way, they ſhould controll themſelues in another thing, which in no caſe might be altered. For they profeſſe to keepe no day holy in the honour of an vnholy thing; and the Virgins Conception they honour with a * Feaſt; which they could not abrogate without cancelling a Conſtitution of *Xyſtus Quartus*. And that which is worſe, the world

* This doth much trouble *Thomas*, holding her Conception ſtayned with the naturall blemiſh inherent in mortall ſeed. And therefore hee putteth it off with two anſweres; the one, That the Church of Rome doth not allow, but tolerate the Feaſt, which anſwer now will not ſerue: the other, That being ſure ſhee was ſanctified before birth, but vnſure how long a while after her Conception, therefore vnder the name of her Conception-day, they honour the time of her Sanctification. So that beſides this, they haue now no ſoder to make the certaine allowance of their Feaſt, and their vncertaine ſentence concerning her ſinne to cleaue together, *Thom. 3. part. queſt. 27. art. 2. ad 2. & 3.*

might

might perhaps hereupon suspect, that if the Church of Rome did amisse before in this, it is not impossible for her to faile in other things. In the end they did wisely quote out their Canon by a middle thred, establishing the Feast of the Virgins Conception, and leauing the other question doubtfull as they found it: giuing onely a caueat, that no man should take the Decree, which pronounceth all mankind originally sinnefull, for a definitiue sentence concerning the blessed Virgin. This in my sight is plaine by their owne words, *Declarat hæc ipsa sancta Synodus, &c.* wherefore our Countrimen at Rhemes mentioning this point, are maruellous warie how they speake; they touch it as though it were a hot cole: *Many godly deuout men iudge that our blessed Lady was neither borne nor conceiued in sinne.* Is it their want to speake nicely of things definitiuely set downe in that Councell? In like sort we find that the rest, which haue since the time of the Tridentine Synode written of originall sinne, are in this point for the most part either silent or very sparing in speech; and when they speake either doubtfull what to thinke, or whatsoeuer they thinke themselues, fearefull to set downe any certaine determination. If I be thought to take the Canon of that Councell otherwise then they themselues doe, let him expound it whose sentence was neither last asked, nor his pen least occupied in setting it downe. I meane *Andradius*, whom *Gregory* the Thirteenth hath allowed plainly to confesse, that it is a matter which neither expresse euidence of Scripture, nor the Tradition of the Fathers, nor the sentence of the Church hath determined; that they are too surly and selfe-willed, which defending either opinion, are displeased with them by whom the other is maintained: finally, that the Fathers of Trent haue not set downe any certaintie about this question, but left it doubtfull and indifferent. Now whereas my words which I had set downe in writing before I vttered them, were indeed these, *Although they imagine that the Mother of our Lord Iesus Christ were for his honour, and by his speciall protection preserued cleane from all sin, yet concerning the rest they teach as we do, that all haue sinned.* Against my words they might with more pretence take exception, because so many of them thinke she had sin: which exception notwithstanding, the Proposition being indefinite, and the matter contingent, they cannot take, because they grant that many whom they count graue and deuout amongst them, thinke that shee was cleere from all sin. But whether Master *Trauers* did note my words himselfe, or take them vpon the credit of some other mans noting, the Tables were faultie wherin it was noted: *Al men sinners, euen the blessed Virgin.* When my speech was rather, *All men, except the blessed Virgin.* To leaue this; another fault he findeth that I said, *They teach Christs righteousnesse to be the onely meritorious cause of taking away sin, and differ from vs only in the applying of it.* I did say and doe, *They teach as we doe, that although Christ be the only meritorious cause of our iustice, yet as a medicine which is made for health, doth not heale by being made, but by being applied: So by the merits of Christ there can be no life nor iustification, without the application of his merits: But about the manner of applying Christ, about the number and power of meanes, whereby he is applied, we dissent from them.* This of our dissenting from them is acknowledged.

Anno. in Rom. 5. Sect. 9.

Lib. 5. defens. fidei.

14 Our agreement in the former is denied to bee such as I pretend. Let their

their owne words therefore, and mine concerning them, be compared. Doth not *Andradius* plainly confeſſe, *Our ſinnes doe ſhut, and only the merits of Chriſt open the entring vnto bleſſednesse?* And Soto, *It is put for a ground, that all ſince the fall of* Adam *obtaine ſaluation only by the paſſion of Chriſt: howbeit as no cauſe can be effectuall without applying, ſo neither can any man bee ſaued to whom the ſuffering of Chriſt is not applyed.* In a word, who not? when the Councell of Trent reckoning vp the cauſes of our firſt iuſtification, doth name no end but Gods glorie and our felicitie; no efficient, but his Mercie; no inſtrumentall, but Baptiſme; no meritorious, but Chriſt, whom to haue merited the taking away of no ſinne, but originall, is not their opinion: which himſelfe will find when he hath well examined his Witneſſes *Catharinus* and *Thomas*. Their Ieſuites are maruellous angry with the men, out of whoſe gleanings Maſter *Trauers* ſeemeth to haue taken this; they openly diſclaime it, they ſay plainly, *Of all the Catholikes there is no one that did euer ſo teach*, they make ſolemne proteſtation, *We beleeue and profeſſe that Chriſt vpon the croſſe hath altogether ſatisfied for all ſins, as well originall as actuall.* Indeed they teach that the merit of Chriſt doth not take away actuall ſinne, in ſuch ſort as it doth originall, wherein if their Doctrine had beene vnderſtood, I for my ſpeech had neuer beene accuſed. As for the Councell of Trent concerning inherent righteouſneſſe, what doth it here? No man doubteth but they make another formall cauſe of Iuſtification then we doe. In reſpect whereof, I haue ſhewed alreadie, that we diſagree about the very eſſence of that which cureth our ſpirituall Diſeaſe. Moſt true it is which the Grand Philoſopher hath, *Euery man iudgeth well of that which he knoweth*, and therefore till we know the things throughly, whereof we iudge, it is a point of iudgement to ſtay our iudgement.

Ortbod. lib. 3.

In 4. Sent. diſt. 1. queſt. 4. art. 6.

Bellarm. Iudic. de lib. Concor. Menda. 18. Nemo Catholicorum vnquam ſic docuit; ſed credimus, & profitemur Chriſtum in cruce pro omnibus omninò peccatis ſatisfeciſſe, tam originalibus quàm actualibus.

15 Thus much labour being ſpent in diſcouering the vnſoundneſſe of my Doctrine, ſome paines hee taketh further to open faults in the manner of my teaching, as that *I beſtowed my whole houre and more, my time, and more then my time, in Diſcourſes vtterly impertinent to my Text.* Which if I had done, it might haue paſt without complayning of to the Priuie Councell.

16 But I did worſe, as he ſaith, *I left the expounding of the Scriptures and my ordinarie calling, and diſcourſed vpon Schoole-points, and queſtions, neither of edification, nor of truth.* I read no Lecture in the Law or in Phyſick. And except the bounds of ordinary calling may be drawne like a Purſe, how are they ſo much wider vnto him then to me, that he which in the limits of his ordinarie calling, ſhould reproue that in mee which he vnderſtood not, and I labouring that both hee and others might vnderſtaud, could not doe this without forſaking my calling? The matter whereof I ſpake was ſuch, as being at the firſt by me but lightly touched, he had in that place openly contradicted, and ſolemnely taken vpon him to diſproone. If therefore it were a Schoole queſtion and vnfit to be diſcourſed of there, that which was in me but a Propoſition only at the firſt, wherefore made he a Probleme of it? Why tooke he firſt vpon him to maintayne the negatiue of that, which I had affirmatiuely ſpoken, only to ſhew mine owne opinion, little thinking that euer it would haue a queſtion? Of what nature ſoeuer the queſtion were of, I could doe no leſſe then there explaine my ſelfe to them, vnto whom I was accuſed of vnſound Doctrine;

wherein if to ſhew what had beene through ambiguitie miſtaken in my words, or miſapplyed by him in this cauſe againſt me, I vſed the diſtinctions and helpes of Schooles, I truſt that herein I haue committed no vnlawfull thing. Theſe Schoole-implements are acknowledged by* graue and wiſemen not vnprofitable to haue beene inuented. The moſt approoued for learning and iudgement doe vſe them without blame; the vſe of them hath beene well liked in ſome that haue taught euen in this very place before mee; the qualitie of my hearers is ſuch, that I could not but thinke them of capacitie verie ſufficient for the moſt part to conceiue harder then I vſed any; the cauſe I had in hand did in my iudgement neceſſarily require them which were then vſed; when my words ſpoken generally without diſtinctions had beene peruerted, what other way was there for me, but by diſtinctions to lay them open in their right meaning, that it might appeare to all men whether they were conſonant to truth or no? And although Maſter *Trauers* be ſo inured with the Citie, that he thinketh it vnmeete to vſe my ſpeech which ſauoureth of the Schoole, yet his opinion is no Canon: though vnto him his mind being troubled, my ſpeech did ſeeme like fetters and manicles, yet there might be ſome more calmely-affected which thought otherwiſe; his priuate iudgement will hardly warrant his bold words, that the things which I ſpake *were neither of edification nor truth.* They might edifie ſome other for any thing he knoweth, and be true for any thing he prooueth to the contrarie. For it is no prooſe to crie *Abſurdities, the like whereunto haue not beene heard in publique places within this Land ſince Queene* Maries *dayes.* If this came in earneſt from him, I am ſorrie to ſee him ſo much offended without cauſe. More ſorrie that his fit ſhould be ſo extreme to make him ſpeake he knoweth not what: That I neither *affected the truth of God, nor the peace of the Church. Mihi pro minimo eſt,* It doth not much mooue me; when Maſter *Trauers* doth ſay that which I truſt a greater then Maſter *Trauers* will gaineſay.

* *Ca'n. Inſt. l. 1. cap. 6. Sect. 9.*

17 Now let all this which hitherto hee hath ſaid be granted him, let it be as hee would haue it, let my doctrine and manner of teaching be as much diſallowed by all mens iudgement as by his, what is all this to his purpoſe? Hee alledgeth this to be the cauſe why he bringeth it in: The high Commiſſioners *charge him with an indiſcretion and want of dutie, in that hee inueighed againſt certaine points of doctrine taught by me as erroneous, not conferring firſt with me, nor complaining of it to them.* Which faults, a ſea of ſuch matter as hee hath hitherto waded in, will neuer be able to ſcowre from him. For the auoiding of Schiſme and diſturbance in the Church, which muſt needs grow if all men might thinke what they liſt, and ſpeake openly what they thinke; therefore by a * Decree agreed vpon by the Biſhops, and confirmed by her Maieſties authoritie it was ordred, that erronious doctrine, if it were taught publiquely, ſhould not bee publiquely refuted, but that notice thereof ſhould bee giuen vnto ſuch as are by her Highneſſe appointed to heare and to determine ſuch

* In the Aduertiſements publiſhed in the 7. yeere of her Maieſties Raigne: If any Preacher or Parſon, Vicar, or Curate ſo licenſed, ſhall fortune to preach any matter tending to diſſenſion or to derogation of the Religion and Doctrine receiued, that the hearers denounce the ſame to the Ordinarie, or the next Biſhop of the ſame place, but not openly to contrary or to impugne the ſame ſpeech ſo diſorderly vttered, whereby may grow offence, and diſquiet of the people, but ſhall be conuinced and reproued by the Ordinarie, after ſuch agreeable order as ſhall bee ſeene to him according to the grauitie of the offence: And that it be preſented within one moneth after the words ſpoken.

cauſes.

cauſes. For breach of which Order when he is charged with lacke of duty, all the faults that can be heaped vpon me, will make but a weake defence for him: as ſurely his defence is not much ſtronger when hee alleageth for himſelfe that, *He was in ſome hope his ſpeech in proouing the truth, & cleering thoſe ſcruples which I had in my ſelfe, might cauſe me either to imbrace ſound doctrine, or ſuffer it to be imbraced of others, which if I did, he ſhould not need to complaine*; that, *It was meet he ſhould diſcouer firſt what I had ſowne, and make it manifeſt to be tares, & then deſire their ſithe to cut it downe*; that *conſcience did bind him to do otherwiſe then the foreſaid order requireth*; that *he was vnwilling to deale in that publike manner, & wiſhed a more conuenient way were taken for it*; that *he had reſolued to haue proteſted the next Sabbath Day that he would ſome other way ſatisfie ſuch as ſhould require it, and not deale more in that place.* Be it imagined [let mee not be taken as if I did compare the offenders when I do not, but their anſwers only] bee it imagined that a Libeller did make this apologie for himſelfe, I am not ignorant that if I haue iuſt matter againſt any man, the Law is open, there are Iudges to heare it, and Courts where it ought to be complained of; I haue taken another courſe againſt ſuch or ſuch a man, yet without breach of duty, for as much as I am able to yeeld a reaſon of my doing, I conceiue ſome hope that a little diſcredit amongſt men would make him aſhamed of himſelfe, and that his ſhame would worke his amendment; which if it did, other accuſation there ſhould not need; could his anſwere be thought ſufficient, could it in the iudgement of diſcreet men free him from all blame? No more can the hope which Maſter *Trauers* conceiued to reclaime me by publike ſpeech, iuſtifie his fault againſt the eſtabliſhed Order of the Church.

18 His thinking it meet *he ſhould firſt openly diſcouer to the people the tares that had bin ſowne amongſt them, and then require the hand of Authority to mowe them downe*, doth onely make it a queſtion, whether his opinion that this was meete, may bee a priuiledge or protection againſt that lawfull conſtitution which had before determined of it as of a thing vnmeete. Which queſtion I leaue for them to diſcuſſe whom it moſt concerneth. If the order bee ſuch that it cannot be kept without hazarding a thing ſo precious as a good conſcience, the perill whereof could bee no greater to him then it needes muſt bee to all others whom it toucheth in like cauſes, when this is euident, it will bee a moſt effectual motiue not onely for England, but alſo for other reformed Churches, euen Genena it ſelfe [for they haue the like] to change or take that away which cannot but with great inconuenience be obſerued. In the meane while the breach of it may in ſuch conſideration bee pardoned [which truely I wiſh howſoeuer it bee,] yet hardly defended as long as it ſtandeth in force vncanceld.

19 Now whereas he confeſſeth another way had *beene more conuenient*, and that he found in himſelfe ſecret vnwillingneſſe to doe that which hee did, doth hee not ſay plainly in effect that the light of his owne vnderſtanding prooued the way hee tooke peruerſe and crooked; reaſon was ſo plaine and pregnant againſt it, that his minde was alienated, his will auerted to another courſe? yet ſomewhat there was which ſo farre ouer-ruled, that it muſt needes be done euen againſt the very ſtreame, what doth it bewray? Finally his pur-

poſed proteſtation, whereby he meant openly to make it knowne, that he did not allow this kind of proceeding, and therefore would ſatisfie men otherwiſe, *and deale no more in this place*, ſheweth his good mind in this, that he meant to ſtay himſelfe from further offending; but it ſerueth not his turne. He is blamed, becauſe the thing he had done was amiſſe, and his anſwere is, That which I would haue done afterwards had beene well, if ſo be I had done it.

But as in this he ſtandeth perſwaded, that hee hath done nothing beſides dutie, ſo he taketh it hardly that the High Commiſſioners ſhould charge him with indiſcretion. Wherefore as if he could ſo waſh his hands, he maketh a long and a large declaration concerning the carriage of himſelfe: how he waded in matters *of ſmaller waight*, & how in things of greater *moment*; how warily hee dealt; how *naturally* hee tooke his things *riſing from the Text*, how cloſely he kept himſelfe to *the Scripture he tooke in hand*; how much paines he *tooke to confirme the neceſsity of beleeuing Iuſtification by Chriſt only*, and to ſhew how the *Church of Rome denyeth that a man is ſaued by faith alone, without works of the Law*; what *the Sonnes of thunder would haue done*, if they had beene in his caſe; that his *anſwere was very temperate without* immodeſt *or reprochfull ſpeech*, that when he might *before all haue reproued me*, he did not, *but contented himſelfe with exhorting me* before all, *to follow* Nathans *example and reuiſit my doctrine*; when he might haue followed S. *Pauls* example in *reprouing Peter*, he did not, but exhorted me with *Peter*, *to endure to be withſtood*. This teſtimonie of his diſcreet carrying himſelfe in the handling of his matter, being more agreeably framed and giuen him by another then by himſelfe, might make ſomewhat for the prayſe of his perſon; but for defence of his action vnto them by whom hee is thought vndiſcreete, for not conferring priuately before hee ſpake, will it ſerue to anſwere, that when hee ſpake, hee did it conſiderately? Hee perceiueth it will not, and therefore addeth reaſons ſuch as they are. As namely, how he purpoſed at the firſt to take another courſe, and that was this, *Publikely to deliuer the truth of ſuch Doctrine as I had otherwiſe taught, and at conuenient oportunity to conferre with me vpon ſuch points.* Is this the rule of Chriſt, If thy brother offend openly in his ſpeech, controll it firſt with contrary ſpeech openly, and conferre with him afterwards vpon it, when conuenient oportunity ſerueth? Is there any Law of God, or of Man, wherupon to ground ſuch a reſolution, any Church extant in the World, where Teachers are allowed thus to do or to be done vnto? He cannot but ſee how weake an allegation it is, when he bringeth in his following this courſe, firſt in one matter, and ſo afterwards in another, to approoue himſelfe, now following it againe. For if the very purpoſe of doing a thing ſo vncharitable bee a fault, the deed is a greater fault, and doth the doing of it twice, make it the third time fit and allowable to be done? The waight of the cauſe, which is his third defence, relieueth him as little. The waightier it was, the more it required conſiderate aduice and conſultation, the more it ſtood him vpon to take good heed, that nothing were raſhly done or ſpoken in it. But he meaneth *waightie* in regard of the wonderfull danger, except hee had preſently withſtood me without expecting a time of conference. *This cauſe being of ſuch moment that might preiudice the faith of Chriſt, incourage the ill-affected to continue ſtill in their damnable*

wayes,

wayes, and other weake in faith, to ſuffer themſelues to be ſeduced to the deſtruction of their ſoules, he thought it his bounden dutie to ſpeake before he talked with me. A man that ſhould reade this, and not know what I had ſpoken, might imagine that I had at the leaſt denyed the Diuinitie of Chriſt. But they which were preſent at my ſpeech and can teſtifie, that nothing paſſed my lips more then is contayned in their writings, whom for ſoundneſſe of doctrine, learning, and iudgement Maſter *Trauers* himſelfe doth, I dare ſay, not only allow, but honour, they which heard and do know that the doctrine here ſignified in ſo fearfull manner, the doctrine that was ſo dangerous to the Faith of Chriſt, that was ſo likely *to encourage ill-affected men, to continue ſtill in damnable wayes*, that gaue ſo great cauſe to tremble for feare of the preſent *deſtruction of ſoules*, was only this, *I doubt not but God was mercifull to ſaue thouſands of our Fathers, liuing heretofore in Popiſh Superſtitions, in as much as they ſinned ignorantly*, and this ſpoken in a Sermon, the greateſt part whereof was againſt Poperie, they will hardly bee able to diſcerne how Chriſtianitie ſhould herewith bee ſo grieuouſly ſhaken.

21 Whereby his fourth excuſe is alſo taken from him. For what doth it boot him to ſay, *The time was ſhort wherein he was to preach after me*, when his preaching of this matter perhaps ought, ſurely might haue beene either verie well omitted, or at the leaſt more conueniently for a while deferd, euen by their iudgements that caſt the moſt fauourable aſpect towards theſe his haſtie proceedings? The poyſon which men had taken at my hands, was not ſo quick and ſtrong in operation, as in eight dayes to make them paſt cure; by eight dayes delay there was no likelihood that the force and power of his ſpeech could die; longer Meditation might bring better and ſtronger proofs to minde, then extemporall dexteritie could furniſh him with; and who doth know whether Time, the only Mother of ſound iudgement and diſcreete dealing, might haue giuen that action of his ſome better ripeneſſe, which by ſo great feſtination hath, as a thing borne out of Time, brought ſmall ioy vnto him that begat it? Doth hee thinke it had not beene better that neither my ſpeech had ſeemed in his eyes as an arrow ſticking in a thigh of fleſh, nor his owne as a child whereof he muſt needs be deliuered by an houre? His laſt way of diſburdening himſelfe is, by caſting his lode vpon my backe, as if I had brought him by former conferences out of hope, that any fruit would euer come of conferring with me. Loth I am to rip vp thoſe conferences, whereof hee maketh but a ſlipperie and looſe relation. In one of them the queſtion betweene vs was, whether the perſwaſion of Faith concerning remiſſion of ſinnes, eternall life, and whatſoeuer God doth promiſe vnto man, be as free from doubting as the perſwaſion which we haue by ſenſe concerning things taſted, felt, and ſeene? For the negatiue I mentioned their Example, whoſe Faith in Scripture is moſt commended, and the experience which all faithfull men haue continually had of themſelues. For proofe of the affirmatiue, which he held, I deſiring to haue ſome reaſon, heard nothing but *All good Writers* oftentimes inculcated. At the length, vpon requeſt, to ſee ſome one of them, *Peter Martyr's* common places were brought, where the leaues were turned downe, at a place ſounding to this effect, that *the Goſpel doth make Chriſtians more vertuous, then moral Philoſophie*

doth make Heathens : which came not neere the queſtion by many miles.

22 In the other Conference he queſtioned about the matter of Reprobation, miſliking firſt that I had termed God a permiſſiue, and no poſitiue cauſe of the euill, which the Schoole-men doe call *malum culpæ*: Secondly, that to their obiection who ſay, *If I be elected, doe what I will, I ſhall be ſaued*, I had anſwered, that the will of God in this thing is not abſolute, but conditionall, to ſaue his Elect beleeuing, fearing, and obediently ſeruing him: Thirdly, that to ſtop the mouthes of ſuch as grudge and repine againſt God for reiecting caſt-awayes, I had taught that they are not reiected, no not in the purpoſe and counſell of God, without a fore-ſeene worthineſſe of reiection going, though not in time yet in order before. For if Gods electing doe in order (as needs it muſt) preſuppoſe the fore-ſight of their being that are elected, though they be elected before they be, nor only the poſitiue fore-ſight of their being, but alſo the permiſſiue of their being miſerable, becauſe election is through mercy, and mercy doth alwayes preſuppoſe miſerie: it followeth, that the very choſen of God acknowledge to the praiſe of the riches of his exceeding free compaſſion, that when he in his ſecret determination ſet it downe, *Thoſe ſhall liue and not dye*, they lay as vgly ſpectacles before him, as Lepers couered with dung and mire, as vlcers putrified in their fathers loynes, miſerable, worthy to be had in deteſtation; and ſhall any forſaken creature be able to ſay vnto God, Thou didſt plunge me into the depth, and aſſigne me vnto endleſſe torments, onely to ſatisfie thine owne will, finding nothing in mee for which I could ſeeme in thy ſight ſo well worthy to feele euerlaſting flames?

23 When I ſaw that Maſter *Trauers* carped at theſe things only, becauſe they lay not open, I promiſed at ſome conuenient time to make them cleere as light both to him and all others. Which if they that reproue mee will not grant me leaue to doe, they muſt thinke that they are for ſome cauſe or other, more deſirous to haue me reputed an vnſound man, then willing that my ſincere meaning ſhould appeare and be approoued. When I was farther asked what my grounds were, I anſwered, that S. *Pauls* words concerning this cauſe were my grounds. His next demand, what Authour I did follow in expounding S. *Paul*, and gathering the doctrine out of his words, againſt the iudgement (he ſaith) of *all Churches*, and *all good Writers*. I was well aſſured that to controll this ouer-reaching ſpeech, the ſentences which I might haue cited out of Church Confeſſions, together with the beſt learned Monuments of former times, and not the meaneſt of our owne, were mo in number then perhaps he would willingly haue heard of, but what had this booted me? For although he himſelfe in generalitie doe much vſe thoſe formall ſpeeches, *All Churches*, and *all good Writers*: yet as hee holdeth it in Pulpit lawfull to ſay in generall, the *Paynims* thinke this, or the *Heathens* that, but vtterly vnlawfull to cite any ſentence of theirs that ſay it; ſo hee gaue me at that time great cauſe to thinke that my particular alleadging of other mens words, to ſhew their agreement with mine, would as much haue diſpleaſed his minde as the thing it ſelfe for which it had beene alleaged. For hee knoweth how often he hath in publike place bitten me for this, although I did neuer in any Sermon vſe many of the Sentences of other Writers, and doe make moſt without any, hauing

alwayes

alwayes thought it meeteſt neither to affect nor to contemne the vſe of them.

24 He is not ignorant that in the very entrance to the talke, which wee had priuately at that time, to prooue it vnlawful altogether in preaching, either for confirmation, declaration, or otherwiſe to cite any thing but meere Canonicall Scripture, he brought in, *The Scripture is giuen by inſpiration, and is profitable to teach, improoue, &c.* Vrging much the vigour of theſe two clauſes, *The man of God* and *euery good worke.* If therefore the worke were good which hee required at my hands, if priuately to ſhew, why I thought the doctrine I had deliuered to be according to S. *Pauls* meaning, were a good worke, can they which take the place before alledged for a Law, condemning euery man of God, who in doing the worke of preaching any way vſeth humane authoritie, like it in me, if in the worke of ſtrengthning, that which I had preached, I ſhould bring forth the teſtimonies and the ſayings of mortall men? I alledged therefore, that which might vnder no pretence in the world be diſallowed, namely reaſons, not meaning thereby my owne reaſon as now it is reported, but true ſound diuine reaſon; reaſon wherby thoſe Concluſions might be out of S. *Paul* demonſtrated, and not probably diſcourſed of only; reaſon proper to that ſcience whereby the things of God are knowne; Theologicall reaſon without principles in Scripture that are plaine, ſoundly deduced more doubtfull inferences, in ſuch ſort that being heard they cannot be denied, nor any thing repugnant vnto them receiued, but whatſoeuer was before otherwiſe by miſcollecting gathered out of darke places, is thereby forced to yeeld it ſelfe, and the true conſonant meaning of ſentences, not vnderſtood, is brought to light. This is the reaſon which I intended. If it were poſſible for me to eſcape the Ferula in any thing I doe or ſpeake, I had vndoubtedly eſcaped it in this. In this I did that which by ſome is inioyned as the onely allowable, but granted by all as the moſt ſure and ſafe way, whereby to reſolue things doubted of, in matters appertaining to Faith and Chriſtian Religion. So that Maſter *Trauers* had here ſmall cauſe giuen him to be weare of conferring, vnleſſe it were in other reſpects then that poore one which is heere pretended, that is to ſay, the little hope he had of doing me any good by conference.

25 Yet behold his firſt reaſon of not complaining to the High Commiſſion, is, that ſith I offended onely through an ouer-charitable inclination, hee conceiued good hope, when I ſhould ſee the truth cleered, and ſome ſcruples, which were in my mind, remooued by his diligence, I would yeeld. But what experience ſoeuer hee had of former conferences, how ſmall ſoeuer his hope was that fruit would come of it if hee ſhould haue conferred, will any man iudge this a cauſe ſufficient, why to open his mouth in publique without any one word priuately ſpoken? Hee might haue conſidered that men doe ſometimes reape, where they ſowe but with ſmall hope; he might haue conſidered that although vnto me (whereof he was not certaine neither) but if to me his labour ſhould be as water ſpilt or powred into a torne diſh, yet to him it could not be fruitleſſe to doe that which order in Chriſtian Churches, that which charitie amongſt Chriſtian men, that which at many mens hands euen common humanitie it ſelfe, at his, many other things beſides did require. What fruit could there come of his open contradicting in ſo great haſt with ſo ſmall

aduice,

aduice, but ſuch as muſt needs be vnpleaſant, and mingled with much acerbitie? Surely, he which will take vpon him to defend, that in this there was no ouer-ſight, muſt beware leſt by ſuch defences, hee leaue an opinion dwelling in the minds of men, that he is more ſtiffe to maintaine what hee hath done, then carefull to doe nothing but that which may iuſtly be maintained.

26 Thus haue I as neere as I could, ſeriouſly anſwered things of waight; with ſmaller I haue dealt as I thought their qualitie did require. I take no ioy in ſtriuing, I haue not beene nuzled or trained vp in it. I would to Chriſt they which haue at this preſent inforced me hereunto, had ſo ruled their hands in any reaſonable time, that I might neuer haue beene conſtrained to ſtrike ſo much as in mine owne defence. Wherefore to proſecute this long and tedious contention no further, ſhall I wiſh that your Grace and their Honours (vnto whoſe intelligence the dutifull regard which I haue of their iudgements, maketh me deſirous, that as accuſations haue beene brought againſt me, ſo that this my anſwer thereunto may likewiſe come) did both with the one and the other, as *Conſtantine* with bookes containing querulous matter. Whether this be conuenient to be wiſht or no, I cannot tell. But ſith there can come nothing of contention, but the mutuall waſte of the parties contending, till a common enemie dance in the aſhes of them both, I doe wiſh heartily that the graue aduice which *Conſtantine* gaue for reuniting of his Clergy ſo many times, vpon ſo ſmall occaſions, in ſo lamentable ſort diuided, or rather the ſtrict commandement of Chriſt vnto his, that they ſhould not be diuided at all, may at the length, if it be his bleſſed will, preuaile ſo farre at the leaſt in this corner of the Chriſtian world, to the burying and quite forgetting of ſtrife, together with the cauſes which haue either bred it or brought it vp: that things of ſmall moment neuer diſioyne them, whom one God, one Lord, one Faith, one Spirit, one Baptiſme, bands of ſo great force haue linked, that a reſpectiue eye towards things, wherewith we ſhould not be diſquieted, make vs not, as through infirmitie the verie Patriarkes themſelues ſometimes were, full gorged, vnable to ſpeake peaceably to their owne brother: finally, that no ſtrife may euer be heard of againe but this, who ſhall hate ſtrife moſt, who ſhall purſue Peace and Vnitie with ſwifteſt paces.

(***)

FINIS.

A

LEARNED DISCOVRSE OF *Iustification, Workes,* and how the foundation *of* FAITH *is ouer-throwne.*

By RICHARD HOORER, sometimes Fellow of CORPVS CHRISTI *Colledge in* OXFORD.

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TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

Whereas many, desirous of resolution in some points handled in this learned Discourse, were earnest to haue it copied out; to ease so many labours, it hath beene thought most worthy and very necessary to be printed: that not onely they might bee satisfied, but the whole Church also hereby edified. The rather, because it will free the Author from the suspicion of some errours, which he hath beene thought to haue fauoured. Who might well haue answered with Cremutius *in* Tacitus, [a] Verba mea arguuntur, adeo factorum innocens sum. *Certainely, the euent of that time wherein he liued, shewed that to be true, which the same* [b] *Author spake of a worse,* Cui deerat inimicus, per amicos oppressus; *and that there is not* [c] minus periculum ex magna fama, quàm ex mala. *But he hath so quit himselfe, that all may see, how, as it was said of* Agricola, Simul suis virtutibus, simul vitijs aliorum in ipsam gloriam præceps agebatur. *Touching whom I will say no more, but that which my Author said of the same man,* Integritatem, &c. in tanto viro referre, iniuria virtutem fuerit. *But as of*

[a] Lib. 4. Ann.

[b] Lib. 1. Hist.

[c] In vita Agricolæ.

of all other his writings, so of this I will adde that, which
Lib. 2. Velleius *spake in commendation of* Piso, Nemo fuit, qui magis, quæ agenda erant, curaret, sine vlla ostentatione agendi. *So not doubting, Good Christian Reader, of thy assent herein, but wishing thy fauourable acceptance of this Worke (which will be an inducement to set forth others of his learned Labours) I take my leaue; from*

Corpus Christi Colledge
in Oxford the sixt of
July. 1612.

Thine in Christ Iesus,

HENRY IACKSON.

A LEARNED DISCOVRSE OF IVSTIFICATION, WORKES, AND HOW THE foundation of FAITH is ouerthrowne.

ABAK. 1.4.

The wicked doth compaſſe about the righteous; therefore peruerſe iudgement doth proceed.



FOr the better manifeſtation of the Prophets meaning in this place, we are firſt to conſider *the wicked*, of whom hee ſaith, *That they compaſſe about the righteous*: Secondly, the *righteous*, that are compaſſed about by them: and Thirdly, That which is inferred; *Therefore peruerſe iudgement proceedeth.* Touching the firſt, there are two kindes of wicked men, of whom, in the firſt of the former to the Corinthians, the bleſſed Apoſtle ſpeaketh thus: *Doe not iudge them that are within? But God iudgeth them that are without.* There are wicked therefore whom the Church may iudge, and there are wicked whom God only iudgeth: wicked within, and wicked without the wals of the Church. If within the Church, particular perſons bee apparantly ſuch, as cannot otherwiſe be reformed; the rule of the Apoſtolicall iudgement, is this; *Separate them from among you*: if whole Aſſemblies, this; *Separate your ſelues from among them: for what ſocietie hath light with darkneſſe?* But the wicked, whom the Prophet meaneth, were Babylonians, and therefore without. For which cauſe wee haue heard at large heretofore in what ſort hee vrgeth God to iudge them. 1. 2. 3. 1.Cor.5.12,13. 2.Cor.6. verſe 7.

2 Now concerning the Righteous, there neither is, nor euer was any meere naturall man abſolutely righteous in himſelfe, that is to ſay, voide of all vnrighteouſneſſe, of all ſinne. We dare not except, no not the bleſſed Virgin her ſelfe; of whom although we ſay with S. *Auguſtine*, for the honor ſake which wee owe to our Lord and Sauiour Chriſt, wee are not willing in this cauſe to mooue any queſtion of his Mother: yet foraſmuch as the Schooles of Rome

haue made it a queſtion; wee may anſwere with * *Euſebius Emiſſenus*, who ſpeaketh of her and to her in this effect: *Thou diddeſt, by ſpeciall prerogatiue, nine monethes together entertayne within the cloſet of thy fleſh, the hope of all the ends of the Earth, the honour of the World, the common ioy of Men: Hee, from whom all things had their beginning, had his beginning from thee; of thy body he tooke the bloud, which was to bee ſhed for the life of the World; of thee hee tooke that, which euen for thee he payed. A peccati enim veteris nexu, [a] per ſe non eſt immunis, nec ipſa genetrix Redemptoris:* the Mother of the Redeemer, her ſelfe, is not otherwiſe looſed from the bond of ancient ſinne, then by Redemption; if Chriſt haue paid a ranſome for all, euen for her, it followeth, that all without exception were captiues. If one haue dyed for all, then all were dead in ſin; all ſinfull therefore, none abſolutely righteous in themſelues; but we are abſolutely righteous in Chriſt. The World then muſt ſhew a righteous man, otherwiſe it is not able to ſhew a man that is perfectly righteous: *Chriſt is made to vs Wiſdome, Iuſtice, Sanctification, and Redemption: Wiſdome*, becauſe he hath reuealed his Fathers will: *Iuſtice*, becauſe he hath offered vp himſelfe a Sacrifice for ſin: *Sanctification*, becauſe he hath giuen vs his Spirit: *Redemption*, becauſe he hath appointed a Day to vindicate his Children out of the hands of corruption, into libertie, which is glorious. How Chriſt is made *Wiſdome*, and how *Redemption*, it may be declared, when occaſion ſerueth. But how Chriſt is made the *righteouſneſſe* of men, we are now to declare.

3 There is a glorifying righteouſneſſe of men in the World to come; as there is a iuſtifying and ſanctifying righteouſneſſe here. The righteouſneſſe, wherewith we ſhall be clothed in the World to come, is both perfect and inherent. That whereby here we are iuſtified, is perfect, but not inherent. That whereby we are ſanctified, is inherent, but not perfect. This openeth a way to the vnderſtanding of that grand queſtion, which hangeth yet in controuerſie betweene vs and the Church of Rome, about the matter of iuſtifying righteouſneſſe.

4 Firſt, although they imagine, that the Mother of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, were for his honor, and by his ſpeciall protection, preſerued cleane from all ſinne: yet touching the reſt they teach as we doe; that Infants which neuer did actually offend, haue their natures defiled, deſtitute of Iuſtice, auerted from God; that in making man righteous, none doe efficiently worke with God, but God. They teach as we doe, that vnto Iuſtice no man euer attayned, but by the Merits of Ieſus Chriſt. They teach as we doe, that although Chriſt as God, be the efficient; as Man, the meritorious cauſe of our Iuſtice: yet in vs alſo there is ſomething required. God is the cauſe of our naturall life, in him we liue: but he quickeneth not the bodie without the ſoule in the bodie. Chriſt hath merited to make vs iuſt: but as a medicine, which is made for health, doth not heale by being made, but by being applyed: ſo by the Merits of Chriſt there can bee no iuſtification, without the application of his Merits. Thus farre we ioyne hands with the Church of Rome.

5 Wherein then doe wee diſagree? Wee diſagree about the nature and eſſence of the medicine, whereby Chriſt cureth our Diſeaſe; about the manner of applying it; about the number, and the power of meanes, which God requireth

* Or whoſoeuer it bee that was the author of thoſe Homilies that go vnder his name.

[a] Knowing how the Schoolmen hold this queſtion, ſome Critticall wits may perhaps halfe ſuſpect that theſe two words, *Per ſe*, are In-mates. But if the place which they haue, bee their owne, their ſenſe can be none other then that which I haue giuen them by a paraphraſticall interpretation.

They teach as we doe, that God doth iuſtifie the ſoule of man alone, without any coeffectiue cauſe of iuſtice.

Deus ſine medio coeffectiuo animam iuſtificat. Caſal de quadr. part. iuſt l.1.c.8. Idem lib.3.c.9.

The difference betwixt the Papiſts and vs about iuſtification.

quireth in vs for the effectuall applying thereof to our ſoules comfort. When they are required to ſhew what the righteouſneſſe is, whereby a Chriſtian man is iuſtified: they * anſwere, that it is a diuine ſpirituall qualitie, which qualitie receiued into the ſoule, doth firſt make it to be one of them, who are borne of God: and ſecondly, indue it with power, to bring forth ſuch workes, as they doe that are borne of him; euen as the ſoule of man being ioyned to his bodie, doth firſt make him to bee of the number of reaſonable creatures; and ſecondly enable him to performe the naturall functions which are proper to his kind: that it maketh the ſoule amiable and gracious in the ſight of God, in regard whereof it is termed grace; that it purgeth, purifieth, and waſheth out all the ſtaines, and pollutions of ſinne, that by it, through the merit of Chriſt, we are deliuered as from ſinne, ſo from eternall death and condemnation, the reward of ſinne. This grace they will haue to be applyed by infuſion: to the end, that as the body is warme by the heate, which is in the body, ſo the ſoule might be righteous by the inherent grace: which grace they make capable of increaſe; as the bodie may bee more and more warme, ſo the ſoule more and more iuſtified, according as grace ſhall bee augmented; the augmentation whereof is merited by good workes, as good workes are made meritorious by it. Wherefore, the firſt receit of grace in their diuinitie, is the firſt iuſtification; the increaſe thereof the ſecond iuſtification. As grace may bee increaſed by the merit of good workes: ſo it may bee diminiſhed by the demerit of ſinnes veniall; it may bee loſt by mortall ſinne. In as much therefore as it is needfull in the one caſe to repaire; in the other, to recouer the loſſe which is made: the infuſion of grace hath her ſundry after-meales, for the which cauſe, they make many wayes to apply the infuſion of grace. It is applyed to Infants through Baptiſme, without either Faith, or Workes, and in them really it taketh away originall ſinne, and the puniſhment due vnto it: it is applyed to Infidels and wicked men in the firſt iuſtification, through Baptiſme without Workes, yet not without Faith; and it taketh away both ſinnes actuall and originall together, with all whatſoeuer puniſhment, eternall, or temporall, thereby deſerued. Vnto ſuch as haue attayned the firſt iuſtification, that is to ſay, the firſt receit of grace, it is applyed farther by good works to the increaſe of former grace, which is the ſecond iuſtification. If they worke more and more, grace doth more and more increaſe, and they are more and more iuſtified. To ſuch as diminiſhed it by veniall ſinnes, it is applyed by holy Water, *Aue Maries*, Croſſings, Papall ſalutations, and ſuch like, which ſerue for reparations of grace decayed. To ſuch as haue loſt it through mortall ſinne, it is applyed by the Sacrament (as they terme it) of Penance: which Sacrament hath force to conferre grace anew, yet in ſuch ſort, that being ſo conferred, it hath not altogether ſo much power, as at the firſt. For it only cleanſeth out the ſtaine or guilt of ſinne committed; and changeth the puniſhment eternall into a temporall ſatisfactorie puniſhment, here, if time doe ſerue, if not, hereafter to be indured, except it be lightened by Maſſes, workes of Charitie, Pilgrimages, Faſts, and ſuch like; or elſe ſhortned by Pardon, for terme, or by plenarie Pardon quite remooued, and taken away. This is the myſterie of the Man of ſinne. This maze the Church of Rome doth cauſe her followers to treade,

* Tho. Aquin. 1.2. quæſt. 100. *Gratia gratum faciens id eſt, iuſtificans, eſt in anima quiddam reale & poſitiuũ qualitas quædam* (art. 2. concl.) *ſupernaturalis, non eadem cum virtute infuſa, vt Magiſter; ſed aliquid* (art. 3.) *præter virtutes infuſas, fidem, ſpem, charitatẽ; habitudo quædã* (art. 3. ad 3.) *quæ præſupponitur in virtutibus iſtis ſicut earum principium & radix, eſſentiam animæ tanquam ſubiectum occupat non potentias; ſed abipſa* (art. 4. ad 1.) *effluunt virtutes in potentias animæ, per quas potentiæ mouentur ad actus, plura vid. quæſt. 113. de Iuſtificatione.*

when they aske her the way to iuſtification. I cannot ſtand now to vnrip this building, and to ſift it piece by piece; onely I will paſſe by it in few words, that that may befall Babylon in the preſence of that, which God hath builded, as happened vnto *Dagon* before the Arke.

a *Phil.3.v.8.* 6 Doubtleſſe, ſaith the a Apoſtle, *I haue counted all things loſſe, and iudge them to be dung, that I may winne Chriſt; and to bee found in him not hauing my owne righteouſneſſe, but that which is through the faith of Chriſt, the righteouſnes, which is of God through faith.* Whether they ſpeake of the firſt, or ſecond iuſtification, they make it the eſſence of a diuine qualitie inherent, they make it righteouſnſſe which is in vs. If it bee in vs, then is it ours, as our ſoules are ours, though wee haue them from God, and can hold them no longer then pleaſeth him: for if hee withdraw the breath of our noſtrils, wee fall to duſt: but the righteouſneſſe, wherein wee muſt bee found, if we will be iuſtified, is not our owne; therefore wee cannot bee iuſtified by any inherent qualitie. Chriſt hath merited righteouſneſſe for as many as are found in him. In him God findeth vs, if we be faithfull, for by faith wee are incorporated into Chriſt. Then although in our ſelues wee be altogether ſinfull, and vnrighteous, yet euen the man which is impious in himſelfe, full of iniquitie, full of ſinne, him being found in Chriſt through faith, and hauing his ſinne remitted through Repentance: him God vpholdeth with a gracious eye; putteth away his ſinne by not imputing; taketh quite away the puniſhment due thereunto, by pardoning it; and accepteth him in Ieſus Chriſt, as perfectly righteous, as if hee had fulfilled all that was commanded him in the Law: ſhall I ſay more perfectly righteous, then if himſelfe had fulfilled the whole Law? I muſt take heed what I ſay: but the Apoſtle ſaith, * *God made him to bee ſinne for vs, who knew no ſinne, that we might be made the righteouſneſſe of God in him* Such wee are in the ſight of God the Father, as is the very Sonne of God himſelfe. Let it be counted folly, or phrenſie, or furie whatſoeuer; it is our comfort, and our wiſedome; wee care for no knowledge in the World but this, That Man hath ſinned, and God hath ſuffered; that God hath made himſelfe the Sonne of Man, and that Men are made the righteouſneſſe of God. You ſee therefore that the Church of Rome, in teaching iuſtification by inherent grace, doth peruert the Truth of Chriſt, and that by the hands of the Apoſtles wee haue receiued otherwiſe then ſhe teacheth. Now concerning the righteouſneſſe of ſanctification, we deny it not to be inherent: we grant, that vnleſſe we worke, we haue it not: onely wee diſtinguiſh it a thing different in nature from the righteouſneſſe of iuſtification: wee are righteous, the one way by the faith of *Abraham*; the other way, except we doe the workes of *Abraham*, wee are not righteous. Of the one, Saint PAVL; *To him that worketh not, but beleeueth, faith is counted for righteouſneſſe.* Of the other, S. IOHN; *Qui facit iuſtitiam, iuſtus eſt*; He is righteous, which worketh righteouſneſſe. Of the one, S. *Paul* doth proue by *Abrahams* Example, that we haue it of faith without workes. Of the other, S. *Iames*, by *Abrahams* Example, that by workes we haue it, and not onely by faith. Saint *Paul* doth plainly ſeuer theſe two parts of Chriſtian righteouſneſſe one from the other. For in the ſixt to the *Rom.* thus he writeth,

* 2.*Cor.*5.21.

*Rom.*4.5.
1.*Iohn* 3.7.

*Rom.*6. *Being freed from ſinne, and made ſeruants to God, yee haue your fruit in holineſſe,*

and the end euerlaſting life. Ye are made free from ſinne, and made Seruants vnto God; this is the righteouſneſſe of iuſtification: *yee haue your fruit in holineſſe*; this is the righteouſneſſe of ſanctification. By the one we are intereſſed in the right of inheriting; by the other we are brought to the actuall poſſeſſion of eternall bliſſe, and ſo the end of both is euerlaſting life.

7 The Prophet *Abak.* doth heere tearme the Iewes *righteous* men, not onely becauſe being iuſtified by Faith they were free from ſinne: but alſo becauſe they had their meaſure of fruites in holineſſe. According to whoſe example of charitable iudgement, which leaueth it to God to diſcerne what wee are, and ſpeaketh of them according to that, which they doe profeſſe themſelues to bee, although they bee not holy men, whom men doe thinke, but whom God doth know indeed to bee ſuch: yet let euery Chriſtian man know, that in Chriſtian equitie, he ſtandeth bound for to thinke and ſpeake of his Brethren, as of men that haue meaſure in the fruit of holineſſe, and a right vnto the Titles, wherewith God, in token of ſpeciall fauour and mercie, vouchſafeth to honour his choſen Seruants. So wee ſee the Apoſtles of our Sauiour Chriſt, doe vſe euery where the name of *Saints*, ſo the Prophet, the name of *righteous*. But let vs all be ſuch as wee deſire to bee tearmed. *Reatus impij eſt pium nomen*, ſaith *Saluianus*. Godly names doe not iuſtifie godleſſe men. Wee are but vpbrayded, when we are honoured with Names and Titles, wherunto our liues and manners are not ſutable. If indeed we haue our fruit in holineſſe, notwithſtanding we muſt note, that the more wee abound therein, the more need we haue to craue, that we may be ſtrengthened and ſupported. Our very Vertues may be ſnares vnto vs. The enemie, that wayteth for all occaſions to worke our ruine, hath found it harder to ouerthrow an humble Sinner, then a proud Saint. There is no mans caſe ſo dangerous, as his whom Satan hath perſwaded, that his owne righteouſneſſe ſhall preſent him pure and blameleſſe in the ſight of God. If wee could ſay, wee were not guiltie of any thing at all in our conſciences (we know our ſelues farre from this innocencie; we cannot ſay, we know nothing by our ſelues; but if wee could,) ſhould wee therefore plead not-guiltie before the preſence of our Iudge, that ſees further into our hearts, then we our ſelues can doe? If our hands did neuer offer violence to our Brethren, a bloudie thought doth proue vs Murtherers before him: if wee had neuer opened our mouth to vtter any ſcandalous, offenſiue, or hurtfull word, the cry of our ſecret cogitations is heard in the eares of God. If we doe not commit the ſinnes, which daily and hourely, eyther in deede, word, or thoughts, wee doe commit; yet in the good things which we doe, how many defects are there intermingled! God in that which is done, reſpecteth the minde and intention of the doer. Cut off then all thoſe things wherein wee haue regarded our owne glorie, thoſe things, which men doe to pleaſe men, and to ſatisfie our owne liking, thoſe things which we do by any reſpect, not ſincerely, and purely for the loue of God: and a ſmall ſcore will ſerue for the number of our righteous deeds. Let the holyeſt & beſt thing we do be conſidered, we are neuer better affected vnto God, then when we pray; yet when we pray, how are our affections many times diſtracted! How little reuerence doe wee ſhew vnto the grand Maieſtie of God, vnto whom we ſpeake! How

little remorſe of our owne miſeries! How little taſte of the ſweete influence of his tender mercies doe we feele! Are we not as vnwilling many times to begin, and as glad to make an end; as if in ſaying, *Call vpon me*, he had ſet vs a very burdenſome taske? It may ſeeme ſomewhat extreame, which I will ſpeake: therefore let euery one iudge of it, euen as his owne heart ſhall tell him, and no otherwiſe; I will but onely make a demand: If God ſhould yeeld vnto vs, not as vnto *Abraham*, If fifty, forty, thirty, twenty, yea, or if ten good perſons could be found in a Citie, for their ſakes that Citie ſhould not bee deſtroyed: but, and if he ſhould make vs an offer thus large; Search all the Generations of men, ſithence the Fall of our Father *Adam*, find one man, that hath done one action, which hath paſt from him pure, without any ſtayne or blemiſh at all, and for that one mans only action, neither man nor Angell ſhall feele the torments which are prepared for both. Doe you thinke that this ranſome, to deliuer men and Angels, could be found to bee among the ſonnes of men? The beſt things, which wee doe, haue ſomewhat in them to be pardoned. How then can we doe any thing meritorious, or worthy to be rewarded? Indeed God doth liberally promiſe whatſoeuer appertayneth to a bleſſed life, to as many as ſincerely keepe his Law, though they be not exactly able to keepe it. Wherefore wee acknowledge a dutifull neceſſitie of doing well; but the meritorious dignity of doing well, we vtterly renounce. We ſee how farre we are from the perfect righteouſneſſe of the Law; the little fruit which wee haue in Holineſſe, it is, God knoweth, corrupt and vnſound: wee put no confidence at all in it, wee challenge nothing in the World for it, wee dare not call God to reckoning, as if we had him in our Debt-bookes: our continuall ſuit to him is, and muſt be, to beare with our infirmities, and pardon our offences.

8 But the people of whom the Prophet ſpeaketh, were they all, or were the moſt part of them ſuch, as had care to walke vprightly? Did they thirſt after righteouſneſſe? Did they wiſh? Did they long with the righteous Prophet; *O that our wayes were made ſo direct, that we might keepe thy ſtatutes?* Did they lament with the righteous Apoſtle; *O miſerable men, the good which wee wiſh and purpoſe, and ſtriue to do, we cannot?* No, the words of the other Prophet concerning this people, doe ſhew the contrary. How grieuouſly hath *Eſay* mourned ouer them! *O ſinfull Nation, laden with iniquitie, wicked ſeed, corrupt children*! All which notwithſtanding, ſo wide are the bowels of his compaſſion inlarged, that he denyeth vs not, no, not when wee were laden with iniquitie, leaue to commune familiarly with him, libertie to craue and intreate, that what plagues ſoeuer we haue deſerued, we may not be in worſe caſe then vnbeleeuers, that we may not be hemmed in by Pagans, and Infidels. Ieruſalem is a ſinfull polluted Citie: but Ieruſalem compared with Babylon, is righteous. And ſhall the righteous bee ouerborne? ſhall they be compaſt about by the wicked? But the Prophet doth not only complaine; Lord, how commeth it to paſſe, that thou handleſt vs ſo hardly, of whom thy Name is called, and beareſt with the Heathen Nations, that deſpiſe thee? No, hee breaketh out through extremitie of grief, and inferreth violently; This *proceeding is peruerſe*, the righteous are thus handled; *therefore peruerſe iudgement doth proceed.*

Rom.7.19.

Cap.1.v.4.

9 Which

9 Which illation containeth many things, whereof it were better much both for yee to heare, and me to ſpeake, if neceſſitie did not draw me to another taske. *Paul* and *Barnabas* being requeſted to preach the ſame things againe, which once they had preached, thought it their duties to ſatisfie the godly deſires of men, ſincerely affected to the truth. Nor may it ſeeme burdenous to me, or for yee vnprofitable, that I follow their example, the like occaſion vnto theirs being offered me. When he had laſt the Epiſtle of Saint *Paul* to the Hebrewes in hand, and of that Epiſtle theſe words: *In theſe laſt dayes he hath ſpoken vnto vs by his Sonne.* After wee had thence collected the nature of the viſible Church of Chriſt; and hath defined it to be a communitie of men, * ſanctified through the profeſſion of the Truth, which God hath taught the world by his Sonne; and had declared, that the ſcope of Chriſtian doctrine is the comfort of them, whoſe hearts are ouer-charged with the burden of ſinne; and had proued that the doctrine profeſſed in the Chrurch of Rome, doth bereaue men of comfort both in their liues and in their deaths: the concluſion in the end, whereunto we came was this; the Church of Rome being in faith ſo corrupted, as ſhee is, and refuſing to be reformed, as ſhee doth, we are to ſeuer our ſelues from her, the example of our Fathers may not retaine vs in communion with that Church; vnder hope, that we ſo continuing, may be ſaued, as well as they. God, I doubt not, was mercifull to ſaue thouſands of them, though they liued in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, inaſmuch as they ſinned ignorantly: but the truth is now laid before our eyes. The former part of this laſt ſentence, namely, theſe words: *I doubt not, but God was mercifull to ſaue thouſands of our Fathers liuing in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, in as much as they ſinned ignorantly*: this ſentence, I beſeech you, to marke, and to ſift it with the ſeuerity of auſtere iudgement, that if it be found to be gold, it may be ſuteable to the precious foundation, whereon it was then laid: for, I proteſt, that, if it be hay or ſtubble, my owne hand ſhall ſet fire to it. Two queſtions haue riſen by reaſon of this ſpeech before alledged. The one, *Whether our Fathers, infected with Popiſh errors and ſuperſtitions, may be ſaued.* The other, *Whether their ignorance be a reaſonable inducement to make vs thinke, they might.* Wee are then to examine: firſt, what poſſibilitie: then, what probabilitie there is, that God might be mercifull vnto ſo many of our Fathers.

Act. 13.42,44.

Heb. 1.v.2.

* By ſanctification, I meane a ſeparation from others, not profeſſing as they doe. For true holynes conſiſteth not in profeſſing, but in obeying the truth of Chriſt

10 So many of our Fathers liuing in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, yet by the mercy of God to be ſaued? No; this could not be: God hath ſpoken by his Angel from heauen, vnto his people concerning Babylon (by Babylon we vnderſtand the Church of Rome;) *Goe out of her, my people, that yee be not partakers of her plagues.* For anſwer whereunto, firſt, I doe not take the words to be meant onely of temporall plagues, of the corporall death, ſorrow, famine, and fire, whereunto God in his wrath hath condemned Babylon; and that to ſaue his choſen people from theſe plagues, he ſaith, *Goe out*, with like intent, as in the Goſpel, ſpeaking of Hieruſalems deſolations, he ſaith, *Let them that are in Iudea flie vnto the Mountaines, and them that are in the midſt thereof depart out*; or, as in the former times to *Lot*, *Ariſe, take thy wife, and thy daughters, which are there, leſt thou be deſtroyed in the puniſhment of the Citie*: but for as much as here it is ſaid, *Goe out of Babylon*; we doubt, their euerlaſting deſtruction, which

Apoc. 18.4.

Matth. 24.16.

Gen. 19.15.

which are partakers therein, is either principally meant, or neceſſarily implyed in this ſentence. How then was it poſſible for ſo many of our Fathers to bee ſaued: ſith they were ſo farre from departing out of Babylon, that they tooke her for their mother, and in her boſome yeelded vp the ghoſt?

11 Firſt, for the plagues being threatned vnto them, that are partakers in the ſinnes of Babylon, we can define nothing concerning our Fathers, out of this ſentence: vnleſſe we ſhew, what the ſinnes of Babylon be; and what they be, which are ſuch partakers of them, that their euerlaſting plagues are ineuitable. The ſinnes, which may bee common both to them of the Church of Rome, and to others departed thence, muſt be ſeuered from this queſtion. He which ſaith, *Depart out of Babylon, leſt you be partakers of her ſinnes:* ſheweth plainely, that he meaneth ſuch ſinnes, as, except wee ſeparate our ſelues, wee haue no power in the world to auoid ſuch impieties, as by their Law they haue eſtabliſhed, and whereunto all that are among them, either doe indeed aſſent, or elſe are by powerable meanes forced, in ſhew and appearance, to ſubiect themſelues. As for example, in the Church of Rome it is maintained, that the ſame credit and reuerence that wee giue to the Scriptures of God, ought alſo to be giuen to vnwritten verities; That the Pope is ſupreme head miniſteriall ouer the vniuerſall Church militant; That the bread in the Euchariſt is tranſubſtantiated into Chriſt; That it is to be adored, and to bee offered vp vnto God, as a ſacrifice propitiatorie for quicke and dead; That Images are to be worſhipped; Saints to be called vpon as interceſſors, and ſuch like. Now, becauſe ſome Hereſies doe concerne things only beleeued, as the tranſubſtantiation of the ſacramentall Elements in the Euchariſt; ſome concerne things which are practiſed and put in vre, as the adoration of the Elements tranſubſtantiated: wee muſt note, that erroneouſly, the practice of that is ſometime receiued, whereof the doctrine, that teacheth it, is not heretically maintained. They are all partakers in the maintenance of Hereſies, who by word or deed allow them, knowing them, although not knowing them to be Hereſies; as alſo they, and that moſt dangerouſly of all others, who knowing Hereſie to be Hereſie, doe notwithſtanding in worldly reſpects, make ſemblance of allowing that, which in heart and iudgement they condemne: but Hereſie is heretically maintained, by ſuch as obſtinately hold it, after wholſome admonition. Of the laſt ſort, as of the next before, I make no doubt, but that their condemnation, without an actuall repentance, is ineuitable. Leſt any man therefore ſhould thinke, that in ſpeaking of our Fathers, I ſhould ſpeake indifferently of them all: let my words, I beſeech you, be well marked: *I doubt not, but God was mercifull to ſaue thouſands of our Fathers:* which thing I will now, by Gods aſſiſtance, ſet more plainely before your eyes.

12 Many are partakers of the errour, which are not of the Hereſie of the Church of Rome. The people following the conduct of their guides, and obſeruing, as they did, exactly that which was preſcribed, thought they did God good ſeruice, when indeed they did diſhonour him. This was their error: but the Hereſie of the Church of Rome, their dogmaticall Potions oppoſite vnto Chriſtian truth, what one man amongſt tenne thouſand, did euer vnderſtand? Of them, which vnderſtand Romane Hereſies, and allow them, all are

not

not alike partakers in the action of allowing. Some allow them as the firſt founders and eſtabliſhers of them: which crime toucheth none but their Popes, and Councels; the people are cleere and free from this. Of them, which maintaine Popiſh Hereſies, not as Authors, but Receiuers of them from others, all maintaine them not as Maſters. In this are not the people partakers neither, but only the Predicants and Schoolemen. Of them, which haue been partakers in this ſinne of teaching Popiſh hereſie, there is alſo a difference; for they haue not all beene Teachers of all Popiſh Hereſies. *Put a difference*, ſaith S. *Iude*; *haue compaſsion vpon ſome.* Shall we lay vp all in one condition? Shall we caſt them all head-long? Shall we plunge them all into that infernall and euerlaſting flaming lake? Them that haue beene partakers of the errors of Babylon, together with them which are in the Hereſie? Them which haue beene the Authors of Hereſie, with them that by terror and violence haue beene forced to receiue it? Them who haue taught it, with them whoſe ſimplicitie hath by ſleights and conueyances of falſe Teachers, beene ſeduced to beleeue it? Them which haue beene partakers in one, with them which haue beene partakers in many? Them which in many, with them which in all? *Iude* 22.

13 Notwithſtanding I grant, that, although the condemnation of them, be more tolerable then of theſe: yet from the man, that laboureth at the plough, to him that ſitteth in the Vatican; to all partakers in the ſinnes of Babylon; to our Fathers, though they did but erroneouſly practiſe that which the guides heretically taught; to all, without exception, plagues were due. The pit is ordinarily the end, aſwell of the guide, as of the guided in blindneſſe. But woe worth the houre wherein we were borne, except we might promiſe our ſelues better things; things which accompanie mans ſaluation, euen where we know, that worſe, and ſuch as accompany condemnation are due. Then muſt we ſhew ſome way, how poſſibly they might eſcape. What way is there, that ſinners can find to eſcape the iudgement of God, but onely by appealing to the ſeate of his ſauing mercy? Which mercy, with *Origen*, we doe not extend to Deuils and damned ſpirits. God hath mercy vpon thouſands, but there be thouſands alſo which he hardeneth. Chriſt hath therefore ſet the bounds, he hath fixed the limits of his ſauing mercy, within the compaſſe of theſe termes: *God ſent not his owne Sonne to condemne the world, but that the world through him might be ſaued.* In the third of S. *Iohns* Goſpel mercie is reſtrained to Beleeuers: *He that beleeueth, ſhall not be condemned; He that beleeueth not, is condemned alreadie, becauſe hee beleeued not in the Sonne of God.* In the ſecond of the Reuelation, mercy is reſtrained to the penitent. For of *Iezabel* and her ſectaries, thus he ſpeaketh: *I gaue her ſpace to repent, and ſhe repented not. Behold, I will caſt her into a bed, and them that commit fornication with her, into a great affliction, except they repent them of their workes, and I will kill her children with death.* Our hope therefore of the Fathers, is, if they were not altogether faithleſſe and impenitent. *Iohn* 3. 17. *Reuel.* 2. 22.

14 They are not all faithleſſe, that are weake in aſſenting to the truth, or ſtiffe in maintaining things any way oppoſite to the truth of Chriſtian doctrine. But as many as hold the foundation which is precious, though they hold

hold it but weakely, and as it were with a ſlender thred, although they frame many baſe and vnſutable things vpon it, things that cannot abide the triall of the fire, yet ſhall they paſſe the fierie triall and be ſaued, which indeed haue builded themſelues vpon the Rocke, which is the foundation of the Church. If then our Fathers did not hold the foundation of Faith, there is no doubt, but they were faithleſſe. If many of them held it, then is therein no impediment, but many of them might be ſaued. Then let vs ſee, what the foundation of Faith is, and whether we may thinke, that thouſands of our Fathers, being in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, did notwithſtanding hold the foundation.

15 If the foundation of Faith doe import the generall ground, whereupon we reſt, when we doe beleeue, the writings of the Euangeliſts and the Apoſtles are the foundation of the Chriſtian Faith, *Credimus quia legimus*, ſaith S. *Ierome*: O that the Church of Rome did as * ſoundly interprete theſe fundamentall writings, whereupon wee build our Faith, as ſhee doth willingly hold and imbrace them.

* They miſinterpret, not onely by making falſe and corrupt gloſſes vpon the ſcripture, but, alſo by forcing the old vulgar tranſlation as the onely authentical: howbeit they refuſe no booke which is Canonicall, though they admit ſundrie which are not.

16 But if the name of *Foundation* doe note the principall thing, which is beleeued: then is that the foundation of our Faith, which S. *Paul* hath to *Timothy*: [a] *God manifeſted in the fleſh, iuſtified in the Spirit, &c.* that of *Nathaniel*, [b] *Thou art the Sonne of the liuing God, Thou art the King of Iſrael*: that of the Inhabitants of Samaria: [c] *This is Chriſt the Sauiour of the world*: he that directly denieth this, doth vtterly raſe the very foundation of our Faith. I haue prooued heretofore, that, although the Church of Rome hath plaid the Harlot worſe then euer did Iſrael, yet are they not as now the Synagogue of the Iewes, which plainely deny Chriſt Ieſus, quite and cleane excluded from the new Couenant. But as Samaria compared with Hieruſalem is termed *Aholath*, a Church or Tabernacle of her owne; contrariwiſe, Ieruſalem, *Aholibath*, the reſting place of the Lord: ſo whatſoeuer we terme the Church of Rome, when we compare her with reformed Churches, ſtill we put a difference, as then betweene Babylon and Samaria, ſo now betweene Rome and the Heatheniſh aſſemblies. Which opinion, I muſt, and will recall, I muſt grant, and will, that the Church of Rome, together with all her children, is cleane excluded. There is no difference in the world betweene our Fathers, and Saracens, Turkes, and Paynims; if they did directly denie Chriſt crucified for the ſaluation of the world.

a 1. *Tim.* 3. 16.
b *Iohn* 1. 49.
c *Iohn* 4. 42.

17 But how many millions of them were knowne ſo to haue ended their mortall liues, that the drawing of their breath hath ceaſed with the vttering of this Faith, *Chriſt my Sauiour, my Redeemer Ieſus?* Anſwer is made, That this they might vnfainedly confeſſe, and yet be farre enough from ſaluation. For, behold, ſaith the Apoſtle, *I Paul ſay vnto you, that if yee be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing*. Chriſt in the worke of mans ſaluation is alone: the Galathians were caſt away by ioyning *Circumciſion*, and the other Rites of the Law with Chriſt: the Church of Rome doth teach her children to ioyne other things likewiſe with him; therefore their faith, their beliefe, doth not profit them any thing at all. It is true, that they doe indeed ioyne other things with Chriſt: but how? Not in the worke of redemption it ſelfe, which they grant, that Chriſt alone hath performed ſufficiently for the ſaluation of the

Gal. 5. 2.

the whole world; but in the applicarion of this ineſtimable treaſure, that it may be effectuall to their ſaluation: how demurely ſoeuer they confeſſe, that they ſeeke remiſſion of ſinnes, no otherwiſe then by the bloud of Chriſt, vſing humbly the meanes appointed by him to apply the benefit of his holy bloud; they teach, indeed, ſo many things pernicious in Chriſtian Faith, in ſetting downe the meanes, whereof they ſpeake, that the very foundation of Faith, which they hold, is thereby * plainely ouerthrowne, and the force of the bloud of Ieſus Chriſt extinguiſhed. We may therefore diſpute with them, vrge them euen with as dangerous ſequels, as the Apoſtle doth the Galatians. But I demand, if ſome of thoſe Galatians heartily imbracing the Goſpel of Chriſt, ſincere and ſound in faith (this one onely errour excepted) had ended their liues before they were euer taught, how perilous an opinion they held: ſhall we thinke, that the damage of this errour did ſo ouer-waigh the benefit of their faith, that the mercy of God might not ſaue them? I grant they ouerthrew the very foundation of faith by conſequent: doth not that ſo likewiſe, which the [a] *Lutheran* Churches doe at this day ſo ſtifly and ſo firmely maintaine? For mine owne part, I dare not here denie the poſſibilitie of their ſaluation, which haue beene the chiefeſt inſtruments of ours: albeit they carried to their graue a perſwaſion ſo greatly repugnant to the truth. Foraſmuch therefore as it may be ſaid of the Church of Rome, ſhee hath yet a little ſtrength, ſhe doth not directly deny the foundation of Chriſtianitie: I may, I truſt, without offence, perſwade my ſelfe, that thouſands of our Fathers in former times liuing and dying within her wals, haue found mercy at the hands of God.

* Plainely in all mens ſight whoſe eyes God hath inlightened to behold his truth. For they, which are in error, are in darkeneſſe, and ſee not that, which in light is plaine. In that which they teach concerning the natures of Chriſt, they hold the ſame which *Neſtorius* fully the ſame with *Eutiches* about the proprieties of his nature.

a The opinion of the *Lutherans* though it be no direct deniall of the foundation may notwithſtanding be damnable vnto ſome: and I do not thinke but that in many reſpects it is leſſe damnable, as at this day ſome maintain it, then it was in them which held it at firſt, as *Luther* and others, whom I had an eye vnto in this ſpeech. The queſtion is not whether an errour with ſuch and ſuch circumſtances: but ſimply, whether an error ouerthrowing the foundation, doe exclude all poſſibilitie of ſaluation, if it be not recanted, and expreſly repented of.

18 What although they repented not of their errors? God forbid, that I ſhould open my mouth to gaine-ſay that which Chriſt himſelfe hath ſpoken: *Except yee repent, yee ſhall all periſh.* And if they did not repent, they periſhed. But withall note, that we haue the benefit of a double repentance: the leaſt ſinne, which we commit in Deed, Thought, or Word, is death, without repentance. Yet how many things doe eſcape vs in euery of theſe, which we doe not know? How many, which we doe not obſerue to be ſinnes? And without the knowledge, without the obſeruation of ſinne, there is no actuall repentance. It cannot then be choſen, but that for as many as hold the foundation; and haue all holden ſinnes and errors in hatred; the bleſſing of repentance for vnknowne ſinnes and errours, is obtained at the hands of God, through the gracious mediation of Ieſus Chriſt, for ſuch ſuiters as crie with the Prophet DAVID: *Purge me, O Lord, from my ſecret ſinnes.*

19 But we waſh a wall of lome; we labour in vaine; all this is nothing; it doth not prooue; it cannot inſtifie, that which we goe about to maintaine. Infidels and Heathen men are not ſo godleſſe, but that they may, no doubt, crie God mercie, and deſire in generall to haue their ſinnes forgiuen them. To ſuch as deny the foundation of faith, there can be no ſaluation (according to the ordinarie courſe, which God doth vſe in ſauing men) without a particular repentance of that error. The Galatians thinking, that vnleſſe they were circumciſed, they could not be ſaued, ouerthrew the foundations of faith directly: therefore if any of them did die ſo perſwaded, whether before or after they

they told of their errors, their end is dreadfull; there is no way with them but one, death and condemnation. For the Apoſtle ſpeaketh nothing of men departed, but ſaith generally of all, *If you be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing. You are aboliſhed from Chriſt, whoſoeuer are iuſtified by the law; ye are fallen from grace, Gal.5.* Of them in the Church of Rome, the reaſon is the ſame. For whom Antichriſt hath ſeduced, concerning them did not S. *Paul* ſpeake long before, that they receiued not the word of truth, they might not be ſaued? therefore God would *ſend them ſtrong deluſions to beleeue lies, that all they might be damned which beleeued not the truth, but had pleaſure in vnrighteouſneſſe.* And S. *Iohn, All that dwel vpon the earth ſhal worſhip him, whoſe names are not written in the Booke of life, Apoc.13.* Indeed many in former times, as their Bookes and Writings doe yet ſhew, held the foundation, to wit, ſaluation by Chriſt alone, and therefore might be ſaued. God hath alwayes had a Church amongſt them, which firmely kept his ſauing truth. As for ſuch as hold with the Church of Rome, that we cannot be ſaued by Chriſt alone without workes; they doe not onely by a circle of conſequence, but directly deny the foundation of faith; they hold it not, no not ſo much as by a thred.

2.*Theſſ.*2.11.

*Apoc.*13.v.8.

20 This to my remembrance, being all that hath beene oppoſed with any countenance or ſhew of reaſon, I hope, if this be anſwered, the cauſe in queſtion is at an end. Concerning generall repentance therefore: what? A Murtherer, a Blaſphemer, an vncleane perſon, a Turke, a Iew, any ſinner to eſcape the wrath of God, by a generall repentance? *God forgiue me!* Truely it neuer came within mine heart, that a generall repentance doth ſerue for all ſinnes: it ſerueth only for the common ouerſights of our ſinfull life, and for the faults, which either we doe not marke, or doe not know, that they are faults. Our Fathers were actually penitent for ſinnes, wherein they knew they diſpleaſed God; or elſe they fall not within the compaſſe of my firſt ſpeech. Againe, that otherwiſe they could not be ſaued, then holding the foundation of Chriſtian faith, we haue not onely affirmed, but prooued. Why is it not then confeſſed, that thouſands of our fathers, which liued in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, might yet by the mercie of God be ſaued? Firſt, if they had directly denied the verie foundations of Chriſtianitie, without repenting them particularly of that ſin: he which ſaith there could be no ſaluation for them, according to the ordinary courſe, which God doth vſe in ſauing men, granteth plainely, or at the leaſt cloſely inſinuateth, that an extraordinary priuiledge of mercie might deliuer their ſoules from hell, which is more then I required. Secondly, if the foundation be denied, it is denied for feare of ſome Hereſie, which the Church of Rome maintaineth. But how many were there amongſt our Fathers, who being ſeduced by the common errour of that Church, neuer knew the meaning of her Hereſies? So that, although all Popiſh Heretiques did periſh: thouſands of them, which liued in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, might be ſaued. Thirdly, ſeeing all that held Popiſh Hereſies, did not hold all the Hereſies of the Pope: why might not thouſands, which were infected with other leauen, liue and die vnſowred with this, and ſo be * ſaued? Fourthly, if they all held this Hereſie, many there were that held it, no doubt, but onely in a generall forme of words, which a fauourable interpretation might expound in a ſenſe differing farre

* For this is the onely thing alledged to prooue the impoſſibilitie of their ſaluation: The Church of Rome ioyneth workes with Chriſt, which is a denial of the foundation, and vnleſſe we hold the foundation, we cannot be ſaued.

ſaue enough from the poyſoned conceit of Hereſie. As for example; Did they hold, that wee cannot be ſaued with Chriſt, without good workes. Wee our ſelues doe, I thinke, all ſay as much, with this conſtruction, ſaulation being taken as in that ſentence, *Corde creditur ad iuſtitiam, ore fit confeſſio ad ſalutem*, except infants, and men cut off vpon the point of their conuerſion: of the reſt none ſhall ſee God, but ſuch as ſeeke peace and holineſſe, though not as a cauſe of their ſaluation; yet as a way which they muſt walke, which will bee ſaued. Did they hold, that without workes wee are not iuſtified? Take iuſtification ſo as it may alſo imply ſanctification, and Saint *Iames* doth ſay as much. For except there be an ambiguitie in the ſame tearme, Saint *Paul*, and Saint *Iames* doe contradict each the other, which cannot be. Now there is no ambiguitie in the name either of faith, or of workes, being meant by them both in one and the ſame ſenſe. Finding therefore, that iuſtification is ſpoken of by Saint *Paul*, without implying ſanctification, when he prooueth, that a man is iuſtified by faith without workes; finding likewiſe that iuſtification doth ſometime imply ſanctification alſo with it: I ſuppoſe nothing to be more ſound, then ſo to interpret Saint *Iames*, ſpeaking not in that ſenſe, but in this.

21 We haue already ſhewed, that there be two kinds of Chriſtian righteouſneſſe: the one without vs, which we haue by imputation; the other in vs, which conſiſteth of faith, hope, and charitie, and other Chriſtian vertues. And Saint *Iames* doth prooue, that *Abraham* had not onely the one, becauſe the thing beleeued was imputed vnto him for righteouſneſſe: but alſo the other, becauſe he offered vp his ſonne. God giueth vs both the one iuſtice and the other: the one, by accepting vs for righteous in Chriſt; the other, by working Chriſtian righteouſneſſe in vs. The proper and moſt immediate efficient cauſe in vs of this latter, is the Spirit of adoption wee haue receiued into our hearts. That whereof it conſiſteth, whereof it is really and formally made, are thoſe infuſed vertues, proper and particular vnto Saints, which the Spirit in the very moment, when firſt it is giuen of God, bringeth with it: the effects whereof are ſuch actions as the Apoſtle doeth call the fruits of workes, the operations of the Spirit. The difference of the which operations from the roote whereof they ſpring, maketh it needfull to put two kinds likewiſe of ſanctifying righteouſneſſe, *Habituall*, and *Actuall*. *Habituall*, that holineſſe, wherewith our ſoules are inwardly indued, the ſame inſtant, when firſt wee beginne to be the Temples of the holy Ghoſt. *Actuall*, that holineſſe, which afterwards beautifieth all the parts and actions of our life; the holineſſe for the which *Enoch*, *Iob*, *Zacharie*, *Elizabeth*, and other Saints, are in the Scriptures ſo highly commended. If here it be demanded, which of theſe wee doe firſt receiue: I anſwere, that the Spirit, the vertues of the Spirit, the habituall iuſtice, which is ingrafted, the externall iuſtice of *Ieſus Chriſt*, which is imputed: theſe we receiue all at one and the ſame time; whenſoeuer we haue any of theſe, we haue all; they goe together. Yet ſith no man is iuſtified except hee beleeue, and no man beleeueth except he haue faith, and no man except hee haue receiued the Spirit of adoption, hath faith, foraſmuch as they doe neceſſarily inferre iuſtification, and iuſtification doth of neceſſitie preſuppoſe them: we muſt needs hold that imputed righteouſneſſe, indignitie being the chiefeſt, is notwith-

ſtanding in order the laſt of all theſe: but *actuall righteouſneſſe*, which is the righteouſneſſe of good workes, ſucceedeth all, followeth after all, both in order and time. Which being attentiuely marked, ſheweth plainely how the faith of true Beleeuers cannot bee diuorced from hope and loue; how faith is a part of ſanctification, and yet vnto iuſtification neceſſarie; how faith is perfected by good workes, and no worke of ours without faith: finally, how our Fathers might hold, that wee are iuſtified by Faith alone, and yet hold truely, that without workes wee are not iuſtified. Did they thinke that men doe merit rewards in heauen, by the workes they performe on earth? The ancient vſe *meriting*, for *obtaining*, and in that ſenſe they of *Wittenberg* haue it in their Confeſſion; *We teach, that good works commanded of God, are neceſſarily to be done, and by the free kindnes of God they merit their certaine rewards.* Therefore ſpeaking as our Fathers did, and we taking their ſpeech in a ſound meaning, as we may take our Fathers, and might for as much as their meaning is doubtfull and charitie doth alwaies interpret doubtfull things fauourably: what ſhould induce vs to thinke, that rather the damage of the worſt conſtruction did light vpon them all, then that the bleſſing of the better was granted vnto thouſands? Fiftly, if in the worſt conſtruction that may be made, they had generally all imbraced it liuing, might not many of them dying, vtterly renounce it? Howſoeuer men when they ſit at eaſe, do vainely tickle their hearts with the wanton conceit, of I know not what proportionable correſpondence, betweene their merits and their rewards, which in the trance of their high ſpeculations they dreame that God hath meaſured, weighed, and laid vp, as it were, in bundles for them: notwithſtanding, we ſee by daily experience, in a number euen of them, that when the houre of death approcheth, when they ſecretly heare themſelues ſummoned forthwith to appeare, and ſtand at the Barre of that Iudge, whoſe brightneſſe cauſeth the eyes of the Angels themſelues to dazle, all theſe idle imaginations doe then beginne to hide their faces, to name merits then is to lay their ſoules vpon the racke, the memorie of their owne deeds is lothſome vnto them, they forſake all things, wherein they haue put any truſt or confidence, no ſtaffe to leane vpon, no eaſe, no reſt, no comfort then, but onely in Ieſus Chriſt.

22. Wherefore if this propoſition were true: *To hold in ſuch wiſe, as the Church of Rome doth, that we cannot be ſaued by Chriſt alone without works, is directly to deny the foundation of Fath*; I ſay, that if this Propoſition were true: * neuertheleſſe ſo many wayes I haue ſhewed, whereby wee may hope that thouſands of our Fathers which liued in Popiſh ſuperſtition, might be ſaued. But what if it be not true? What if neither that of the Galatians concerning Circumciſion; nor this of the Church of Rome, by Works, be any direct deniall of the foundation, as it is affirmed, that both are? I need not wade ſo farre as to diſcuſſe this Controuerſie, the matter which firſt was brought into queſtion being ſo cleere, as I hope it is. Howbeit, becauſe I deſire, that the truth euen in that alſo ſhould receiue light, I will doe mine indeuour to ſet downe ſomewhat more plainely: firſt, the foundation of Faith, what it is: Secondly, what it is directly to deny the foundation: Thirdly, whether they whom God hath choſen to be Heires of life, may fall ſo farre as directly to denie

* They may ceaſe to put any confidence in workes, and yet neuer thinke, liuing in Popiſh ſuperſtition, they did amiſſe. *Pighius* dyed Popiſh, and yet denyed Poperie in the Article of Iuſtification by workes long before his death.

nie it: Fourthly, whether the Galatians did ſo by admitting the errour about *Circumciſion* and the *Law*: laſt of all, whether the Church of Rome for this one opinion of Workes, may be thought to doe the like, and thereupon to be no more a Chriſtian Church, then are the Aſſemblies of Turkes and Iewes.

What the foundation of Faith is.

3 This word foundation being figuratiuely vſed, hath alwayes reference to ſomewhat which reſembleth a materiall building, as both that Doctrine of *Lawes* and the communitie of Chriſtians doe. By the Maſters of Ciuill Policie nothing is ſo much inculcated, as *that Common-weales are founded vpon Lawes*; for that a multitude cannot bee compacted into one body otherwiſe then by a common acception of Lawes, whereby they are to bee kept in order. The ground of all Ciuill Lawes is this: *No man ought to be hurt or iniured by another.* Take away this perſwaſion, and ye take away all the Lawes; take away Lawes, and what ſhall become of Common-weales? So it is in our ſpirituall Chriſtian Communitie: I doe not meane that Body Myſticall, whereof Chriſt is onely * the head, that building vndiſcernable by mortall eyes, wherein Chriſt is the [a] chiefe corner Stone: but I ſpeake of the viſible Church, the foundation whereof is the [b] Doctrine which the Prophets and Apoſtles profeſt. The marke whereunto their Doctrine tendeth, is pointed at in theſe words of *Peter* vnto Chriſt, [c] *Thou haſt the words of eternall life*: in theſe wordes of *Paul* to Timothy, [d] *The holy Scriptures are able to make thee wiſe vnto ſaluation.* It is the demand of Nature it ſelfe, *What ſhall we doe to haue eternall life?* The deſire of immortalitie and of the knowledge of that, whereby it may be obtayned, is ſo naturall vnto all men, that euen they, who are not perſwaded, that they ſhall, doe notwithſtanding wiſh, that they might know a way how to ſee no end of life. And, becauſe naturall meanes are not able ſtill to reſiſt the force of death: there is no people in the earth ſo ſauage, which hath not deuiſed ſome ſupernaturall helpe or other, to flye for ayde and ſuccour in extremities, againſt the Enemies of their Lawes. A longing therefore to be ſaued, without vnderſtanding the true way how, hath beene the cauſe of all the Superſtitions in the World. O that the miſerable ſtate of others, which wander in darkneſſe, and wote not whither they goe, could giue vs vnderſtanding hearts, worthily to eſteeme the riches of the mercy of God towards vs, before whoſe eyes the doores of the Kingdome of Heauen are ſet wide open! ſhould wee offer violence vnto it? it offereth violence vnto vs, and we gather ſtrength to withſtand it. But I am beſides my purpoſe, when I fall to bewaile the cold affection, which we beare towards that whereby wee ſhould be ſaued; my purpoſe being only to ſet downe, what the ground of ſaluation is. The Doctrine of the Goſpell propoſeth ſaluation as the end: and doth it not teach the way of attayning thereunto? Yet the Damoſell poſſeſt with a Spirit of diuination, ſpake the truth: [e] *Theſe men are the Seruants of the moſt High God, which ſhew vnto vs the way of Saluation*: [f] *A new and liuing way, which Chriſt hath prepared for vs, through the vaile, that is, his fleſh*; Saluation purchaſed by the death of Chriſt. By this foundation the Children of God before the written Law, were diſtinguiſhed from the ſonnes of men; the reuerend Patriarkes both poſſeſt it liuing, and ſpake expreſly of it [g] at the houre of their death. It [h] comforted *Iob* in the midſt of griefe; it was afterwards the anker-hold of all the righteous in Iſ-

* *Epheſ.* 1.23. & 4.15.
[a] *Epheſ.* 2.20.
[b] *Epheſ.* 2.20.
[c] *Iohn* 6.68.
[d] 2. *Tim.* 3.15.
[e] *Acts* 16.17.
[f] *Heb.* 10.20.
[g] *Gen.* 49.
[h] *Iob* 19.

Vocatâ ad concionem multitudine, quæ coalescere in populi vnius corpus nulla re præterquam legibus poterat, Liu. de Rom. lib. 1.

rael, from the writing of the Law, to the time of Grace. Euery Prophet maketh mention of it. It was famouſly ſpoken of about the time, when the comming of Chriſt to accompliſh the promiſes, which were made long before it, drew neere, that the ſound thereof was heard euen amongſt the Gentiles. When he was come, as many as were his, acknowledged that he was their Saluation; he, that long expected hope of Iſrael; he, that *Seed, in whom all the Nations of the earth ſhall be bleſſed.* So that now he is a name of ruine, a name of death and condemnation, vnto ſuch as dreame of a new *Meſsias*, to as many as looke for ſaluation by any other, but by him. *For* [i] *amongſt men there is giuen no other name vnder heauen whereby we muſt be ſaued.* Thus much S. *Mark* doth intimate by that, which he doth put in the front of his Booke, making his entrance with theſe words: *The beginning of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, the Sonne of God.* His Doctrine he termeth the Goſpell, becauſe it teacheth Saluation; the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt the Sonne of God, becauſe it teacheth Saluation by him. This is then the foundation, whereupon the frame of the Goſpell is erected; that very Ieſus whom the *Virgin* conceiued of the Holy Ghoſt, whom *Simeon* imbraced in his armes, whom *Pilate* condemned, whom the *Iewes* crucified, whom the *Apoſtles* preached, he is [k] Chriſt, the Lord, the only Sauiour of the World: [l] *Other foundation can no man lay.* Thus I haue briefly opened that principle in Chriſtianitie, which we call the foundation of our faith. It followeth now, that I declare vnto you, what is directly to ouerthrow it. This will be better opened, if wee vnderſtand, what it is to hold the foundation of Faith.

i *Acts* 4.12.

k *Luke* 2.11.
l 1. *Cor.* 3.

24 There are which defend, that many of the Gentiles, who neuer heard the Name of Chriſt, held the foundation of Chriſtianitie, and why? they acknowledged many of them, the Prouidence of God; his infinite Wiſedome, ſtrength, power; his goodneſſe, and his mercie towards the children of men; that God hath iudgement in ſtore for the wicked, but for the righteous, which ſerue him, rewardes, &c. In this which they confeſſed, that lyeth couered, which we beleeue; in the Rudiments of their knowledge concerning God, the foundation of our faith concerning Chriſt, lyeth ſecretly wrapt vp, and is vertually contayned: therefore they held the foundation of Faith, though they neuer had it. Might we not with as good a colour of Reaſon defend, that euery Plough-man hath all the Sciences, wherein Philoſophers haue exceld? For no man is ignorant of their firſt Principles, which do vertually contayne, whatſoeuer by naturall meanes is or can be knowne. Yea, might we not with as great reaſon affirme, that a man may put three mightie Oakes whereſoeuer three Akornes may be put? For vertually an Akorne is an Oake. To auoyde ſuch Paradoxes, wee teach plainly, that to hold the foundation, is in expreſſe termes to acknowledge it.

25 Now, becauſe the foundation is an affirmatiue Propoſition, they all ouerthrow it who denie it; they directly ouerthrow it, who denie it directly; and they ouerthrow it by conſequent, or indirectly, which hold any one aſſertion whatſoeuer, whereupon the direct denyall thereof may bee neceſſarily concluded. What is the Queſtion betweene the Gentiles and vs, but this, *Whether Saluation be by Chriſt?* What betweene the Iewes and vs, but this,

Whether

Whether by this Ieſus, whom we call Chriſt, yea or no? This to be the maine point, whereupon Chriſtianitie ſtandeth, it is cleere by that one ſentence of *Feſtus* concerning *Pauls* accuſers: *They brought no crime of ſuch things as I ſuppoſed, but had certaine queſtions againſt him of their ſuperſtition, and of one Ieſus, which was dead, whom* PAVL *affirmed to be aliue.* Where we ſee that Ieſus, dead, and raiſed for the ſaluation of the World, is by Iewes denyed, deſpiſed by a Gentile, by a Chriſtian Apoſtle maintayned. The Fathers therefore in the Primitiue Church, when they wrote; *Tertullian*, the Booke which he calleth *Apologeticus*; *Minutius Felix*, the Booke, which hee intituleth *Octauius*; *Arnobius*, the ſeuen Bookes againſt the Gentiles; *Chriſoſtome*, his Orations againſt the Iewes; *Euſebius*, his ten Bookes of *Euangelicall Demonſtration*: they ſtand in defence of Chriſtianitie againſt them, by whom the foundation thereof was directly denyed. But the Writings of the Fathers againſt *Nouatians*, *Pelagians*, and other Heretikes of the like note, refell Poſitions, whereby the foundation of Chriſtian Faith was ouerthrowne by conſequent only. In the former ſort of Writings, the foundation is proued; in the later, it is alleaged as a proofe, which to men that had beene knowne directly to denie, muſt needs haue ſeemed a very beggerly kinde of diſputing. All Infidels therefore denie the foundation of Faith directly; by conſequent, many a Chriſtian man, yea whole Chriſtian Churches haue denyed it, and doe denie it at this preſent day. Chriſtian Churches, the foundation of Chriſtianitie? Not directly; for then they ceaſe to be Chriſtian Churches: but by a conſequent, in reſpect whereof wee condemne them as erroneous, although for holding the foundation, wee doe, and muſt hold them Chriſtian.

26 We ſee what it is to hold the foundation; what directly, and what by conſequent, to denie it. The next thing which followeth, is, whether they whom God hath choſen to obtaine the glorie of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, may, once effectually called, and through faith iuſtified truly, afterwards fall ſo far, as directly to denie the foundation, which their hearts haue before imbraced with ioy and comfort in the Holy Ghoſt: for ſuch is the faith, which indeede doth iuſtifie. Deuils know the ſame things, which we beleeue, and the minds of the moſt vngodly may be fully perſwaded of the Truth: which knowledge in the one and in the other is ſometimes termed faith, but equiuocally, being indeed no ſuch faith as that, whereby a Chriſtian man is iuſtified. It is the Spirit of Adoption, which worketh faith in vs, in them not: the things which wee beleeue, are by vs apprehended, not only as true, but alſo as good, and that to vs: as good, they are not by them apprehended; as true, they are. Whereupon followeth the third difference; the Chriſtian man the more hee increaſeth in faith, the more his ioy and comfort aboundeth: but they, the more ſure they are of the truth, the more they quake and tremble at it. This begetteth another effect, where the hearts of the one ſort haue a different diſpoſition from the other. *Non ignoro pleroſq; conſcientia meritorum, nihil ſe eſſe per mortem magis optare, quàm credere. Malunt enim extingui penitus, quàm ad ſupplicia reparari.* I am not ignorant, ſaith *Minutius*, that there bee many, who being conſcious, what they are to looke for, doe rather wiſh that they might, then thinke that they ſhall ceaſe, when they ceaſe to liue:

becauſe they hold it better that death ſhould conſume them vnto nothing, then God reuiue them vnto puniſhment. So it is in other Articles of Faith, whereof wicked men thinke, no doubt, many times they are too true: on the contrary ſide, to the other, there is no griefe or torment greater, then to feele their perſwaſion weake in things, whereof when they are perſwaded, they reape ſuch comfort and ioy of ſpirit; ſuch is the faith whereby wee are iuſtified; ſuch, I meane, in reſpect of the qualitie. For touching the principall obiect of faith, longer then it holdeth the foundation whereof wee haue ſpoken, it neyther iuſtifieth, nor is, but ceaſeth to bee faith, when it ceaſeth to beleeue, that Ieſus Chriſt is the onely Sauiour of the World. The cauſe of life ſpirituall in vs; is Chriſt, not carnally or corporally inhabiting, but dwelling in the ſoule of man, as a thing which (when the minde apprehendeth it) is ſaid to inhabite or poſſeſſe the minde. The minde conceiueth Chriſt by hearing the Doctrine of Chriſtianitie, as the light of Nature doth the minde to apprehend thoſe truths which are meerely rationall, ſo that ſauing Truth, which is farre aboue the reach of humane reaſon, cannot otherwiſe, then by the Spirit of the Almightie, be conceiued. All theſe are implyed, whereſoeuer any of them is mentioned as the cauſe of the ſpirituall life. Wherefore if we haue read that [a] *The Spirit is our life*; or, [b] *the Word our life*; or, [c] *Chriſt our life*: we are in euery of theſe to vnderſtand, that our life is Chriſt, by the hearing of the Goſpell, apprehended as a Sauiour, and aſſented vnto through the power of the Holy Ghoſt. The firſt intellectuall conceit and comprehenſion of Chriſt ſo imbraced, Saint *Peter* calleth [d] *the ſeed whereof we be new borne*: our firſt imbracing of Chriſt, is our firſt [e] reuiuing from the ſtate of death and condemnation. [f] *He that hath the Sonne, hath life*, ſaith S. *Iohn*; *and he that hath not the Sonne of God, hath not life*. If therefore hee which once hath the Sonne, may ceaſe to haue the Sonne, though it be for a moment, he ceaſeth for that moment to haue life. But the life of them which haue the Sonne of God, [g] is euerlaſting *in the World to come*. But becauſe as Chriſt being raiſed from the dead, dyeth no more, death hath no more power ouer him: So the iuſtified man [h] being allyed to God in Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, doth as neceſſarily from that time forward alwayes liue, as Chriſt [i] by whom he hath life, liueth alwayes. I might if I had not otherwhere largely done it alreadie, ſhew by many and ſundry, manifeſt, and cleere proofes, how the motions and operations of life, are ſometimes ſo indiſcernable, and ſo ſecret, that they ſeeme ſtone-dead, who notwithſtanding are ſtill aliue vnto God in Chriſt. For as long as that abideth in vs, which animateth, quickeneth, and giueth life, ſo long wee liue, and wee know that the cauſe of our faith abideth in vs for euer. If Chriſt, the Fountaine of life, may flit, and leaue the habitation, where once he dwelleth, what ſhall become of his promiſe, *I am with you to the Worlds end?* If the Seed of God, which contayneth Chriſt, may bee firſt conceiued, and then caſt out: how doth S. *Peter* tearme it [k] *immortall?* How doth S. *Iohn* affirme, [l] *It abideth?* If the Spirit, which is giuen to cheriſh, and preſerue the Seed of life, may be giuen and taken away, how is it [m] the earneſt of our inheritance vntill Redemption? how doth it continue with vs for euer? If therefore the man which is once iuſt by faith, ſhall liue by faith, and liue for euer: it followeth, that

a *Rom.*8.10.
b *Phil.*2.15.
c *Col.*3.4.
d 1.*Pet.*1.
e *Epheſ.*2.5.
f 1.*Iohn* 5.12.
g 1.*Iohn* 5.13.
Perpetuitie of Faith.
h *Rom.*6.10.
i *Iohn* 14.19.
k 1.*Pet.*1.
l 1.*Iohn* 3.9.
m *Epheſ.*1.14. *Iohn* 4.16.

that he which once doth beleeue the foundation, muſt needs beleeue the foundation for euer. If he beleeue it for euer, how can he euer directly denie it? Faith holding the direct affirmation; the direct negation, ſo long as Faith continueth, is excluded. But you will ſay, that as he that is to day holy, may to morrow forſake his holineſſe, and become impure; as a friend may change his mind, and be made an enemy; as hope may wither: ſo Faith may die in the heart of man; the Spirit may be quenched, Grace may be extinguiſhed, they which beleeue, may be quite turned away from the truth. The caſe is cleere, long experience hath made this manifeſt: it needs no proofe. I grant we are apt, prone, and readie to forſake God: but is God as readie to forſake vs? Our minds are changeable: is his ſo likewiſe? Whom God hath iuſtified, hath not Chriſt aſſured, that it is *his Fathers will to giue them a Kingdome?* Notwithſtanding it ſhall not be otherwiſe giuen them, then if they continue *grounded and ſtabliſhed in the faith, and be not moued away from the hope of the Goſpel; a *if they abide in loue and holineſſe.* Our Sauiour therefore, when hee ſpake of the ſheepe effectually called, and truely gathered into his fold, b *I giue vnto them eternall life, and they ſhall neuer periſh, neither ſhall any plucke them out of my hands*; in promiſing to ſaue them, he promiſed, no doubt, to preſerue them in that, without which there can be no ſaluation, as alſo from that whereby it is irrecouerably loſt. Euery error in things appertaining vnto God, is repugnant vnto faith; euery fearefull cogitation, vnto hope; vnto loue, euery ſtragging inordinate deſire; vnto holineſſe, euery blemiſh, wherewith either the inward thoughts of our minds, or the outward actions of our liues are ſtayned. But Hereſie; ſuch as that of *Ebion, Cerinthus*, and others, againſt whom the Apoſtles were forced to bend themſelues both by word, and alſo by writing; that repining diſcouragement of heart, which tempteth God, whereof we haue Iſrael in the Deſart for a patterne: coldneſſe, ſuch as that in the Angels of Epheſus; fonle ſins, knowne to be expreſly againſt the firſt, or ſecond Table of the Law, ſuch as *Noah, Manaſſes, Dauid, Salomon*, and *Peter* committed; theſe are each in their kind ſo oppoſite to the former vertues, that they leaue no place for ſaluation without an actuall repentance. But Infidelitie, extreme deſpaire, hatred of God and all goodneſſe, obduration in ſinne, cannot ſtand where there is but the leaſt ſparke of faith, hope, loue, and ſanctitie: euen as cold in the loweſt degree cannot be, where heat in the higheſt degree is found. Whereupon I conclude, that, although in the firſt kind, no man liueth, which ſinneth not; and, in the ſecond, as perfect as any doe liue, may ſinne: yet ſith the man which is borne of God, hath a promiſe, that in him c *the ſeed of God ſhall abide*, which ſeed is a ſure preſeruatiue againſt the ſinnes that are of the third ſute: greater and cleerer aſſurance we cannot haue of anything, then of this, that from ſuch ſinnes God ſhall preſerue the righteous, as the apple of his eye for euer. Directly to denie the foundation of faith, is plaine Infidelitie; where faith is entred, there Infidelitie is for euer excluded; therefore by him which hath once ſincerely beleeued in Chriſt, the foundation of Chriſtian faith can neuer be directly denied. Did not *Peter?* Did not *Marcellinus?* Did not others both directly denie Chriſt, after that they had beleeued, and againe beleeue, after they had denyed? No doubt, as they

Ob. *Sol.*

* *Col.* 1. 23.

a 1. *Tim.* 2. 15.

b *Iohn* 10.

c 1. *Iohn* 3. 9.

they confeſſe in words, whoſe condemnation is nenertheleſſe their not beleeuing: (for example we haue *Iudas*;) So likewiſe, they may beleeue in heart, whoſe condemnation, without repentance, is their not confeſſing. Although therefore *Peter* and the reſt, for whoſe faith Chriſt hath prayed, that it might not faile, did not by denyall, ſinne the ſinne of Infidelitie, which is an inward abnegation of Chriſt, (but if they had done this, their faith had cleerely fayled:) yet becauſe they ſinned notoriouſly and grieuouſly, committing that, which they knew to be expreſly forbidden by the Law, which ſaith, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerue*; neceſſary it was that he, which purpoſed to ſaue their ſoules, ſhould, as he did, touch their hearts with true vnfained repentance, that his mercy might reſtore them againe to life, whom ſinne had made the children of death and condemnation. Touching the point therfore, I hope I may ſafely ſet downe, that if the iuſtified erre, as he may, and neuer come to vnderſtand his errour, God doth ſaue him through generall repentance: but if he fall into Hereſie, he calleth him at one time or other by actuall repentance: but from Infidelitie, which is an inward direct denyall of the foundation, he preſerueth him by ſpeciall prouidence for euer. Whereby we may eaſily know, what to thinke of thoſe Galatians, whoſe hearts was ſo poſſeſt with the loue of the Truth, that if it had beene poſſible, they would haue pluckt out their eyes to beſtow vpon their Teachers. It is true, that they were greatly * changed, both in perſwaſion and affection: ſo that the Galatians, when S. *Paul* wrote vnto them, were not now the Galatians, which they had beene in former time, for that through errour they wandered, although they were his ſheepe. I doe not deny, but that I ſhould deny, that they were his ſheepe, if I ſhould grant, that through errour they periſhed. It was a perillous opinion that they held; perillous, euen in them which held it onely as an errour; becauſe it ouerthroweth the foundation by conſequent. But in them which obſtinately maintaine it, I cannot thinke it leſſe then a damnable Hereſie. We muſt therefore put a difference betweene them, which erre of ignorance, retaining neuertheleſſe a mind deſirous to be inſtructed in truth, and them, which, after the truth is laid open, perſiſt in the ſtubborne defence of their blindneſſe. Hereticall defenders, froward and ſtif-necked teachers of circumciſion, the bleſſed Apoſtle calls Dogges: Silly men, who were ſeduced to thinke they thought the truth, he pittieth, he taketh vp in his armes, he louingly imbraceth, he kiſſeth, and with more then fatherly tenderneſſe doth ſo temper, qualifie, and correct the ſpeech he vſeth toward them, that a man cannot eaſily diſcerne, whether did moſt aboud, the loue, which he bare to their godly affection, or the griefe, which the danger of their opinion bred him. Their opinion was dangerous: was not theirs alſo, who thought the Kingdome of Chriſt ſhould be earthly? was not theirs, which thought the Goſpel only ſhould be preached to the Iewes? What more oppoſite to propheticall doctrine, concerning the comming of Chriſt, then the one? Concerning the Catholike Church, then the other? Yet they which had theſe fancies, euen when they had them, were not the worſt men in the world. The Hereſie of *Free-will* was a milſtone about the Pelagians necke: ſhall we therefore giue ſentence of death ineuitable againſt

* Howſoeuer men be changed (for changed they may be, euen the beſt amongſt men) if they that haue receiued, as it ſeemeth, ſome of the Galatians which fell into error, had receiued the gifts and graces of God which are called ἀμεταμελητα, ſuch as faith, hope, and charitie are, which God doth neuer take away from him, to whom they are giuen, as if it repented him to haue giuen them; if ſuch might bee ſo farre changed by errour, as that the very root of faith ſhould be quite extinguiſhed in them, and ſo their ſaluation vtterly loſt: it would ſhake the hearts of the ſtrongeſt and ſtouteſt of vs all. See the contrarie in *Beza* his obſeruations vpon the harmony of Confeſſions

againſt all thoſe Fathers in the Greeke Church, which being miſſe-perſwaded, dyed in the error of free Will? Of theſe Galatians therefore, which firſt were iuſtified and then deceiued, as I can ſee no cauſe, why as many as dyed before admonition, might nôt by mercie bee receiued, euen in errour: ſo I make no doubt, but as many as liued, till they were admoniſhed, found the mercie of God effectuall in conuerting them from their * errour, leſt any one that is Chriſts, ſhould periſh. Of this I take it, there is no controuerſie; only againſt the ſaluation of them which dyed, though before admonition, yet in error, it is obiected, that their opinion was a very plaine direct denyall of the foundation. If *Paul* and *Barnabas* had beene ſo perſwaded, they would haply haue vſed the termes otherwiſe ſpeaking of the Maſters themſelues, who did firſt ſet that error abroach, [a] certaine of the Sects of the Phariſes which beleeued. What difference was there betweene theſe Phariſes, and other Phariſes, from whom by a ſpeciall deſcription they are diſtinguiſhed, but this? Theſe which came to *Antioch*, teaching the neceſſitie of Circumciſion, were Chriſtians; the other, enemies of Chriſtianitie. Why then ſhould theſe be termed ſo diſtinctly Beleeuers, if they did directly deny the foundation of our beliefe; beſides which there was no other thing, that made the reſt to be no beleeuers? Wee need goe no farther then S. *Pauls* very reaſoning againſt them, for proofe of this matter: ſeeing you know God, or rather are knowne of God, how turne you againe to impotent rudiments? [b] The Law engendreth ſeruants, her children are in bondage; [c] They which are gotten by the Goſpell, are free. [d] Brethren, we are not children of the ſeruant, but of the free woman, and will yee yet be vnder the Law? That they thought it vnto ſaluation neceſſarie, for the Church of Chriſt, to [e] obſerue Dayes, and Moneths, and Times, and Yeeres, to keepe the Ceremonies and Sacraments of the Law, this was their errour. Yet he which condemneth their errour, confeſſeth, that notwithſtanding, they knew God, and were knowne of him; he taketh not the honour from them to be termed Sonnes begotten of the immortall ſeed of the Goſpel. Let the heanieſt words which he vſeth, be waighed; conſider the drift of thoſe dreadfull concluſions: If yee be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing: As many as are iuſtified by the Law, are fallen from Grace. It had bin to no purpoſe in the world, ſo to vrge them; had not the Apoſtle beene perſwaded, that at the hearing of ſuch ſequels, no benefit by Chriſt, a defection from Grace, their hearts would tremble and quake within them: and why? becauſe that they knew, that in Chriſt, and in Grace, their ſaluation lay, which is a plaine direct acknowledgement of the foundation. Leſt I ſhould herein ſeeme to hold, that which no one learned, or godly hath done: let theſe words be conſidered, which import as much as I affirme. * Surely thoſe brethren, which in S. *Pauls* time, thought that God did lay a neceſſitie vpon them to make choice of dayes and meates; ſpake as they beleeued, and could not but in words condemne the libertie, which they ſuppoſed to be brought in againſt the authoritie of diuine Scripture. Otherwiſe it had beene needleſſe for Saint *Paul* to admoniſh them, not to condemne ſuch as eate without ſcrupuloſitie, whatſoeuer was ſet before them. This error, if you weigh what it is of it ſelfe, did at once ouerthrow all Scriptures, wherby we are taught ſaluation by faith in

* Error conuicted, and afterwards maintained, is more then error: for although opinion bee the ſame it was, in which reſpect I ſtill call it errour, yet they are not now the ſame they were when they are taught what the truth is, and plainely taught.

[a] *Act.* 15.5.

[b] *Gal.*4.24,25.

[c] *Verſe* 28.

[d] *Verſe* 31.

[e] *Verſe* 21.

* *Bucer. de Vnit. Eccleſ. ſeruanda.*

in Chriſt, all that euer the Prophets did foretell, all that euer the Apoſtles did preach of Chriſt, it drew with it the denyall of Chriſt vtterly: in ſo much that S. *Paul* complaineth, that his labour was loſt vpon the Galatians, vnto whom this error was obtruded, affirming that Chriſt, if ſo be they were circumciſed, ſhould not profit them any thing at all. Yet ſo farre was S. *Paul* from ſtriking their names out of Chriſts booke, that he commandeth others to entertaine them, to accept them with ſingular humanitie, to vſe them like Brethren; he knew mans imbecillitie; he had a feeling of our blindneſſe which are mortall men, how great it is, and being ſure that they are the Sonnes of God, whoſoeuer be indued with his feare, would not haue them counted enemies of that, whereunto they could not as yet frame themſelues to be friends, but did euer vpon a very religious affection to the Truth, willingly reiect the Truth. They acknowledged Chriſt to be their only and perfect Sauiour, but ſaw not how repugnant their beleeuing the neceſſitie of Moſaicall Ceremonies was to their faith in Ieſus Chriſt. Hereunto a reply is made, that if they had not directly denyed the foundation, they might haue beene ſaued; but ſaued they could not be, therefore their opinion was not only by conſequent, but directly a denyall of the foundation. When the queſtion was about the poſſibilitie of their ſaluation, their denying of the foundation was brought to prooue, that they could not be ſaued; now that the queſtion is about their denyall of the foundation, the impoſſibilitie of their ſaluation, is alledged to prooue, they denyed the foundation. Is there nothing, which excludeth men from ſaluation, but only the foundation of faith denyed? I ſhould haue thought, that beſides this, many other things are death vnto as many as vnderſtanding, that to cleaue thereunto, was to fall from Chriſt, did notwithſtanding cleaue vnto them. But of this enough. Wherefore I come to the laſt queſtion, *Whether that the doctrine of the Church of Rome, concerning the neceſſitie of workes vnto ſaluation, be a direct denyall of our faith.*

27 I ſeeke not to obtrude vnto you any priuate opinion of mine owne; the beſt learned in our profeſſion are of this iudgement, that all the corruptions of the Church of Rome, doe not prooue her to deny the foundation directly; if they did, they ſhould grant her ſimply to be no Chriſtian Church. Calvin. Ep. 104. *But I ſuppoſe*, ſaith one, *that in the Papacy ſome Church remaineth, a Church crazed, or, if you wil, broken quite in pieces, forlorne, miſſe-ſhapen, yet ſome Church:* his reaſon is this, *Antichriſt muſt ſit in the Temple of God.* Leſt any man ſhould thinke ſuch ſentences as theſe to be true, onely in regard of them, whom that Church is ſuppoſed to haue kept by the ſpeciall prouidence of God, as it were in the ſecret corners of his boſome, free from infection, and as ſound in the faith, as we truſt, by his mercy, we our ſelues are: I permit it to your wiſe conſiderations, whether it be more likely, that as frenzie, though it ſelfe take away the vſe of reaſon, doth notwithſtanding proue them reaſonable creatures which haue it, becauſe none can be frantick but they: ſo Antichriſtianitie being the bane and plaine ouerthrow of Chriſtianitie, may neuertheleſſe argue the Church wherein Antichriſt ſitteth, to be Chriſtian. Neither haue I euer hitherto heard or read any one word alledged of force to warrant, that God doth otherwiſe, then ſo as in the two next queſtions before hath beene declared,

red, bind himſelfe to keepe his Elect from worſhipping the Beaſt, and from receiuing his marke in their foreheads: but hee hath preſerued, and will preſerue them from receiuing any deadly wound at the hands of the Man of ſin, whoſe deceit hath preuailed ouer none vnto death, but onely vnto ſuch as neuer loued the truth, ſuch as tooke a pleaſure in vnrighteouſneſſe: they in all ages, whoſe hearts haue delighted in the principall truth, and whoſe ſoules haue thirſted after righteouſneſſe, if they receiued the marke of Errour, the mercie of God, euen erring, and dangerouſly erring, might ſaue them: if they receiued the marke of Hereſie, the ſame mercy did, I doubt not, conuert them. How farre Romiſh Hereſies may preuaile ouer Gods Elect, how many God hath kept falling into them, how many haue beene conuerted from them, is not the queſtion now in hand: for if heauen had not receiued any one of that coate for theſe thouſand yeeres, it may ſtill bee true, that the doctrine which this day they doe profeſſe, doeth not directly denie the foundation, and ſo proue them ſimply to be no Chriſtian Church. One I haue alleaged, whoſe words, in my eares, ſound that way: ſhall I adde * another, whoſe ſpeech is plaine? *I deny her not the name of a Church*, ſayth another, *no more then to a man the name of a man, as long as he liueth, what ſickneſſe ſoeuer he hath.* His reaſon is this; *Saluation in Ieſus Chriſt, which is the marke which ioyneth the head with the bodie, Ieſus Chriſt with the Church is ſo cut off by many merits, by the merits of Saints, by the Popes Pardons, and ſuch other wickedneſſe, that the life of the Church holdeth by a very threed*, yet ſtill the life of the Church holdeth. * A third hath theſe words, *I acknowledge the Church of Rome, euen at this preſent day, for a Church of Chriſt, ſuch a Church as Iſrael did Ieroboam, yet a Church.* His reaſon is this; *Euery man ſeeth, except he willingly hoodwinke himſelfe, that as alwaies, ſo now, the Church of Rome holdeth firmely and ſtedfaſtly the doctrine of truth concerning Chriſt, and baptizeth in the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, confeſſeth and auoucheth Chriſt, for the onely Redeemer of the World, and the Iudge that ſhall ſit vpon quicke and dead, receiuing true beleeuers into endleſſe ioy, faithleſſe and godleſſe men being caſt with Sathan and his angels into flames vnquenchable.*

* *Morn. de Eccleſ.*

* *Zanch. prælat. de religi.*

28 I may, and will, reine the queſtion ſhorter then they doe. Let the Pope take downe his top, and captiuate no more mens ſoules by his Papall iuriſdiction: let him no longer count himſelfe *Lord Paramount* ouer the Princes of the world: no longer hold Kings as his ſeruants *parauaile:* let his ſtately Senate ſubmit their neckes to the yoke of Chriſt, and ceaſe to die their garment like *Edom*, in bloud: let them from the higheſt to the loweſt, hate and forſake their Idolatrie, abiure all their errours and hereſies, wherewith they haue any way peruerted the truth: let them ſtrippe their Churches, till they leaue no polluted rag, but only this one about her, *By Chriſt alone, without workes, we cannot bee ſaued:* it is enough for me, if I ſhew, that the holding of this one thing doth not prooue the foundation of faith directly denied in the Church of Rome.

29 Workes are an addition: be it ſo; what then? the foundation is not ſubuerted by euery kind of addition. Simply to adde vnto thoſe fundamentall words, is not to mingle Wine with Water, Heauen & Earth, things polluted,

luted, with the ſanctified bloud of Chriſt: of which crime indict them, which attribute thoſe operations in whole or in part to any creature, which in the worke of our ſaluation wholly are peculiar vnto Chriſt, and if I open my mouth to ſpeake in their defence, if I hold my peace and plead not againſt them as long as breath is within my body, let me be guiltie of all the diſhonor that euer hath beene done to the Sonne of God. But the more dreadfull a thing it is to denie ſaluation by Chriſt alone, the more ſlow and fearefull I am, except it be too manifeſt, to lay a thing ſo grieuous to my mans charge. Let vs beware, leſt if we make too many wayes of denying Chriſt, wee ſcarce leaue any way for our ſelues truely and ſoundly to confeſſe him. Saluation only by Chriſt is the true foundation, whereupon indeed Chriſtianitie ſtandeth. But what if I ſay you cannot be ſaued onely by Chriſt, without this addition, Chriſt beleeued in heart, confeſſed with mouth, obeyed in life and conuerſation? Becauſe I adde, doe I therefore denie, that which I did directly affirme? There may be an additament of explication, which ouerthroweth not, but proueth and concludeth the propoſition, whereunto it is annexed. He which ſaith, *Peter* was a chiefe Apoſtle, doth proue that *Peter* was an Apoſtle; hee which ſayth, Our ſaluation is of the Lord, * through ſanctification of the Spirit and Faith of the trueth, proueth that our ſaluation is of the Lord. But if that which is added be ſuch a priuation as taketh away the very eſſence of that whereunto it is added, then by the ſequell it ouerthroweth. Hee which ſaith *Iudas* is a dead man, though in word he granteth *Iudas* to be a man, yet in effect he prooueth him by that very ſpeech no man; becauſe death depriueth him of being. In like ſort, he that ſhould ſay, our election is of grace for our workes ſake, ſhould grant in ſound of words, but indeed by conſequent denie that our election is of Grace; for the * grace which electeth vs, is no grace, if it elect vs for our workes ſake.

* 2. *Theſſ.* 2. 13.

* *Rom.* 11. 6.

30 Now whereas the Church of Rome addeth workes, wee muſt note farther, that the adding of * Works is not like the adding of Circumciſion vnto Chriſt. Chriſt came not to abrogate and put away good workes: he did, to change Circumciſion; for wee ſee that in place thereof, hee hath ſubſtituted holy Baptiſme. To ſay, yee cannot be ſaued by Chriſt, except yee be circumciſed, is to adde a thing excluded, a thing not onely not neceſſarie to be kept, but neceſſarie not to be kept by them that will be ſaued. On the other ſide, to ſay yee cannot be ſaued by Chriſt without workes, is to adde things, not only not excluded, but commanded, as being in their place, and in their kind neceſſarie, and therefore ſubordinated vnto Chriſt, by Chriſt himſelfe, by whom the web of ſaluation is ſpun: [a] *Except your righteouſneſſe exceed the righteouſneſſe of the Scribes and Phariſes, yee ſhall not enter into the Kingdome of Heauen.* They were [b] rigorous exacters of things not vtterly to be neglected, and leſt vndone, Waſhings, and Tithings, &c. As they were in theſe, ſo muſt wee be in iudgement, and the loue of God. Chriſt in workes ceremoniall, giueth more libertie; in [c] morall much leſſe, then they did. Workes of righteouſneſſe therefore are

* I denie not but that the Church of Rome requireth ſome kinds of works which ſhee ought not to require at mens hands. But our queſtion is generall about the adding of good workes, not whether ſuch or ſuch works be good. In this compariſon it is enough to touch ſo much of the matter in queſtion betweene S. *Paul* and the Galatians, as inferreth thoſe Concluſions, *Yee are fallen from grace; Chriſt can profit you nothing:* which Concluſions will follow vpon Circumciſion and rites of the Law ceremoniall, if they be required as things neceſſarie to ſaluation. This onely was alleaged againſt me: and need I touch more then was alleaged? a *Matth.* 5. 20. b *Luke* 11. 39. c *Matth.* 5. 21.

not

not ſo repugnantly added in the one propoſition; as in the other, Circumciſion is.

31 But we ſay, our ſaluation is by Chriſt alone, therefore howſoeuer, or whatſoeuer wee adde vnto Chriſt in the matter of ſaluation, wee ouerthrow Chriſt. Our caſe were very hard, if this argument ſo vniuerſally meant, as it is propoſed, were ſound and good. We our ſelues doe not teach Chriſt alone, excluding our owne faith, vnto iuſtification; Chriſt alone, excluding our owne workes, vnto ſanctification; Chriſt alone, excluding the one or the other vnneceſſarie vnto ſaluation. It is a childiſh cauill wherewith in the matter of iuſtification our Aduerſaries doe ſo greatly pleaſe themſelues, exclayming that we tread all Chriſtian vertues vnder our feet, and require nothing in Chriſtians but faith, becauſe we teach, that faith alone iuſtifieth: whereas by this ſpeech we neuer meant to exclude either hope, or charitie from being alwayes ioyned as inſeparable Mates with Faith in the man that is iuſtified; or workes from being added as neceſſarie duties required at the hands of euery iuſtified man: but to ſhew, that faith is the only hand which putteth on Chriſt vnto iuſtification; and Chriſt, the only garment, which being ſo put on couereth the ſhame of our defiled natures, hideth the imperfections of our workes, preſerueth vs blameleſſe in the ſight of God, before whom otherwiſe, the weakeneſſe of our faith were cauſe ſufficient to make vs culpable, yea to ſhut vs from the Kingdome of Heauen, where nothing that is not abſolute, can enter. That our dealing with them bee not as childiſh as theirs with vs, when wee heare of ſaluation by Chriſt alone, conſidering that [*alone*] as an excluſiue particle, wee are to note, what it doth exclude, and where. If I ſay, *Such a Iudge only ought to determine ſuch a caſe*, all things incident to the determination thereof, beſides the perſon of the Iudge, as Lawes, Depoſitions, Euidences, &c. are not hereby excluded; perſons are not excluded from witneſſing herein, or aſſiſting, but onely from determining and giuing ſentence. How then is our ſaluation wrought by Chriſt alone? Is it our meaning that nothing is requiſite to mans ſaluation, but Chriſt to ſaue, and he to be ſaued quietly without any more adoe? No; we acknowledge no ſuch foundation. As we haue receiued, ſo we teach, that beſides the bare and naked worke, wherein Chriſt without any other Aſſociate, finiſhed all the parts of our Redemption, and purchaſed Saluation himſelfe alone: for conueyance of this eminent bleſſing vnto vs, many things are of neceſſitie required, as to bee knowne and choſen of God before the foundation of the World; in the World to be called, iuſtified, ſanctified; after we haue left the World; to bee receiued vnto glorie; Chriſt in enery of theſe hath ſomewhat, which hee worketh alone. Through him according to the eternall purpoſe of God, before the foundation of the World, Borne, Crucified, Buried, Rayſed, &c. wee were in a gracious acceptation knowne vnto God, long before we were ſeene of men: God * knew vs, loued vs, was kinde to vs in Ieſus Chriſt; in him we were elected to bee Heires of life. Thus farre God through Chriſt hath wrought in ſuch ſort alone, that our ſelues are meere Patients, working no more then dead and ſenſeleſſe Matter, Wood, or Stone, or Iron, doth in the Artificers hands, no more then the Clay when the Potter appointeth it to be framed for an honorable vſe, nay, not ſo much; for the

* *Eph.1.6,3,7.*

Matter whereupon the Craftſman worketh, he chooſeth being moued by the fitneſſe which is in it to ſerue his turne; in vs no ſuch thing. Touching the reſt, which is laid for the foundation of our Faith, importeth farther; That * by him we are called; that [a] wee haue Redemption, [b] Remiſſion of ſinnes through his bloud, [c] Health by his ſtripes, [d] Iuſtice by him; that hee [e] doth ſanctifie his Church, and make it glorious to himſelfe; that [f] entrance into ioy ſhall be giuen vs by him, yea, all things by him alone. Howbeit not ſo by him alone, as if in vs to [g] our vocation, the hearing of the Goſpel; to our iuſtification, Faith; to our ſanctification, the fruits of the Spirit; to our entrance into reſt, perſeuerance in Hope, in Faith, in Holineſſe, were not neceſſarie.

* *Gal.* 5.8.
a 1. *Pet.* 2.9. 1. *Pet.* 5.3.
b *Epheſ.* 1.7.
c *Eſa.* 53.11.
d *Ierem.* 23.6.
e *Epheſ.* 8.26.
f *Matth.* 25.23.
g 2. *Theſſ.* 2.14. *Gal.* 2.16. *Gal.* 5.23. 2. *Theſſ.* 2.15.

32 Then what is the fault of the Church of Rome? Not that ſhee requireth workes at their hands which will be ſaued: but that ſhe attributeth vnto workes a power of ſatisfying God for ſinne; yea, a vertue to merit both grace here, and in heauen glorie. That this ouer-throweth the foundation of faith, I grant willingly; that it is a direct denying thereof, I vtterly deny: what it is to hold, and what directly to denie the foundation of faith, I haue alreadie opened. Apply it particularly to this cauſe, and there needes to more adoe. The thing which is handled, if the forme, vnder which it is handled, bee added thereunto, it ſheweth the foundation of any doctrine whatſoeuer. Chriſt is the Matter whereof the Doctrine of the Goſpel treateth; and it treateth of Chriſt, as of a Sauiour. Saluation therefore by Chriſt is the foundation of Chriſtianitie: as for workes, they are a thing ſubordinate, no otherwiſe then becauſe our ſanctification cannot be accompliſhed without them; the Doctrine concerning them is a thing builded vpon the foundation; therefore the Doctrine, which addeth vnto them the power of ſatisfying or of meriting, addeth vnto a thing ſubordinated, builded vpon the foundation, not to the very foundation it ſelfe: yet is the foundation by this addition conſequently ouerthrowne, for as much as out of this addition, it may be negatiuely concluded; Hee which maketh any worke good, and acceptable in the ſight of God, to proceed from the naturall freedome of our will; Hee which giueth vnto any good workes of ours, the force of ſatisfying the wrath of God for ſinne, the power of meriting either earthly or heauenly rewards; Hee which holdeth workes, going before our vocation, in congruitie to merit our vocation, works following our firſt, to merit our ſecond iuſtification, and by condignitie our laſt reward in the Kingdome of Heauen; pulleth vp the Doctrine of faith by the roots; for out of euery of theſe the plaine direct denyall thereof may bee neceſſarily concluded. Not this onely, but what other Hereſie is there, that doth not raze the very foundation of faith by conſequent? Howbeit, wee make a difference of Hereſies, accounting them in the next degree to Infidelitie, which directly deny any one thing to bee, which is expreſly acknowledged in the Articles of our Beliefe; for out of any one Article ſo denyed, the denyall of the very foundation it ſelfe is ſtraight-way inferd. As for example; if a man ſhould ſay, *There is no Catholike Church*, it followeth immediately thereupon, that this Ieſus whom we call the Sauiour, is not the Sauiour of the World; becauſe all the Prophets beare witneſſe, that the true *Meſſias* ſhould * *ſhew light vnto the Gentiles*, that is to ſay, gather ſuch a Church as is Catholike, not re-

Hæc ratio Eccleſiaſtici Sacramenti & Catholicæ Fidei eſt, vt qui partem diuini Sacramenti negat, partem non valeat confiteri. Ita enim ſibi connexa & concorporata ſunt omnia, vt aliud ſine alio ſtare non poſſit, & qui vnum ex omnibus denegauerit; alia ei omnia credidiſſe non proſit. Caſſiaſt. lib. 6. de Incarnat. Dom.
If he obſtinately ſtand in deniall. *pag.* 193.
* *Acts* 26.23.

reſtrayned any longer vnto one circumciſed Nation. In the ſecond ranke wee place them, out of whoſe Poſitions, the denyall of any the fore-ſaid Articles may be with like facilitie concluded: ſuch as are they, which haue denyed eyther the Diuinitie of Chriſt with *Hebion*, or with *Marcion* his Humanitie; an example whereof may be that of *Caſtianus*, defending the Incarnation of the Sonne of God, againſt *Neſtorius* Biſhop of Antioch, which held, that the Virgin, when ſhee brought forth Chriſt, did not bring forth the Sonne of God, but a ſole and a meere man: out of which Hereſie the denyall of the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith he deduceth thus: *If thou doeſt deny our Lord Ieſus Chriſt; in denying the Sonne, thou canſt not chooſe but denie the Father: for according to the voice of the Father himſelfe, He that hath not the Sonne, hath not the Father. Wherefore denying him which is begotten, thou denyeſt him which doth beget. Againe, denying the Sonne of God to haue beene borne in the fleſh, how canſt thou beleeue him to haue ſuffered? beleeuing not his Paſſion, what remayneth, but that thou denie his Reſurrection? For we beleeue him not Rayſed, except we firſt beleeue him Dead: neither can the reaſon of his riſing from the Dead ſtand without the faith of his death going before. The denyall of his Death and Paſſion inferreth the denyall of his riſing from the depth. Whereupon it followeth that thou alſo deny his Aſcenſion into Heauen. The Apoſtle affirmeth, that he which Aſcended, did firſt Deſcend, ſo that as much as lyeth in thee, our Lord Ieſus Chriſt hath neither riſen from the depth, nor is aſcended into Heauen, nor ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father, neither ſhall he come at the Day of the finall account which is looked for, nor ſhall iudge the quicke and dead. And dareſt thou yet ſet foot in the Church? Canſt thou thinke thy ſelfe a Biſhop, when thou haſt denyed all thoſe things, whereby thou doſt obtaine a Biſhoply calling?* NESTORIVS confeſſed all the Articles of the Creed, but his opinion did imply the denyall of euery part of his Confeſſion. Hereſies there are of the third ſort; ſuch as the Church of Rome maintayneth; which be remoued by a greater diſtance from the foundation, although indeed they ouerthrow it. Yet becauſe of that weakneſſe, which the Philoſopher noteth in mens capacities, when he ſaith, that the common ſort cannot ſee things, which follow in reaſon, when they follow as it were a farre off by many deductions; therefore the repugnancie of ſuch Hereſie and the foundation, is not ſo quickly or ſo eaſily found, but that an Heretike of this, ſooner then of the former kind, may directly grant, and conſequently neuertheleſſe, denie the foundation of Faith.

Lib. 6. de Incar. Dom. cap. 16.

33 If reaſon be ſuſpected, tryall will ſhew that the Church of Rome doth no otherwiſe by teaching the doctrine ſhe doth teach concerning good works. Offer them the very fundamentall words: and what man is there, that will refuſe to ſubſcribe vnto them? Can they directly grant, and directly denie one and the very ſelfe-ſame thing? Our owne proceedings in diſputing againſt their workes ſatisfactorie, and meritorious, doe ſhew not only, that they hold, but that we acknowledge them to hold the foundation, notwithſtanding their opinion. For are not theſe our arguments againſt them? *Chriſt alone hath ſatisfied and appeaſed his Fathers wrath: Chriſt hath merited ſaluation alone.* Wee ſhould doe fondly to vſe ſuch diſputes, neither could we thinke to preuaile by them, if that, whereupon we ground, were a thing, which wee know they doe

not hold, which we are assured they will not grant. Their very answers to all such reasons as are in this Controuersie brought against them, will not permit vs to doubt, whether they hold the foundation, or no. Can any man that hath read their Bookes concerning this matter, be ignorant how they draw all their answers vnto these heads? *That the remission of all our sins, the pardon of all whatsoeuer punishments thereby deserued, the rewards which God hath laid vp in Heauen, are by the bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ purchased, and obtayned sufficiently for all men: but for no man effectually, for his benefit in particular, except the bloud of Christ be applyed particularly vnto him, by such meanes as God hath appointed that to worke by. That those meanes of themselues, being but dead things; onely the bloud of Christ is that which putteth life, force, and efficacie in them to worke, and to be available, each in his kind to our saluation. Finally, that grace being purchased for vs by the bloud of Christ, and freely without any merit or desert at the first bestowed vpon vs, the good things which we do, after grace receiued, be thereby made satisfactory, & meritorious.* Some of their sentences, to this effect, I must alleage for mine owne warrant. If we desire to heare forraine iudgements, we find in one this confession: *He that could reckon how many the vertues and merits of our Sauiour Iesus Christ haue beene, might likewise vnderstand how many the benefits haue beene, that are to come to vs by him; forsomuch as men are made partakers of them all by meanes of his Passion: by him is giuen vnto vs Remission of our sinnes, grace, glory, liberty, prayse, saluation, redemption, iustification, iustice, satisfaction, sacraments merits, and all other things which we had, and were behoouefull for our saluation.* In another we haue these oppositions, and answers made vnto them: *All grace is giuen by Christ Iesus; True, but not except Christ Iesus be applyed. He is the propitiation for our sins; by his stripes we are healed; he hath offered himselfe vp for vs: all this is true; but apply it: we put all satisfaction in the bloud of Iesus Christ; but we hold that the meanes which Christ hath appointed for vs in this case to apply it, are our penall workes.* Our Countrimen in Rhemes make the like answere, that they seeke saluation no other way, then by the blond of Christ; and that humbly they doe vse Prayers, Fastings, Almes, Faith, Charitie, Sacrifice, Sacraments, Priests, only as the meanes appointed by Christ, to apply the benefit of his holy bloud vnto them: touching our good workes, that in their owne natures they are not meritorious, nor answerable to the ioyes of Heauen; it commeth by the grace of Christ, and not of the worke it selfe, that we haue by well-doing a right to Heauen, and deserue it worthily. If any man thinke that I seeke to varnish their opinions, to set the better foote of a lame cause fore-most: let him know, that since I began throughly to vnderstand their meaning, I haue found their halting greater, then perhaps it seemeth to them which know not the deepnesse of Satan, as the blessed Diuine speaketh. For although this bee proofe sufficient, that they doe not directly denie the foundation of Faith: yet if there were no other leauen in the whole lumpe of their Doctrine, but this: this were sufficient to proue, that their Doctrine is not agreeable vnto the foundation of Christian Faith. The Pelagians being ouergreat friends vnto Nature, made themselues enemies vnto Grace, for all their confessing, that men haue their soules, and all the faculties thereof, their wils, and all the abilitie of their wils from God. And is not the Church of Rome still

Lewis of Granad. *Medit. cap.* last 3.

Panigarola lect. 11.

Annot. in 1. *Iohn* 1.

ſtill an aduerſarie vnto Chriſts Merits, becauſe of her acknowledging, that we haue receiued the power of meriting by the bloud of Chriſt? Sir *Thomas Moore*, ſetteth downe the odds betweene vs and the Church of Rome, in the matter of workes, thus, *Like as we grant them, that no good worke of man is rewardable in heauen of his owne nature, but through the meere goodnes of God, that liſt to ſet ſo high a price vpon ſo poore a thing; and that this price God ſetteth through Chriſts Paſſion, and for that alſo they be his own works with vs; for good works to God-ward worketh no man, without God worke in him; and as wee grant them alſo, that no man may be proud of his works, for his imperfect working, & for that in all that man may do, he can do God no good, but is a ſeruant vnprofitable & doth but his bare duty; as we, I ſay, grant vnto them theſe things: ſo this one thing, or twaine, do they grant vs againe, that men are bound to work good works, if they haue time and power, & that whoſo worketh in true faith moſt, ſhall be moſt rewarded; but then ſet they thereto, that all his rewards ſhall be giuen him for his faith alone, and nothing for his works at all, becauſe his faith is the thing, they ſay, that forceth him to worke well.* I ſee by this of Sir *Thomas More*, how eaſie it is for men of the greateſt capacity, to miſtake things written or ſpoken, as well on the one ſide as on the other. Their doctrine, as he thought, maketh the worke of man rewardable in the World to come, through the goodneſſe of God whom it pleaſed to ſet ſo high a price vpon ſo poore a thing: and ours, that a man doth receiue that eternall and high reward, not for his works, but for his faiths ſake, by which he worketh: whereas in truth our doctrine is no other then that wee haue learned at the feet of Chriſt, namely, that God doth iuſtifie the beleeuing man, yet not for the worthineſſe of his beliefe, but for the worthineſſe of him, which is beleeued; God rewardeth abundantly euery one which worketh, yet not for any meritorious dignitie, which is, or can bee in the worke, but through his meere mercie, by whoſe commandement he worketh. Contrariwiſe, their doctrine is, that as pure water of it ſelfe hath no ſauour, but if it paſſe through a ſweete Pipe, it taketh a pleaſant ſmell of the Pipe through which it paſſeth: ſo, although before grace receiued, our workes doe neither ſatisfie, nor merit; yet after, they doe both the one and the other. Euery vertuous action hath then power in ſuch to ſatisfie, that if wee our ſelues commit no mortall ſinne, no haynous crime whereupon to ſpend this treaſure of ſatisfaction in our owne behalfe, it turneth to the benefit of other mens releaſe, on whom it ſhall pleaſe the Steward of the houſe of God to beſtow it; ſo that we may ſatisfie for our ſelues and others, but merit only for our ſelues. In meriting, our actions doe worke with two hands; with one they get their morning ſtipend, the increaſe of grace; with the other their euening hire, the euerlaſting Crowne of glorie. Indeed they teach that our good works doe not theſe things, as they come from vs, but as they come from grace in vs: which grace in vs is another thing in their Diuinitie, then is the meere goodneſſe of Gods mercie towards vs in Chriſt Ieſus.

In his Booke of Conſolation.

Works of Supererogation.

34 If it were not a ſtrong deluding ſpirit, which hath poſſeſſion of their hearts: were it poſſible, but that they ſhould ſee, how plainly they doe herein gaine ſay the very ground of Apoſtolique faith? Is this that ſaluation by grace, whereof ſo plentifull mention is made in the Scriptures of God? Was

this their meaning, which first taught the World to looke for saluation onely by Christ? By grace, the Apostle saith, and by grace in such sort as a gift: a thing that commeth not of our selues, nor of our workes, least any man should boast, and say, *I haue wrought out my owne saluation.* By grace they confesse; but by grace in sort, that as many as weare the Diademe of blisse, they weare nothing but what they haue wonne. The Apostle, as if he had fore-seene, how the Church of Rome would abuse the World in time by ambiguous termes, to declare in what sense the name of grace must be taken, when we make it the cause of our saluation, saith, *He saued vs according to his mercie:* which mercie, although it exclude not the washing of our new birth, the renewing of our hearts by the Holy Ghost, the meanes, the vertues, the duties, which God requireth of our hands which shall be saued; yet is it so repugnant vnto merits, that to say wee are saued for the worthinesse of any thing which is ours, is to deny wee are saued by grace. Grace bestoweth freely: and therefore iustly requireth the glory of that which is bestowed. We deny the grace of our Lord Iesus Christ; we abuse, disanull, and annihilate the benefit of his bitter Passion, if we rest in these proud imaginations, that life is deseruedly ours, that we merit it, and that we are worthy of it.

35 Howbeit, considering how many vertuous and iust men, how many Saints, how many Martyrs, how many of the ancient Fathers of the Church, haue had their sundry perilous opinions: and amongst sundry of their opinions, this, that they hoped to make good some part of amends for their sinnes, by the voluntary punishments which they laid vpon themselues, because by a consequent it may follow hereupon, that they were iniurious vnto Christ: shall we therefore make such deadly Epitaphs, and set them vpon their graues; *They denyed the foundation of faith directly, they are damned, there is no saluation for them?* S. *Austin* saith of himselfe, *Errare possum, hæreticus esse nolo.* And except we put a difference betweene them that erre, and them that obstinately persist in errour, how is it possible, that euer any man should hope to bee saued? Surely in this case, I haue no respect of any person aliue or dead. Giue me a man of what state or condition soeuer, yea, a *Cardinall* or a *Pope*, whome in the extreme point of his life affliction hath made to know himselfe, whose heart God hath touched with true sorrow for all his sinnes, and filled with loue towards the Gospell of Christ, whose eyes are opened to see the Truth, and his mouth to renounce all heresie and error any wise opposite thereunto: this one opinion of Merites excepted, hee thinketh God will require at his hands, and because he wanteth, therefore trembleth, and is discouraged; It may be, I am forgetfull, and vnskilfull, not furnished with things new and old, as a wise learned Scribe should bee, nor able to alleage that, whereunto, if it were alleaged, he doth beare a minde most willing to yeeld, and so to be recalled as well from this, as from other errors. And shall I thinke, because of this onely error, that such a man toucheth not so much as the hemme of Christs garment? If he doe, wherefore should not I haue hope, that vertue may proceed from Christ to saue him? Because his errour doth by consequent ouerthrow his faith? Shall I therefore cast him off, as one that hath vtterly cast off Christ? one that holdeth not so much as by a slender threed? No, I will not

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be afraid to ſay vnto a *Pope* or *Cardinall* in this plight, Be of good comfort, we haue to doe with a mercifull God; rather to make the beſt of a little which we hold well, and not with a captious Sophiſter, which gathereth the worſt out of euery thing, wherein we erre. Is there any reaſon that I ſhould be ſuſpected, or you offended for this ſpeech? * Is it a dangerous thing to imagine, that ſuch men may find mercie? The houre may come when we ſhall thinke it a bleſſed thing to heare, that if our ſinnes were the ſinnes of the *Popes* and *Cardinals*, the bowels of the mercie of God are larger. I doe not propoſe vnto you a Pope with the necke of an Emperour vnder his feet; a Cardinall riding his horſe to the bridle in the bloud of Saints: but a *Pope* or *Cardinall*, ſorrowfull, penitent, diſ-robed, ſtript not onely of vſurped power, but alſo deliuered and recald from errour; Antichriſt conuerted and lying proſtrate at the foote of Chriſt: and ſhall I thinke that Chriſt will ſpurne at him? And ſhall I croſſe and gaine-ſay the mercifull promiſes of God, generally made vnto penitent ſinners, by oppoſing the name of a Pope, of a Cardinall? What difference is there in the world betweene a *Pope* and a *Cardinall*, and *Iohn Style* in this caſe? If wee thinke it impoſſible for them, after they be once come within that ranke, to be afterwards touched with any ſuch remorſe, let that be granted. The Apoſtle ſaith, *If I or an Angell from heauen preach vnto, &c.* Let it be as likely that S. *Paul* or an Angell from heauen ſhould preach Hereſie, as that a Pope or a Cardinall ſhould be brought ſo farre foorth to acknowledge the truth: yet if a Pope or Cardinall ſhould, what find we in their perſons, why they might not be ſaued? It is not the perſons you will ſay, but the errour, wherein I ſuppoſe them to die, which excludeth them from the hope of mercie; the opinion of merits doth take away all poſſibilitie of ſaluation from them. What, if they hold it onely as an errour? Although they hold the truth truely and ſincerely in all other parts of Chriſtian faith? Although they haue in ſome meaſure all the vertues and graces of the Spirit, all other tokens of Gods elect children in them? Although they be farre from hauing any proud preſumptuous opinion, that they ſhall be ſaued by the worthyneſſe of their deeds? Although the only thing which troubleth and moleſteth them, be but a little too much deiection, ſomewhat too great a feare, riſing from an erroneous conceit, that God will require a worthineſſe in them, which they are grieued to find wanting in themſelues? Although they be not obſtinate in this perſwaſion? Although they be willing and would be glad to forſake it, if any one reaſon were brought ſufficient to diſproue it? Although the only let, why they doe not forſake it ere they die, be the ignorance of the meanes, by which it might be diſprooued? Although the cauſe why the ignorance in this point is not remoued, be the want of knowledge in ſuch as ſhould be able, and are not, to remooue it? Let me die, if euer it be prooued, that ſimply an errour doth exclude a *Pope* or a *Cardinall* in ſuch a caſe vtterly from hope of life. Surely, I muſt confeſſe vnto you, if it be an errour, that God may be mercifull to ſaue men, euen when they erre: my greateſt comfort is my errour; were it not for the loue I beare vnto this errour, I would neuer wiſh to ſpeake nor to liue.

* Let all affection bee laid aſide; Let the matter indifferently be conſidered.

36 Wherefore, to reſume that Mother ſentence, whereof I little thought that ſo much trouble would haue growne: *I doubt not but that God was mercifull*

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to ſaue thouſands of our Fathers liuing in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, in as much as they ſinned ignorantly. Alas! what bloudy matter is there contained in this ſentence, that it ſhould be an occaſion of ſo many hard cenſures? Did I ſay, that *thouſands of our Fathers might be ſaued?* I haue ſhewed which way it cannot be denied. Did I ſay, *I doubt not but they were ſaued?* I ſee no impietie in this perſwaſion, though I had no reaſon for it. Did I ſay, *Their ignorance doth make me hope they did find mercy, and ſo were ſaued?* What hindreth ſaluation but ſin? Sinnes are not equall: and ignorance, though it doth not make to be no ſinne, yet ſeeing it did make their ſinne the leſſe, why ſhould it not make our hope concerning their life, the greater? We pittie the moſt, and doubt not, but God hath moſt compaſſion ouer them that ſinne for want of vnderſtanding. As much is confeſſed by ſundrie others, almoſt in the ſelfe-ſame words which I haue vſed. It is but onely my euill hap, that the ſame ſentences which ſauour veritie in other mens bookes, ſhould ſeeme to bolſter Hereſie when they are once by me recited. If I be deceiued in this point, not they, but the bleſſed Apoſtle hath deceiued me. What I ſaid of others, the ſame he ſaid of himſelfe, *I obtaine mercie, for I did it ignorantly.* Conſtrue his words, and you cannot miſconſtrue mine. I ſpeake no otherwiſe, I meant no otherwiſe then he did.

37 Thus haue I brought the queſtion, concerning our Fathers, at the length, vnto an end. Of whoſe eſtate vpon ſo fit an occaſion, as was offered me, handling the waightie cauſes of ſeparation between the Church of Rome and vs, and the weake motiues which are commonly brought to retaine men in that ſocietie; amongſt which motiues, the examples of our Fathers deceaſed is one, although I ſaw it conuenient to vtter the ſentence, which I did to the end, that all men might thereby vnderſtand, how vntruely we are ſaid to condemne as many as haue bin before vs otherwiſe perſwaded then we our ſelues are; yet more then that one ſentence I did not thinke it expedient to vtter, iudging it a great deale meeter for vs to haue regard to our owne eſtate, then to ſift ouer-curiouſly, what is become of other men. And fearing leſt that ſuch queſtions as theſe, if voluntarily they ſhould be too farre waded in, might ſeeme worthy of that rebuke, which our Sauiour thought needfull in a caſe not vnlike: *What is this vnto thee?* When I was forced much beſide mine expectation, to render a reaſon of my ſpeech, I could not but yeeld at the call of others, and proceed ſo farre as dutie bound mee, for the fuller ſatisfying of minds. Wherein I haue walked as with reuerence, ſo with feare: with reuerence, in regard of our Fathers, which liued in former times; not without feare, conſidering them that are aliue.

38 I am not ignorant, how readie men are to feed and ſoothe vp themſelues in euill. Shall I, will the man ſay that loueth the preſent world more then he loueth Chriſt, ſhal I incurre the high diſpleaſure of the mightieſt vpon earth? Shal I hazzard my goods? Endanger my eſtate? Put my ſelfe in ieopardie, rather then to yeeld to that, which ſo many of my Fathers imbraced, and yet found fauour in the ſight of God? *Curſe Meroz,* ſaith the Lord, *curſe her Inhabitants, becauſe they helped not the Lord, they helped him not againſt the mightie.* If I ſhould not onely not helpe the Lord againſt the mightie, but helpe to ſtrengthen

Iudg. 5.23.

ſtrengthen them that are mightie, againſt the Lord: worthily might I fall vnder the burthen of that curſe, worthy I were to beare my owne iudgement. But if the doctrine which I teach, be a flowre gathered in the Garden of the Lord; a part of the ſauing truth of the Goſpel; from whence notwithſtanding poyſoned creatures doe ſucke venome: I can but wiſh it were otherwiſe, and content my ſelfe with the lot that hath befallen me, the rather, becauſe it hath not befallen me alone. S. *Paul* teached a truth, and a comfortable truth, when he taught, that the greater our miſerie is, in reſpect of our iniquities, the readier is the mercy of God for our releaſe. If we ſeeke vnto him, the more we haue ſinned, the more praiſe, and glorie, and honour, vnto him that pardoneth our ſinne. But marke what lewd collections were made hereupon by ſome. *Why then am I condemned for a ſinner?* And the Apoſtle (as we are blamed, and as ſome affirme that we ſay: *Why doe we not euill, that good may come of it?*) he was accuſed to teach that which ill-diſpoſed men did gather by his teaching, though it were cleane not only beſides, but againſt his meaning. The Apoſtle addeth, *Their condemnation* (which thus doe) *is iuſt*. I am not haſtie to apply ſentences of condemnation. I wiſh from mine heart their conuerſion, whoſoeuer are thus peruerſly affected. For I muſt needs ſay, their caſe is fearefull, their eſtate dangerous, which harden themſelues, preſuming on the mercy of God towards others. It is true that God is mercifull; but let vs beware of preſumptuous ſinnes. God deliuered *Ionah* from the bottome of the Sea; will you therefore caſt your ſelues headlong from the tops of Rocks, and ſay in your hearts, God ſhall deliuer vs? Hee pitieth the blind that would gladly ſee; but will he pitie him, that may ſee, and hardneth himſelfe in blindneſſe? No. Chriſt hath ſpoken too much vnto you, to claime the priuiledge of your Fathers.

39 As for vs that haue handled this cauſe concerning the condition of our Fathers, whether it be this thing, or any other, which we bring vnto you, the counſell is good which the Wiſeman giueth, *Stand thou faſt in thy ſure vnderſtanding, in the way and knowledge of the Lord, and haue but one manner of word, and follow the Word of peace and righteouſneſſe*. As a looſe tooth is a griefe to him that eateth: ſo doth a wauering and vnſtable word in ſpeech, that tendeth to inſtruction, offend. *Shall a wiſe man ſpeake words of the winde*, ſaith *Eliphas*, light, vnconſtant, vnſtable words? Surely, the wiſeſt may ſpeake words of the winde, ſuch is the vntoward conſtitution of our nature, that we doe neither ſo perfectly vnderſtand the way and knowledge of the Lord, nor ſo ſtedfaſtly imbrace it, when it is vnderſtood; nor ſo graciouſly vtter it, when it is imbraced; nor ſo peaceably maintaine it, when it is vttered; but that the beſt of vs are ouer-taken ſometimes through blindneſſe, ſometimes through haſtineſſe, ſometime through impatience, ſometime through other paſſions of the mind, whereunto (God doth know) we are too ſubiect. We muſt therefore be contented, both to pardon others, and to craue that others muſt pardon vs for ſuch things. Let no man, that ſpeaketh as a man, thinke himſelfe, whiles hee liueth, alwayes freed from ſcapes and ouer-ſights in his ſpeech. The things themſelues, which I haue ſpoken vnto you, are ſound, howſoeuer they haue ſeemed otherwiſe vnto ſome: at whoſe hands I haue in that reſpect receiued

iniurie.

iniurie. I willingly forget it: although indeed, considering the benefit which I haue reaped by this necessarie speech of truth, I rather incline to that of the Apostle, *They haue not iniured me at all.* I haue cause to wish them as many blessings in the Kingdome of heauen, as they haue forced me to vtter words and syllables in this cause; wherein I could not be more sparing of speech then I haue beene. *It becommeth no man,* saith Saint IEROME, *to be patient in the crime of Heresie.* Patient, as I take it, we should be alwayes, though the crime of Heresie were intended; but silent in a thing of so great consequence I could not, beloued, I durst not be: especially the loue that I beare to the truth of Christ Iesus being hereby somewhat called in question. Whereof I beseech them in the meekenesse of Christ, that haue beene the first original cause, to consider that a watch-man may crie *(an enemie)* when indeed a friend commeth. In which cause, as I deeme such a watch-man more worthy to be loued for his care, then misliked for his errour: so I haue iudged it my owne part in this, as much as in me lyeth, to take away all suspicion of any vnfriendly intent or meaning against the Truth, from which, God doth know, my heart is free.

40 Now to you, Beloued, which haue heard these things, I will vse no other words of admonition, then those which are offered me by Saint IAMES, *My Brethren, haue not the faith of our glorious Lord Iesus in respect of persons.* Yee are not now to learne, that as of it selfe it is not hurtfull, so neither should it be to any scandalous and offensiue in doubtfull cases, to heare the different iudgements of men. Be it that *Cephas* hath one interpretation, and *Apollos* hath another; that *Paul* is of this mind, that *Barnabas* of that; if this offend you, the fault is yours. Carry peaceable minds, and you may haue comfort by this varietie.

Now the God of peace giue you peaceable minds, and turne it to your euerlasting comfort.

FINIS.

FIVE LEARNED SERMONS,

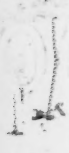
Written

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A LEARNED SERMON OF THE NATVRE OF PRIDE.

ABAC. 2. 4.

His minde ſwelleth and is not right in him:
But the Iuſt by his Faith ſhall liue.

THE nature of man being much more delighted to bee led then drawne, doth many times ſtubbornely reſiſt authoritie, when to perſwaſion it eaſily yeeldeth. Whereupon the wiſeſt Lawmakers haue endeuoured alwayes, that thoſe Lawes might ſeeme moſt reaſonable which they would haue moſt inuiolably kept. A Law ſimply commanding or forbidding, is but dead in compariſon of that which expreſſeth the reaſon wherefore it doth the one or the other. And ſurely, euen in the Lawes of God, although that Hee hath giuen commandement, bee in it ſelfe a reaſon ſufficient to exact all obedience at the hands of men: yet a forcible inducement it is to obey with greater alacritie and cheerefulneſſe of minde, when wee ſee plainely that nothing is impoſed more then we muſt needs yeeld vnto, except wee will be vnreaſonable. In a word, whatſoeuer wee be taught, bee it Precept for direction of our manners, or Article for inſtruction of our faith, or Document any way for information of our mindes, it then taketh roote and abideth, when wee conceiue not only what God doth ſpeake, but why. Neither is it a ſmall thing which wee derogate as well from the honour of his truth, as from the comfort, ioy, and delight which we our ſelues ſhould take by it, when wee looſely ſlide ouer his ſpeech as though it were as our owne is, commonly vulgar and triuiall: wheras he vttereth nothing but it hath beſides the ſubſtance of Doctrine deliuered, a depth of Wiſdome, in the very choice and frame of words to deliuer it in: the reaſon whereof being not perceiued, but by greater intention of braine then our nice mindes for the moſt part can well away with, faine we would bring the World, if we might, to thinke it but a needleſſe curioſitie, to rip vp any thing further then extemporall readines of wit doth ſerue to reach vnto. Which courſe, if here we did liſt to follow, we might tell you that in the firſt branch of this ſentence, God doth condemne the Babylonians Pride, and in the ſecond teach, what happineſſe of ſtate ſhall grow to the righteous by

the conſtancie of their Faith, notwithſtanding the troubles which now they ſuffer; and after certaine notes of wholeſome inſtruction hereupon collected, paſſe ouer without detayning your mindes in any further remooued ſpeculation. But as I take it, there is a difference betweene the talke that beſeemeth Nurces amongſt Children, and that which men of capacitie and iudgement do or ſhould receiue inſtruction by.

The minde of the Prophet being erected with that which hath beene hitherto ſpoken, receiueth here for full ſatisfaction, a ſhort abridgement of that which is afterwards more particularly vnfolded. Wherefore as the queſtion before diſputed of doth concerne two ſorts of men, the wicked flouriſhing as the Bay, and the righteous like the withered Graſſe; the one full of Pride, the other caſt downe with vtter diſcouragement: ſo the anſwere which God doth make for reſolution of doubts hereupon ariſen, hath reference vnto both ſorts, and this preſent ſentence contayning a brieſe Abſtract thereof, comprehendeth ſummarily as well the fearefull eſtate of iniquitie ouer-exalted, as the hope layd vp for righteouſneſſe oppreſt. In the former branch of which ſentence, let vs firſt examine what this rectitude or ſtreightneſſe importeth, which God denyeth to bee in the minde of the *Babylonian*. All things which God did create, He made them at the firſt, true, good, and right. True, in reſpect of correſpondence vnto that patterne of their being, which was eternally drawne in the counſell of Gods fore-knowledge; Good, in regard of the vſe and benefit which each thing yeeldeth vnto other; Right, by an apt conformitie of all parts with that end which is outwardly propoſed for each thing to tend vnto. Other things haue ends propoſed, but haue not the facultie to know, iudge, and eſteeme of them and therefore as they tend thereunto vnwittingly, ſo likewiſe in the meanes whereby they acquite their appointed ends; they are by neceſſitie ſo held, that they cannot diuert from them. The ends why the Heauens doe moue, the heauens themſelues know not, and their motions they cannot but continue. Only men in all their actions know what it is which they ſeeke for, neither are they by any ſuch neceſſitie tyed naturally vnto any certaine determinate meane to obtaine their end by, but that they may, if they will, forſake it. And therefore in the whole World no creature but only man which hath the laſt end of his actions propoſed as a recompence and reward, whereunto his mind directly bending it ſelfe, is termed right or ſtraight, otherwiſe peruerſe.

To make this ſomewhat more plaine, wee muſt note, that as they which trauell from Citie to Citie, enquire euer for the ſtraighteſt way, becauſe the ſtraighteſt is that which ſooneſt bringeth them vnto their iournies end: So wee hauing here, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, no abiding Citie, but being alwayes in trauell towards that place of ioy, immortalitie, and reſt, cannot but in euerie of our deeds, words and thoughts, thinke that to be beſt, which with moſt expedition leadeth vs thereunto, and is for that very cauſe termed right. That Soueraigne good, which is the eternall fruition of all good, being our laſt and chiefeſt felicitie, there is no deſperate deſpiſer of God and godlineſſe liuing which doth not wiſh for. The difference betweene right and crooked mindes, is in the meanes which the one or the other doe eſchew or follow. Certaine

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it is, that all particular things which are naturally desired in the world, as food, rayment, honour, wealth, pleasure, knowledge, they are subordinated in such wise vnto that future good which we looke for in the world to come, that euen in them there lyeth a direct way tending vnto this. Otherwise we must thinke that God making promises of good things in this life, did seek to peruert men, and to leade them from their right mindes. Where is then the obliquitie of the minde of man? His minde is peruerse, cam, and crooked, not when it bendeth it selfe vnto any of these things, but when it bendeth so, that it swarueth either to the right hand or to the left, by excesse or defect from that exact rule whereby humane actions are measured. The Rule to measure and iudge them by, is the Law of God: For this cause the Prophet doth make so often & so earnest sute, *O direct me in the way of thy Commandements*: As long as I haue respect to thy Statutes, I am sure not to tread amisse. Vnder the name of the Law, wee must comprehend not only that which God hath written in Tables and leaues, but that which Nature also hath engrauen in the hearts of men. Else how shall those Heathen which neuer had Bookes but Heauen and Earth to looke vpon, be conuicted of peruersenesse? But the Gentiles which had not the Law in Bookes, had, saith the Apostle, the effect of the Law written in their hearts.

Then seeing that the heart of man is not right exactly, vnlesse it bee found in all parts such, that God examining and calling it vnto account with all seuerity of rigour, be not able once to charge it with declining or swaruing aside, (which absolute perfection when did God euer finde in the sonnes of meere mortall men?) Doth it not follow that all flesh must of necessitie fall downe and confesse, wee are not dust and ashes, but worse, our mindes from the highest to the lowest are not right? If not right, then vndoubtedly not capable of that blessednesse which we naturally seeke, but subiect vnto that which wee most abhorre, anguish, tribulation, death, woe, endlesse miserie. For whatsoeuer misseth the way of Life, the issue thereof cannot bee but perdition. By which reason all being wrapped vp in sinne, and made thereby the Children of death, the minds of all men being plainly conuicted not to be right: shall we thinke that God hath indued them with so many excellencies, moe not only then any, but then all the Creatures in the World besides, to leaue them in such estate, that they had bin happier if they had neuer bin? Heere commeth necessarily in a new way vnto Saluation, so that they which were in the other perverse, may in this be found straight and righteous. That the way of Nature, this the way of Grace. The end of that way, Saluation merited, presupposing the righteousnesse of mens workes, their righteousnesse, a naturall habilitie to doe them, that habilitie the goodnesse of God which created them in such perfection. But the end of this way, Saluation bestowed vpon men as a gift presupposing not their righteousnesse, but the forgiuenesse of their vnrighteousnesse, iustification; their iustification, not their naturall habilitie to doe good, but their heartie sorrow for not doing, and vnfayned beliefe in him for whose sake not doers are accepted, which is their vocation; their vocation, the election of God, taking them out from the number of lost children, their election a Mediator in whom to be elect; this mediation, inexplicable mercy; his mercy

their miſerie, for whome hee vouchſafed to make himſelfe a Mediatour. The want of exact diſtinguiſhing betweene theſe two wayes, and obſeruing what they haue common, what peculiar, hath beene the cauſe of the greateſt part of that confuſion whereof Chriſtianitie at this day laboureth. The lacke of diligence in ſearching, laying downe, and inuring mens minds with thoſe hidden grounds of Reaſon, whereupon the leaſt particulars in each of theſe are moſt firmely and ſtrongly builded, is the onely reaſon of all thoſe ſcruples and vncertainties wherewith we are in ſuch ſort intangled, that a number deſpaire of euer diſcerning what is right or wrong in any thing. But wee will let this matter reſt, whereinto we ſtepped to ſearch out a way how ſome mindes may bee and are right truely euen in the ſight of God, though they bee ſimply in themſelues not right.

Howbeit there is not onely this difference betweene the iuſt and impious, that the mind of the one is right in the ſight of God, becauſe his obliquitie is imputed; the other peruerſe, becauſe his ſinne is vnrepented of: but euen as lines that are drawne with a trembling hand, but yet to the point which they ſhould, are thought ragged and vneuen, neuertheleſſe direct in compariſon of them which run clean another way; ſo there is no incongruity in terming them right-minded men, whom though God may charge with many things amiſſe, yet they are not as thoſe hideous and vgly Monſters, in whom becauſe there is nothing but wilfull oppoſition of minde againſt God, a more than tolerable deformitie is noted in them, by ſaying, that their mindes are not right. The Angell of the Church of *Thyatira*, vnto whom the Sonne of God ſendeth this greeting, *I know thy workes and thy loue, and ſeruice, and faith: notwithſtanding I haue a few things againſt thee*, was not as he vnto whom Saint *Peter*, *Thou haſt no fellowſhip in this buſineſſe, for thy heart is not right in the ſight of God.* So that whereas the orderly diſpoſition of the minde of man ſhould be this, perturbations and ſenſuall appetites all kept in awe by a moderate and ſober will; will, in all things framed by reaſon; reaſon, directed by the Law of God and Nature; this *Babylonian* had his minde as it were turned vpſide downe. In him vnreaſonable cecity and blindneſſe trampled all Lawes both of God and Nature vnder feet; wilfulneſſe tyrannized ouer reaſon, and brutiſh ſenſualitie ouer will. An euident token that his outrage would worke his ouerthrow, and procure his ſpeedie ruine. The Mother whereof was that which the Prophet in theſe words ſignifieth; *His minde doth ſwell.*

Immoderate ſwelling, a token of very eminent breach, and of ineuitable deſtruction; Pride, a vice which cleaueth ſo faſt vnto the hearts of men, that if wee were to ſtrip our ſelues of all faultes one by one, wee ſhould vndoubtedly find it the very laſt and hardeſt to put off. But I am not here to touch the ſecret itching humour of vanitie wherewith men are generally touched. It was a thing more then meanely inordinate, wherewith the *Babylonian* did ſwell. Which that we may both the better conceiue, and the more eaſily reape profit by the nature of this vice, which ſetteth the whole World out of courſe, and hath put ſo many euen of the wiſeſt beſides themſelues, is firſt of all to bee inquired into; Secondly, the dangers to be diſcouered, which it draweth ineuitable after it, being not cured; and laſt of all, the wayes to cure it.

Whether

Whether we looke vpon the gifts of nature, or of grace, or whatſoeuer is in the World admired as a part of mans excellencie, adorning his bodie, beautifying his minde, or externally any way commending him in the account and opinion of men, there is in euery kinde ſomewhat poſſible which no man hath, and ſomewhat had which few men can attayne vnto. By occaſion whereof there groweth diſparagement neceſſarily; and by occaſion of diſparagement, Pride through mens ignorance. Firſt therefore, although men bee not proud of any thing which is not at leaſt in opinion good, yet euery good thing they are not proud of, but onely of that which neither is common vnto many, and being deſired of all, cauſeth them which haue it, to be honored aboue the reſt. Now there is no man ſo voide of braine, as to ſuppoſe that Pride conſiſteth in the bare poſſeſſion of ſuch things; for then to haue Vertue were a Vice, and they ſhould bee the happieſt men who are moſt wretched, becauſe they haue leaſt of that which they would haue. And though in ſpeech wee doe intimate a kind of vanity to be in them of whom we ſay, *They are Wiſemen and they know it*, yet this doth not prooue that euery Wiſeman is proud which doth not thinke himſelfe to be blockiſh. What we may haue and know that we haue it without offence, do we then make offenſiue when we take ioy and delight in hauing it? What difference betweene men enriched with all abundance of earthly and heauenly bleſſings, and Idols gorgeouſly attyred, but this, *the one takes pleaſure in that which they haue, the other none?* If we may be poſſeſt with beautie, ſtrength, riches, power, knowledge, if we may be priuie what we are euery way, if glad and ioyfull for our owne wel-fare, and in all this remayne vnblameable, neuertheleſſe ſome there are who granting thus much, doubt whether it may ſtand with humility to except thoſe teſtimonies of praiſe and commendation, thoſe titles, roomes, and other honours which the World yeeldeth as acknowledgements of ſome men excellencies aboue others. For in as much as Chriſt hath ſaid vnto thoſe that are his; *The Kings of the Gentiles raigne ouer them, and they that beare rule ouer them are called gracious Lords: Be ye not ſo*; The Anabaptiſt hereupon vrgeth equalitie amongſt Chriſtians, as if all exerciſe of authoritie were nothing elſe but Heatheniſh Pride. Our Lord & Saviour had no ſuch meaning. But his Diſciples feeding themſelues with a vain imagination for the time, that the Meſſias of the World ſhould in Ieruſalem erect his Throne, and exerciſe dominion with great pompe and outward ſtatelineſſe, aduanced in honour and terrene power aboue all the Princes of the Earth, began to thinke how with their Lords condition, their owne would alſo riſe: that hauing left and forſaken all to follow him, their place about him ſhould not be meane: and becauſe they were many, it troubled them much, which of them ſhould bee the greateſt man. When ſuit was made for two by name, that of them one might ſit at his right hand, and the other at his left, the reſt beganne to ſtomacke, each taking it grieuouſly, that any ſhould haue what all did affect. Their Lord and Maſter to correct this humour, turneth aſide their cogitations from theſe vaine and fanſieſull conceits, giuing them plainely to vnderſtand that they did but deceiue themſelues. His comming was not to purchaſe an earthly, but to beſtow an heauenly Kingdome, wherein they (if any) ſhall bee greateſt, whom vnfayned Humilitie maketh in this

World loweſt, and leaſt amongſt others: *Yee are they which haue continued with mee in my temptations, therefore I leaue vnto you a Kingdome, as my Father hath appointed me, that yee may eat and drinke at my Table in my Kingdome, and ſit on ſeates, and iudge the twelue Tribes of Iſrael.* But my Kingdome is no ſuch Kingdome as ye dreame of. And therefore theſe hungry ambitious contentions are ſeemlier in Heathens then in you. Wherefore from Chriſts intent and purpoſe nothing further remoued, then diſlike of diſtinctions in titles and callings annexed for orders ſake vnto authoritie, whether it be Eccleſiaſtical or Ciuil. And when wee haue examined throughly what the nature of this vice is, no man knowing it, can be ſo ſimple, as not to ſee an vgly ſhape thereof apparent many times in reiecting honours offered, then in the very exacting of them at the hands of men. For as *Iudas* his care for the poore was meere couetouſneſſe, and that franck-heated waſtfulneſſe ſpoken of in the Goſpell, thrift; ſo there is no doubt but that going in rags may be Pride, and Thrones bee challenged with vnfained humilitie.

Wee muſt goe further therefore and enter ſomewhat deeper, before wee can come to the Cloſet wherein this Poyſon lyeth. There is in the heart of euery proud man, firſt, an errour of vnderſtanding; a vaine opinion whereby he thinketh his owne excellencie, and by reaſon thereof, his worthineſſe of eſtimation, regard, and honour, to be greater then in truth it is. This maketh him in all his affections accordingly to rayſe vp himſelfe, and by his inward affections his outward acts are faſhioned. Which if you liſt to haue exemplified, you may either by calling to minde things ſpoken of them whom God himſelfe hath in Scripture ſpecially noted with this fault, or by preſenting to your ſecret cogitations that which you daily behold in the odious liues and manners of high-minded men. It were too long to gather together ſo plentifull an harueſt of examples in this kind as the ſacred Scripture affordeth. That which wee drinke in at our Eares, doth not ſo piercingly enter, as that which the mind doth conceiue by ſight. Is there any thing written concerning the *Aſſyrian* Monarch in the tenth of *Eſay*, of his ſwelling mind, his haughtie looks, his great and preſumptuous vaunts; *By the power of mine owne hand I haue done all things, and by mine owne wiſdome I haue ſubdued the World?* Any thing concerning the Dames of Sion in the third of the Prophet *Eſay*, of their ſtretched out necks, their immodeſt eyes, their Pageant-like, ſtately, and pompeous gate? Any thing concerning the practices of *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*; of their impatience to liue in ſubiection, their mutinies, repining at lawfull authority, their grudging againſt their Superiours Eccleſiaſticall and Ciuill? Any thing concerning Pride in any ſort ſect, which the preſent face of the World doth not as in a glaſſe repreſent to the view of all mens beholding? So that if Bookes, both prophane and holy, were all loſt, as long as the manners of men retaine the ſtate they are in: for him which obſerueth how that when men haue once conceiued an ouer-weaning of themſelues, it maketh them in all their affections to ſwell, how deadly their hatred, how heauie their diſpleaſure, how vnappeaſeable their indignation and wrath is aboue other mens, in what manner they compoſe themſelues to be as *Heteroclites*, without the compaſſe of all ſuch Rules as common are ſort meaſured by; how the Oathes which religious

hearts

hearts doe tremble at, they affect as principall graces of ſpeech; what felicitie they take to ſee the enormitie of their crimes aboue the reach of Lawes and puniſhments; how much it delighteth them when they are able to appale with the cloudineſſe of their looke; how farre they excceed the termes wherewith mans nature ſhould be limited; how high they beare their heads ouer others; how they brow-beat all men which doe not receiue their Sentences as Oracles with maruelous applauſe and approbation; how they looke vpon no man, but with an indirect countenance, not heare any thing ſauing their owne praiſe, with patience, nor ſpeake without ſcornefulneſſe and diſdaine; how they vſe their ſeruants, as if they were beaſts, their inferiors as ſeruants, their equals as inferiors, and as for ſuperiors acknowledge none; how they admire themſelues as venerable, puiſſant, wiſe, circumſpect, prouident, euerie way great, taking all men beſides themſelues for cyphers, poore, inglorious, ſilly creatures, needleſſe burthens of the earth, off-ſcowrings, nothing: in a word, for him which marketh how irregular and exorbitant they are in all things, it can be no hard thing hereby to gather, that Pride is nothing but an inordinate elation of the mind, proceeding from a falſe conceit of mens excellencie in things honoured, which accordingly frameth alſo their deeds and behauiour, vnleſſe there be cunning to conceale it. For a foule ſcarre may be couered with a faire cloth. And as proud as *Lucifer*, may be in outward appearance lowly.

No man expecteth Grapes of Thiſtles: nor from a thing of ſo bad a nature, can other then ſutable fruits be looked for. What harme ſoeuer in priuate families there groweth by diſobedience of children, ſtubbornneſſe of ſeruants, vntractableneſſe in them, who although they otherwiſe may rule, yet ſhould in conſideration of the imparitie of their ſexe be alſo ſubiect; what ſoeuer by ſtrife amongſt men combined in the fellowſhip of greater Societies, by tyranny of Potentates, ambition of Nobles, rebellion of Subiects in ciuill States; by Hereſies, Schiſmes, diuiſions in the Church; naming Pride, we name the Mother which brought them forth, and the only Nurſe that feedeth them. Giue me the hearts of all men humbled, and what is there that can ouerthrow or diſturbe the peace of the world? Wherein many things are the cauſe of much euill, but Pride of all.

To declaime of the ſwarmes of euils iſſuing out of Pride, is an eaſie labour. I rather wiſh that I could exactly preſcribe & perſwade effectually the remedies, whereby a ſore ſo grieuous might be cured, and the meanes how the pride of ſwelling minds might be taken downe. Whereunto ſo much we haue alreadie gained, that the euidence of the cauſe, which breedeth it, pointeth directly vnto the likelieſt and fitteſt helps to take it away: diſeaſes that come of fulneſſe, emptineſſe muſt remoone. Pride is not cured, but by abating the error which cauſeth the mind to ſwell. Then ſeeing that they ſwell by miſconceit of their owne excellency; for this cauſe all which tend to the beating downe of their pride, whether it be aduertiſement from men, or from God himſelfe chaſtiſement, it then maketh them ceaſe to be proud, when it cauſeth them to ſee their error in ouer-ſeeing the thing they were proud of. At this marke, *Iob*, in his Apologie vnto his eloquent friends, aymeth. For perceiuing how

how much they delighted to heare themselues talke, as if they had giuen their poore afflicted familiar a schooling of maruellous deepe and rare instructon, as if they had taught him more then all the world besides could acquaint him with, his answer was to this effect: Yee swell as though yee had conceiued some greater matter, but as for that which yee are deliuered off, who knoweth it not? Is any man ignorant of these things? At the same marke the blessed Apostle driueth; yee abound in all things, yee are rich, yee raigne, and would to Christ we did raigne with you. But boast not; For what haue yee, or are yee of your selues? To this marke all those humble Confessions are referred, which haue beene alwayes frequent in the mouthes of Saints, truely wading in the tryall of themselues: as that of the Prophet, *We are nothing but sorenesse and festered corruption*: our very light is darkenesse, and our righteousnesse it selfe vnrighteousnesse; that of GREGORY, *Let no man euer put confidence in his owne deserts; Sordet in conspectu Iudicis, quod fulget in conspectu operantis*, In the sight of that dreadfull Iudge it is noysome, which in the doers iudgement maketh a beautifull shew: That of ANSELME, *I adore thee, I blesse thee, Lord God of heauen, and Redeemer of the world, with all the power, ability, and strength of my heart and soule, for thy goodnes so vnmeasurably extended, not in regard of my merits, whereunto only torments were due, but of thy meere vnprocured benignity.* If these Fathers should be raised again from the dust, & haue the bookes laid open before them wherein such sentences are found as this, *Workes, neither then the value, desert, price, and worth of the ioyes of the Kingdome of heauen; Heauen, in relation to our workes, as the very stipend, which the hyred Labourer couenanteth to haue of him whose workes he doth, a thing equally and iustly answering vnto the time and waight of his trauailes, rather then to a voluntarie or bountifull gift.* If, I say, those reuerend fore-rehearsed Fathers, whose bookes are so full of sentences, witnessing their Christian humilitie, should be raised from the dead, and behold with their eyes such things written; would they not plainly pronounce of the Authors of such writ, that they were fuller of *Lucifer* then of Christ, that they were proud-hearted men, and carried more swelling minds then sincerely and feelingly knowne Christianitie can tolerate?

Annot. Rhem. in 1. Cor. 3.

But as vnruly children, with whom wholsome admonition preuaileth little, are notwithstanding brought to feare that euer after, which they haue once well smarted for: so the mind which falleth not with instruction, yet vnder the rod of diuine chastisement ceaseth to swell. If therefore the Prophet *Dauid* instructed by good experience, haue acknowledged, Lord, I was euen at the point of cleane forgetting my selfe, and so straying from my right mind; but thy rod hath beene my reformer, it hath beene good for me, euen as much as my soule is worth, that I haue beene with sorrow troubled: if the blessed Apostle did need the corrosiue of sharpe & bitter strokes, lest his heart should swell with too great abundance of heauenly Reuelations, surely, vpon vs whatsoeuer God in this world doth, or shall inflict, it cannot seeme more then our pride doth exact, not only by way of reuenge, but of remedie. So hard it is to cure a sore of such qualitie as pride is, in as much as that which rooteth out other vices, causeth this, and (which is euen aboue all conceit) if we were cleane from all spot and blemish, both of other faults of pride, the fall of

Angels

Angels doth make it almoſt a queſtion whether we might not need a preſeruatiue ſtill, leſt we ſhould haply waxe proud that we are not proud. What is Vertue, but a medicine; and Vice, but a wound? Yet we haue ſo often deeply wounded our ſelues with medicine, that God hath beene faine to make wounds medicinable, to cure by Vice where Vertue hath ſtricken, to ſuffer the iuſt man to fall, that being raiſed, he may be taught what power it was which vpheld him ſtanding. I am not afraid to affirme it boldly with S. *Auguſtine*, that men puffed vp through a proud opinion of their owne ſanctitie and holineſſe, receiue a benefit at the hands of God, and are aſſiſted with his grace, when with his grace they are not aſſiſted, but permitted, and that grieuouſly to tranſgreſſe, whereby as they were in ouer-great liking of themſelues ſupplanted, ſo the diſlike of that which did ſupplant them, may eſtabliſh them afterwards the ſurer. Aske the very ſoule of *Peter*, and it ſhall vndoubtedly make you it ſelfe this anſwer; My eager proteſtations made in the glorie of my ghoſtly ſtrength, I am aſhamed of, but thoſe Chryſtall teares wherewith my ſinne and weakeneſſe was bewayled, haue procured my endleſſe ioy, my ſtrength hath beene my ruine, and my fall my ſtay.

FINIS.

FINIS

A REMEDIE AGAINST SORROW AND FEARE, Deliuered in a Funerall SERMON.

IOHN 14. 27.

Let not your hearts be troubled, nor feare.

THE holy Apoſtles hauing gathered themſelues together by the ſpeciall appointment of Chriſt, and being in expectation to receiue from him ſuch inſtructions as they had beene accuſtomed with, were told that which they leaſt looked for, namely, That the time of his departure out of the world, was now come. Whereupon they fell into conſideration, firſt, of the manifold benefits which his abſence ſhould bereaue them off: and ſecondly, of the ſundrie euils which themſelues ſhould be ſubiect vnto, being once bereaued of ſo gracious a Maſter and Patron. The one conſideration ouerwhelmed their ſoules with heauineſſe: The other with feare. Their Lord and Sauiour, whoſe words had caſt downe their hearts, raiſeth them preſently againe with choſen ſentences of ſweet encouragement. My deare, it is for your owne ſakes that I leaue the world. I know the affections of your hearts are tender, but if your loue were directed with that aduiſed and ſtaid iudgement which ſhould be in you, my ſpeech of leauing the world, and going vnto my Father, would not a little augment your ioy. Deſolate and comfortleſſe I will not leaue you; in Spirit I am with you to the worlds end, whether I be preſent or abſent, nothing ſhall euer take you out of theſe hands: my going is to take poſſeſſion of that, in your names, which is not onely for me, but alſo for you prepared, where I am, you ſhall be. In the meane while, *My peace I giue, not as the world giueth, giue I vnto you: Let not your hearts be troubled, nor feare.* The former part of which ſentence hauing other-where alreadie beene ſpoken of, this vnacceptable occaſion to open the latter part thereof here, I did not looke for. But ſo God diſpoſeth the wayes of men. Him I heartily beſeech, that the thing which hee hath thus ordered by his prouidence, may through his gracious goodneſſe turne vnto your comfort.

Our

Our nature coueteth preſeruation from things hurtfull. Hurtfull things being preſent, doe breed heauineſſe, being future, doe cauſe feare. Our Sauiour to abate the one, ſpeaketh thus vnto his Diſciples: *Let not your hearts bee troubled*, and to moderate the other, addeth *Feare not*. Griefe and heauineſſe in the preſents of ſenſible euils cannot but trouble the minds of men. It may therefore ſeeme that Chriſt required a thing impoſſible. Be not troubled. Why, how could they chooſe? But we muſt note this being naturall and therefore ſimply not reproueable, is in vs good or bad according to the cauſes for which we are grieued, or the meaſure of our griefe. It is not my meaning to ſpeake ſo largely of this affection, as to go ouer all particulars whereby men doe one way or other offend in it, but to teach it ſo farre onely as it may cauſe the very Apoſtles equals to ſwarue. Our griefe and heauineſſe therefore is reproueable, ſometime in reſpect of the cauſe from whence, ſometime in regard of the meaſure whereunto it groweth.

When Chriſt the life of the world was led vnto cruell death, there followed a number of people and women, which women bewayled much his heauie caſe. It was naturall compaſſion which cauſed them, where they ſaw vndeſerued miſeries, there to powre forth vnreſtrained teares. Nor was this reproued. But in ſuch readineſſe to lament where they leſſe needed, their blindneſſe in not diſcerning that for which they ought much rather to haue mourned, this our Sauiour a little toucheth, putting them in mind that the teares which were waſted for him, might better haue beene ſpent vpon themſelues. *Daughters of Ieruſalem, weepe not for me, weepe for your ſelues and for your children.* It is not as the Stoicks haue imagined, a thing vnſeemly for a wiſe man to be touched with griefe of mind, but to be ſorrowfull when we leaſt ſhould, and where we ſhould lament, there to laugh, this argueth our ſmall wiſedome. Againe, when the Prophet *Dauid* confeſſeth thus of himſelfe, *I grieued to ſee the great proſperitie of godleſſe men how they flouriſh and goe vntoucht*, *Pſal.* 73. Himſelfe hereby openeth both our common and his peculiar imperfection, whom this cauſe ſhould not haue made ſo penſiue. To grieue at this, is to grieue where we ſhould not, becauſe this griefe doth riſe from errour. We erre when we grieue at wicked mens impunitie and proſperitie, becauſe their eſtate being rightly diſcerned, they neither proſper nor goe vnpuniſhed. It may ſeeme a paradoxe, it is a truth, that no wicked mans eſtate is proſperous, fortunate, or happie. For what though they bleſſe themſelues and thinke their happineſſe great? Haue not franticke perſons many times a great opinion of their owne wiſedome? It may be that ſuch as they thinke themſelues, others alſo doe accompt them. But what others? Surely ſuch as themſelues are. Truth and reaſon diſcerneth farre otherwiſe of them. Vnto whom the Iewes wiſh all proſperitie, vnto them the phraſe of their ſpeech is to wiſh peace. Seeing then the name of peace containeth in it all parts of true happineſſe, when the Prophet ſaith plainely that the wicked haue no peace, how can we thinke them to haue any part of other then vainely imagined felicitie? What wiſe man did euer accompt fooles happie? If wicked men were wiſe, they would ceaſe to be wicked. Their iniquitie therefore proouing their folly, how can we ſtand in doubt of their miſerie? They abound in thoſe things which all men deſire.

deſire. A poore happineſſe to haue good things in poſſeſſion, *A man to whom God hath giuen riches and treaſures and honour, ſo that he wanteth nothing for his ſoule of all that it deſireth, but yet God giueth him not the power to eat thereof:* ſuch a felicitie *Salomon* eſteemeth but as a vanity, a thing of nothing. If ſuch things adde nothing to mens happineſſe where they are not vſed, ſurely wicked men that vſe them ill, the more they haue, the more wretched. Of their proſperitie therefore we ſee what we are to thinke. Touching their impunitie, the ſame is likewiſe but ſuppoſed. They are oftener plagued then wee are aware of. The pangs they feele are not alwayes written in their fore-heads. Though wickednes be ſugar in their mouthes, and wantonneſſe as Oyle to make them looke with cheerefull countenance, neuertheles if their hearts were diſcloſed, perhaps their glittering eſtate would not greatly bee enuied. The voices that haue broken out from ſome of them, *O that God had giuen me a heart ſenſleſſe like the flint in the rocks of ſtone!* which as it can taſte no pleaſure, ſo it feeleth no woe; theſe and the like ſpeeches are ſurely tokens of the curſe which *Zophar* in the Booke of *Iob* powreth vpon the head of the impious man, *He ſhall ſucke the gall of Aſps, and the Vipers tongue ſhall ſlay him.* If this ſeeme light becauſe it is ſecret, ſhall we thinke they goe vnpuniſhed, becauſe no apparent plague is preſently ſeene vpon them? The iudgements of God doe not alwayes follow crimes as Thunder doth Lightning, but ſometimes the ſpace of many Ages comming betweene. When the Sunne hath ſhined faire the ſpace of ſixe dayes vpon their Tabernacle, wee know not what Cloudes the ſeuenth may bring. And when their puniſhment doth come, let them make their account in the greatnes of their ſufferings, to pay the intereſt of that reſpect which hath beene giuen them. Or if they chance to eſcape cleerely in this World, which they ſeldome doe, in the Day when the Heauens ſhall ſhrinell as a Scrole, and the mountaines moue as frighted men out of their places, what Caue ſhall receiue them? what Mountaine or Rock ſhall they get by intreatie to fall vpon them? What couert to hide them from that wrath which they ſhall be neither able to abide nor auoyde? No mans miſerie therefore being greater then theirs whoſe impiety is moſt fortunate; much more cauſe there is for them to bewaile their owne infelicitie, then for others to be troubled with their proſperous and happie eſtate, as if the hand of the Almightie did not or would not touch them. For theſe cauſes and the like vnto theſe therefore be not troubled. Eccl. 6. 2.

Now though the cauſe of our heauineſſe be iuſt, yet may not our affections herein be yeelded vnto with too much indulgencie and fauour. The griefe of compaſſion, whereby we are touched with the feeling of other mens woes, is of all other leaſt dangerous. Yet this is a let vnto ſundry duties, by this wee are to ſpare ſometimes where we ought to ſtrike. The griefe which our owne ſufferings doe bring, what temptations haue not riſen from it? What great aduantage Satan hath taken euen by the godly griefe of hartie contrition for ſinnes committed againſt God, the neere approching of ſo many afflicted ſoules, whom the conſcience of ſinne hath brought vnto the very brinke of extreme deſpaire, doth but too abundantly ſhew. Theſe things whereſoeuer they fall, cannot but trouble and moleſt the minde. Whether wee bee therefore mooued vainely with that which ſeemeth hurtfull and is not; or

haue iuſt cauſe of griefe, being preſſed indeed with thoſe things which are grieuous, our Sauiours leſſon is, touching the one, Be not troubled, nor ouer-troubled for the other. For though to haue no feeling of that which meerely concerneth vs were ſtupiditie, neuertheleſſe, ſeeing that as the Author of our Saluation was himſelfe conſecrated by affliction, ſo the way which wee are to follow him by, is not ſtrewed with ruſhes, but ſet with thornes, bee it neuer ſo hard to learne wee muſt learne to ſuffer with patience, euen that which ſeemeth almoſt impoſſible to be ſuffered, that in the houre when God ſhall call vs vnto our tryall, and turne this honey of peace and pleaſure wherewith wee ſwell in that gall and bitterneſſe which fleſh doth ſhrinke to taſte of, nothing may cauſe vs in the troubles of our ſoules to ſtorme and grudge and repine at God, but euery heart be enabled with diuinely inſpired ccurage to inculcate vnto it ſelfe, *Be not troubled*, and in thoſe laſt and greateſt conflicts to remember it, that nothing may be ſo ſharpe and bitter to be ſuffered, but that ſtill we our ſelues may giue our ſelues this encouragement, *Euen learne alſo patience, O my ſoule.*

Naming patience, I name that vertue which onely hath power to ſtay our ſoules from being ouer-exceſſiuely troubled: a vertue, wherein if euer any, ſurely that ſoule had good experience, which extremitie of paines hauing chaſed out of the Tabernacle of this fleſh, Angels, I nothing doubt, haue carried into the boſome of her father *Abraham*. The death of the Saints of God is precious in his ſight. And ſhall it ſeeme vnto vs ſuperfluous at ſuch times as theſe are, to heare in what manner they haue ended their liues? The Lord himſelfe hath not diſdayned ſo exactly to regiſter in the Booke of life, after what ſort his Seruants haue cloſed vp their dayes on earth, that he deſcendeth euen to their very meaneſt actions, what meate they haue longed for in their ſickneſſe, what they haue ſpoken vnto their Children, Kinsfolke, and Friends, where they haue willed their dead Carkaſſes to be laid, how they haue framed their Wils and Teſtaments, yea the very turning of their faces to this ſide or that, the ſetting of their eyes, the degrees whereby their naturall heate hath departed from them, their cryes, their groanes, their pantings, breathings, and laſt gaſpings, he hath moſt ſolemnely commended vnto the memorie of all Generations. The care of the liuing both to liue and to dye well muſt needes bee ſomewhat increaſed, when they know that their departure ſhall not be folded vp in ſilence, but the eares of many bee made acquainted with it. Againe, when they heare how mercifully God hath dealt with others in the houre of their laſt need, beſides the prayſe which they giue to God, and the ioy which they haue or ſhould haue by reaſon of their fellowſhip and communion of Saints, is not their hope alſo much confirmed againſt the day of their owne diſſolution? Finally, the ſound of theſe things doth not ſo paſſe the eares of them that are moſt looſe and diſſolute of life, but it cauſeth them ſometime or other to wiſh in their hearts, *O that we might dye the death of the righteous, and that our end might be like his!* Howbeit, becauſe to ſpend herein many words, would be to ſtrike euen as many wounds into their minds whom I rather wiſh to comfort, therefore concerning this vertuous Gentlewoman, only this little I ſpeake, and that of knowledge, *She liued a Doue, and dyed a Lambe.* And if amongſt

mongſt ſo many vertues, heartie deuotion towards God, towards pouertie tender compaſſion, motherly affection towards ſeruants, towards friends euen ſeruiceable kindneſſe, milde behauiour, and harmeleſſe meaning towards all; if where ſo many vertues were eminent, any be worthy of ſpeciall mention, I wiſh her deareſt friends of that ſexe to be her neereſt followers in two things: *Silence*, ſauing only where dutie did exact ſpeech, and *Patience*, euen then when extremitie of paines did enforce griefe. *Bleſſed are they which dye in the Lord.* And concerning the dead which are bleſſed, let not the hearts of any liuing be ouer-charged, with griefe ouer-troubled.

Touching the latter affection of feare which reſpecteth euils to come, as the other which we haue ſpoken of doth preſent euils; firſt, in the nature thereof it is plaine, that we are not of euery future euill afraid. Perceiue wee not how they, whoſe tenderneſſe ſhrinketh at the leaſt raſe of a Needles point, doe kiſſe the Sword that pierceth their Soules quite through? If euery euill did cauſe feare, ſinne, becauſe it is ſinne, would be feared; whereas properly ſinne is not feared as ſinne, but onely as hauing ſome kind of harme annexed. To teach men to auoyd ſinne, it had beene ſufficient for the Apoſtle to ſay, Flye it. But to make them afraid of committing ſinne, becauſe the naming of ſinne ſufficed not, therefore he addeth further, that it is as a *Serpent which ſtingeth the ſoule.* Againe, be it that ſome nociue or hurtfull things be towards vs, muſt feare of neceſſitie follow hereupon? Not except that hurtfull things do threaten vs either with deſtruction or vexation, and that ſuch as wee haue neither a conceit of abilitie to reſiſt, nor of vtter impoſſibilitie to auoyde. That which we know our ſelues able to withſtand, we feare not, adde that which we know we are vnable to deferre or diminiſh, or any way auoyd, we ceaſe to feare, wee giue our ſelues ouer to beare and ſuſtaine it. The euill therefore which is feared, muſt be in our perſwaſion vnable to be reſiſted when it commeth, yet not vtterly impoſſible for a time in whole or in part to bee ſhunned. Neyther doe we much feare ſuch euils, except they be imminent and neere at hand, nor if they be neere, except we haue an opinion that they be ſo. When we haue once conceiued an opinion, or apprehended an imagination of ſuch euils preſt and readie to inuade vs, becauſe they are hurtfull vnto our nature, wee feele in our ſelues a kind of abhorring; becauſe they are thought neere, yet not preſent, our nature ſeeketh forthwith how to ſhift and prouide for it ſelfe; becauſe they are euils which cannot be reſiſted, therefore ſhe doth not prouide to withſtand, but to ſhun and auoyde. Hence it is, that in extreme feare the Mother of life contracting her ſelfe, auoyding as much as may be the reach of euill, and drawing the heate together with the ſpirits of the bodie to her, leaueth the outward parts cold, pale, weake, feeble, vnapt to performe the functions of life, as wee ſee in the feare of *Balthaſar* King of *Babel.* By this it appeareth, that feare is nothing elſe but a perturbation of the minde through an opinion of ſome imminent euill, threatning the deſtruction or great annoyance of our nature, which to ſhun, it doth contract and deiect it ſelfe.

Now becauſe not in this place onely, but other where often we heare it repeated *Feare not*, it is by ſome made a long queſtion, *whether a man may feare deſtruction or vexation, without ſinning?* Firſt, the reproofe wherewith Chriſt

checketh his Diſciples more then once, *O men of little faith, wherefore are yee afraid?* Secondly, the puniſhment threatned in the twenty one of the *Reuelation*, to wit, the Lake, and fire, and brimſtone, not onely to Murtherers, vncleane perſons, Sorcerers, Idolaters, Lyers, but alſo to the fearefull and faint-hearted, this ſeemeth to argue that fearefulneſſe cannot but be ſinne. On the contrarie ſide we ſee, that He which neuer felt motion vnto ſinne, had of this affection more then a ſlight feeling. How cleere is the euidence of the Spirit, that *in the dayes of his fleſh hee offered vp Prayers and Supplications with ſtrong cries and teares vnto him that was able to ſaue him from death, and was alſo heard in that which hee feared? Heb.* 5.7. Whereupon it followeth, that feare in it ſelfe is a thing not ſinfull. For is not feare a thing naturall, and for mens preſeruation neceſſary, implanted in vs by the prouident and moſt gracious Giuer of all good things, to the end that wee might not runne head-long vpon thoſe miſchiefes wherewith we are not able to encounter, but vſe the remedie of ſhunning thoſe euils which we haue not abilitie to withſtand? Let that people therefore which receiue a benefit by the length of their Princes dayes, that Father or Mother that reioyceth to ſee the Off-ſpring of their fleſh grow like greene and pleaſant Plants, let thoſe children that would haue their Parents, thoſe men that would gladly haue their friends and brethrens dayes prolonged on earth, (as there is no naturall-hearted man but gladly would) let them bleſſe the Father of lights, as in other things, ſo euen in this, that he hath giuen man a fearefull heart, and ſetled naturally that affection in him, which is a preſeruation againſt ſo many wayes of death. Feare then in it ſelfe being meere nature, cannot in it ſelfe bee ſinne, which ſinne is not nature, but thereof an acceſſary depriuation.

But in the matter of feare we may ſinne, and doe, two wayes. If any mans danger be great, theirs greateſt, that haue put the feare of danger fartheſt from them. Is there any eſtate more fearefull then that Babylonians Strumpets, that ſitteth vpon the tops of ſeuen hils, glorying and vaunting, *I am a Queene? &c. Reuel.* 18.7. How much better and happier they, whoſe eſtate hath beene alwayes as his who ſpeaketh after this ſort of himſelfe, *Lord, from my youth haue I borne thy yoke?* They which ſit at continuall eaſe, and are ſetled in the lees of their ſecuritie, looke vpon them, view their countenance, their ſpeech, their geſture, their deedes; put them in feare, O God, ſaith the Prophet, that ſo they may know themſelues to be but men, Wormes of the Earth, duſt and aſhes, fraile, corruptible, feeble things. To ſhake of ſecuritie therefore, and to breed feare in the hearts of mortall men, ſo many admonitions are vſed concerning the power of euils which beſet them, ſo many threatnings of calamities, ſo many deſcriptions of things threatned, and thoſe ſo liuely, to the end they may leaue behind them a deepe impreſſion of ſuch as haue force to keepe the heart continually waking. All which do ſhew, that wee are to ſtand in feare of nothing more, then the extremitie of not fearing.

When feare hath deliuered vs from that Pit, wherein they are ſunke that haue put far from them the euill day; that haue made a league with death, and haue ſaid *Tuſh, we ſhall feele no harme*; it ſtandeth vs vpon to take heed it caſt vs not into that, wherein ſoules deſtitute of all hope are plunged. For our direction, to auoyde, as much as may be, both extremities, that wee may know as a

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Shipmaſter by his Carde, how farre we are wide, either on the one ſide or on the other; we muſt note that in a Chriſtian man there is firſt, nature, Secondly, corruption peruerting Nature; Thirdly, grace correcting, and amending corruption. In feare all theſe haue their ſeuerall operations. Nature teacheth ſimply, to wiſh preſeruation and auoydance of things dreadful, for which cauſe one Sauiour himſelfe prayeth, and that often; Father, if it be *poſſible*. In which caſes, corrupt natures ſuggeſtions are, for the ſafetie of temporall life, not to ſticke at things excluding from eternall: wherein how farre euen the beſt may bee led, the chiefeſt Apoſtles frailtie teacheth. Were it not therefore for ſuch cogitations, as on the contrarie ſide grace and faith miniſtreth, ſuch as that of IOB, *Though God kill me*, that of PAVL, *Scio, cui credidi*, I know him on whom I doe relye, ſmall euils would ſoone be able to ouer-whelme euen the beſt of vs. *A Wiſeman*, ſaith SALOMON, *doth ſee a plague comming, and hideth himſelfe*. It is nature which teacheth a Wiſeman, in feare to hide himſelfe, but grace and faith doth teach him where. Fooles care not where they hide their heads. But where ſhall a Wiſeman hide himſelfe, when he feareth a plague comming? Where ſhould the frighted Childe hide his head, but in the boſome of his louing Father? Where a Chriſtian, but vnder the ſhadow of the wings of Chriſt his Sauiour? Come, my people, ſaith God, in the Prophet, *Enter into thy Chamber, hide thy ſelfe, &c. Eſay* 26. But becauſe we are in danger like chaſed Birds, like Doues that ſeeke, and cannot ſee the reſting holes that are right before them, therefore our Sauiour giueth his Diſciples theſe encouragements beforehand, that feare might neuer ſo amaze them, but that alwayes they might remember, that whatſoeuer euils at any time did beſet them, to him they ſhould ſtill repaire for comfort, counſell, and ſuccour. For their aſſurance whereof, his *Peace* he *gaue them*, his *Peace* he *left vnto them*, *not ſuch peace as the World* offereth, by whom his name is neuer ſo much pretended, as when deepeſt treachery is meant, but *Peace which paſſeth all vnderſtanding*, *Peace* that bringeth with it all happineſſe, *Peace* that continueth for euer and euer with them that haue it. This Peace God the Father grant, for his Sonnes ſake, vnto whom with the Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons, one Eternall, and Euer-liuing God, be all honour, glorie, and praiſe, now, and for euer.

Amen.

FINIS.

A LEARNED AND COMFORTABLE SERMON OF THE CERTAINTIE AND PERPETVITIE OF FAITH in the Elect; especially of the Prophet HABAKKVKS Faith.

HABAK. 1. 4.

Whether the Prophet Habukkuk, by admitting this cogitation into his mind, The Law doth faile, *did thereby shew himselfe an vnbeleeuer.*

WE haue seene in the opening of this clause, which concerneth the weakenesse of the Prophets faith; first, what things they are whereunto the faith of sound beleeuers doth assent: secondly, wherefore all men assent not thereunto: and thirdly, why they that doe, doe it many times with small assurance. Now because nothing can be so truely spoken, but through mis-vnderstanding it may be depraued; therefore to preuent, if it be possible, all misconstruction in this cause, where a small error cannot rise but with great danger, it is perhaps needfull ere we come to the fourth point, that something be added to that which hath beene alreadie spoken concerning the third.

That meere naturall men doe neither know nor acknowledge the things of God, we doe not maruell, because they are spiritually to be discerned: but they in whose hearts the light of grace doth shine, they that are taught of God, why are they so weake in faith? Why is their assenting to the Law so scrupulous, so much mingled with feare and wauering? It seemeth strange that euer they should imagine the Law to faile. It cannot seeme strange if we waigh the reason. If the things which we beleeue be considered in themselues, it may truely be said, that Faith is more certaine then any Science. That which wee know either by sense, or by infallible demonstration, is not so certaine as the principles, articles, and conclusions of Christian faith. Concerning which we must note, that there is a *certaintie* of *euidence*, and a *certaintie* of *adherence*. *Certaintie* of *euidence* we cal that, when the mind doth assent vnto this or that, not because it is true in it selfe, but because the truth is cleere, because it is manifest to vs. Of things in themselues most certaine, except they be also most euident, our perswasion is not so assured, as it is of things more euident, although in themselues they be lesse certaine. It is as sure, if not surer, that there be spirits as that there be men: but wee be more assured of these then of them, because these are more euident. The truth of some things is so euident, that no man which heareth them, can doubt of them: as when we heare that *a part of any thing is lesse then the whole*, the mind is constrained to say, This is true. If it were so in matters of faith, then as all men haue equall certaintie of this, so no beleeuer should be more scrupulous and doubtfull then another. But we find

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the contrarie. The Angels and Spirits of the righteous in heauen, haue certaintie most euident of things spirituall: but this they haue by the light of glorie. That which we see by the light of grace, though it be indeed more certaine, yet is it not to vs so euidently certaine, as that which sense or the light of nature will not suffer a man to doubt of. Proofes are vaine and friuolous, except they be more certaine then is the thing proued: and do we not see how the Spirit euery where in the Scripture proueth matters of faith, laboureth to confirme vs in the thing which wee beleeue, by things whereof we haue sensible knowledge? I conclude therefore that we haue lesse certaintie of euidence concerning things beleeued, then concerning sensible or naturally perceiued. Of these who doth doubt at any time? Of them at sometime who doubteth not? I will not here alledge the sundrie confessions of the perfectest, that haue liued vpon earth, concerning their great imperfections this way; which if I did, I should dwel too long vpon a matter, sufficiently knowne by euery faithfull man that doth know himselfe.

The other which we call the *certaintie* of *adherence*, is when the heart doth cleaue and sticke vnto that which it doth beleeue. This certaintie is greater in vs then the other. The reason is this. The faith of a Christian doth apprehend the words of the Law, the promises of God, not only as true, but also as good: and therefore euen then when the euidence which he hath of the truth, is so small, that it grieueth him to feele his weakenesse in assenting thereto; yet is there in him such a sure adherence vnto that which he doth but faintly and fearefully beleeue, that his Spirit hauing once truly tasted the heauenly sweetnesse thereof, all the world is not able quite and cleane to remoue him from it: but hee striueth with himselfe to hope against all reason of beleeuing, being settled with *Iob* vpon this vnmoueable resolution, *Though God kill me, I will not giue ouer trusting in him.* For why? This lesson remaineth for euer imprinted in him, *It is good for me to cleaue vnto God*, *Psal.* 73.

Now the minds of all men being so darkned, as they are with the foggie dampe of originall corruption, it cannot be that any mans heart liuing should be either so enlightned in the knowledge, or so established in the loue of that wherein his saluation standeth, as to be perfect, neither doubting nor shrinking at all. If any such were, what doth let why that man should not be iustified by his owne inherent righteousnesse? For righteousnesse inherent, being perfect, will iustifie. And perfect faith is a part of perfect righteousnesse inherent; yea a principall part, the roote and the mother of all the rest: so that if the fruit of euery tree be such as the roote is, faith being perfect, as it is if it be not at all mingled with distrust and feare, what is there to exclude other Christian vertues from the like perfections? And then what need we the righteousnesse of Christ? His garment is superfluous; we may be honourably clothed with our owne Robes, if it be thus. But let them beware who challenge to themselues a strength which they haue not, lest they lose the comfortable support of that weakenesse which indeed they haue.

Some shew, although no soundnesse of ground there is, which may be alledged for defence of this supposed perfection in certaintie touching matters of our faith: as first, that *Abraham* did beleeue and doubted not: secondly, that the Spirit which God hath giuen vs to no other end, but only to assure vs

that

that we are the ſonnes of God; to embolden vs to call vpon him as our Father, to open our eyes and to make the truth of things beleeued euident vnto our minds, is much mightier in operation then the common light of nature, whereby we diſcerne ſenſible things: wherefore we muſt needs be more ſure of that we beleeue, then of that we ſee; wee muſt needs be more certaine of the mercies of God in Chriſt Ieſus, when we are of the light of the Sunne when it ſhineth vpon our faces. To that of ABRAHAM, *He did not doubt*, I anſwer, that this *negation* doth not exclude all feare, all doubting; but only that which cannot ſtand with true faith. It freeth *Abraham* from doubting through *infidelitie*, not from doubting through *infirmitie*; from the doubting of *vnbeleeuers*, not of *weake beleeuers*; from ſuch a doubting as that whereof the Prince of Samaria is attainted, who hearing the promiſe of ſudden plentie in the middeſt of extreme dearth, anſwered, *Though the Lord would make windowes in heauen, were it poſsible ſo to come to paſſe?* But that *Abraham* was not void of all doubting, what need wee any other proofe then the plaine euidence of his owne words? *Geneſ. 17. v. 17.* the reaſon which is taken from the power of the Spirit were effectuall, if God did worke like a naturall Agent, as the fire doth inflame, and the Sunne inlighten, according to the vttermoſt abilitie which they haue to bring forth their effects. But the incomprehenſible wiſedome of God doth limit the effects of his power, to ſuch a meaſure as ſeemeth beſt vnto himſelfe. Wherefore he worketh that certaintie in all, which ſufficeth abundantly to their ſaluation in the life to come; but in none ſo great as attaineth in this life vnto perfection. Euen ſo, O Lord, it hath pleaſed thee, euen ſo it is beſt and fitteſt for vs, that feeling ſtill our owne infirmities, we may no longer breathe, then pray, *Adiuua Domine, Helpe, Lord, our incredulitie.* Of the third queſtion, this I hope, will ſuffice, being added vnto that which hath beene thereof alreadie ſpoken. The fourth queſtion reſteth, & ſo an end of this point. 1. King. 7. 2.

That which commeth laſt of all in this firſt branch, to be conſidered concerning the weaknes of the Prophets faith: *Whether he did by this very thought*, The Law doth faile, *quench the ſpirit, fall from faith, and ſhew himſelfe an vnbeleeuer or no.* The queſtion is of moment, the repoſe and tranquillitie of infinite ſoules doth depend vpon it. The Prophets caſe is the caſe of many; which way ſoeuer wee caſt for him, the ſame way it paſſeth for all others. If in him this cogitation did extinguiſh grace, why the like thoughts in vs ſhould not take the like effect, there is no cauſe. Forasmuch therefore as the matter is waightie, deare, and precious, which wee haue in hand, it behoueth vs with ſo much the greater charineſſe to wade through it, taking ſpecial heed both what we build, and whereon we build: that if our building be pearle, our foundation be not ſtubble; if the doctrine wee teach be full of comfort and conſolation, the ground whereupon we gather it be ſure: otherwiſe we ſhall not ſaue but deceiue both our ſelues and others. In this we know we are not deceiued, neither can wee deceiue you, when wee teach that the faith whereby yee are ſanctified cannot faile; it did not in the Prophet, it ſhall not in you. If it be ſo; let the difference be ſhewed betweene the condition of vnbeleeuers and his, in this or in the like imbecillitie and weaknes. There was in *Abakkuk*, that which S. *Iohn* doth call the *ſeed of God*, meaning thereby, the *firſt grace* which God powreth into the hearts of them that are incorporated into Chriſt; which hauing

uing receiued, if becauſe it is an aduerſarie vnto ſinne, we doe therefore thinke we ſinne not both otherwiſe, and alſo by diſtruſtfull and doubtfull apprehending of that, which we ought ſtedfaſtly to beleeue, ſurely, we doe but deceiue our ſelues. Yet they which are of God, doe not ſinne either in this, or in any thing any ſuch ſinne as doth quite extinguiſh grace, cleane cut them off from Chriſt Ieſus: becauſe the *ſeed of God* abideth in them, and doth ſhield them from receiuing any irremediable wound. Their faith when it is at ſtrongeſt is but weake; yet euen then when it is at the weakeſt, ſo ſtrong, that vtterly it neuer faileth, it neuer periſheth altogether, no not in them, who thinke it extinguiſhed in themſelues. There are, for whoſe ſakes I dare not deale ſlightly in this cauſe, ſparing that labour which muſt be beſtowed to make it plaine. Men in like agonies vnto this of the Prophet *Habakkuks*, are through extremitie of griefe many times in iudgement ſo confounded, that they find not themſelues in themſelues. For that which dwelleth in their hearts they ſeeke, they make diligent ſearch and enquirie. It abideth, it worketh in them, yet ſtill they aske where? Still they lament as for a thing which is paſt finding: they mourne as *Rachel*, and refuſe to be comforted, as if that were not, which indeed is; and as if that which is not, were; as if they did not beleeue when they doe; and as if they did deſpaire when they doe not. Which in ſome, I grant, is but a melancholy paſſion proceeding only from that deiection of mind, the cauſe whereof is in the bodie, and by bodily meanes can be taken away. But where there is no ſuch bodily cauſe, the mind is not lightly in this moode, but by ſome of theſe three occaſions. One; that iudging by compariſon either with other men or with themſelues, at ſome other time more ſtrong, they thinke imperfection to be a plaine depriuation, weakeneſſe to be vtter want of faith. Another cauſe is; they often miſtake one thing for another. Saint *Paul* wiſhing well to the Church of Rome, prayeth for them after this ſort: *The God of hope fill you with all ioy of beleeuing*. Hence an error groweth, when men in heauineſſe of ſpirit ſuppoſe they lacke faith, becauſe they find not the ſugered ioy and delight which indeed doth accompany faith, but ſo as a ſeparable accident, as a thing that may be remooued from it; yea, there is a cauſe why it ſhould be remooued. The light would neuer be ſo acceptable, were it not for that vſuall entercourſe of darkeneſſe. Too much hony doth turne to gall, and too much ioy euen ſpiritually would make vs wantons. Happier a great deale is that mans caſe, whoſe ſoule by inward deſolation is humbled, then he whoſe heart is through abundance of ſpirituall delight lifted vp, and exalted aboue meaſure. Better it is ſometimes to goe downe into the pit with him, who beholding darkneſſe, and bewailing the loſſe of inward ioy and conſolation, cryeth from the bottome of the loweſt hell, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* then continually to walke arme in arme with Angels, to ſit, as it were, in *Abrahams* boſome, and to haue no thought, no cogitation, but, *I thanke my God, it is not with me as it is with other men*. No; God will haue them that ſhall walke in light, to feele now and then what it is to ſit in the ſhadow of death. A grieued ſpirit therefore is no argument of a faithleſſe mind. A third occaſion of mens miſ-iudging themſelues, as if they were faithleſſe when they are not, is; They faſten their cogitations vpon the diſtruſtfull ſuggeſtions of the fleſh, whereof finding great abundance in themſelues, they gather thereby,

Surely,

Surely, vnbeliefe hath full dominion, it hath taken plenarie poſſeſſion of me; if I were faithfull, it could not be thus. Not marking the motions of the Spirit and of Faith, becauſe they lye buried and ouer-whelmed with the contrarie: when notwithſtanding as the bleſſed Apoſtle doth acknowledge, that the *Spirit groneth*, and that God heareth when we doe not; ſo there is no doubt, but that our faith may haue, and hath her priuie operations ſecret to vs, in whom, yet knowne to him by whom they are. Tell this to a man that hath a mind deceiued by too hard an opinion of himſelfe, and it doth but augment his griefe: he hath his anſwer readie; Will you make me thinke otherwiſe then I find, then I feele in my ſelfe? I haue throughly conſidered and exquiſitely ſifted all the corners of my heart, and I ſee what there is: neuer ſeeke to perſwade me againſt my knowledge, *I doe not, I know, I doe not beleeue.* Well, to fauour them a little in their weakeneſſe: let that be granted which they doe imagine; be it that they are faithleſſe and without beliefe. But are they not grieued for their vnbeliefe? They are. Doe they not wiſh it might, and alſo ſtriue that it may be otherwiſe? We know they doe. Whence commeth this, but from a ſecret loue and liking which they haue of thoſe things that are beleeued? No man can loue things which in his owne opinion are not. And if they thinke thoſe things to be, which they ſhew that they loue, when they deſire to beleeue them; then muſt it needs be, that by deſiring to beleeue, they proue themſelues true beleeuers. For without faith, no man thinketh that things beleeued are. Which argument all the ſubtiltie of infernall powers will neuer be able to diſſolue. The Faith therefore of true Beleeuers, though it haue many and grieuous down-fals, yet doth it ſtill continue inuincible; it conquereth and recouereth it ſelfe in the end. The dangerous conflicts whereunto it is ſubiect, are not able to preuayle againſt it. The Prophet *Habbakuk* remained faithfull in weakneſſe, though weake in faith. It is true, ſuch is our weake and wauering nature, that we haue no ſooner receiued grace, but we are readie to fall from it: wee haue no ſooner giuen our aſſent to the Law that it cannot faile, but the next conceit which we are readie to imbrace, is, that it may, and that it doth faile. Though wee find in our ſelues a moſt willing heart to cleaue vnſeparably vnto God, euen ſo farre as to thinke vnfaynedly with PETER, *Lord, I am readie to goe with thee into Priſon and to death:* yet how ſoone and how eaſily, vpon how ſmall occaſions are we changed, if we be but a while let alone and left vnto our ſelues? The Galatians to day for their ſakes which teach them the truth in Chriſt, content if need were to plucke out their owne eyes, and the next day readie to plucke out theirs which taught them. The loue of the Angel to the Church of Epheſus, how greatly enflamed, and how quickly ſlaked? The higher we flow, the neerer we are vnto an ebbe, if men be reſpected as meere men, according to the wonted courſe of their alterable inclination, without the heauenly ſupport of the Spirit. Againe, the deſire of our ghoſtly Enemie is ſo vncredible, and his meanes ſo forcible to ouer-throw our faith, that whom the bleſſed Apoſtle knew betrothed & made hand-faſt vnto Chriſt, to them he could not write but with great trembling: *I am iealous ouer you with a godly iealouſie, for I haue prepared you to one Husband, to preſent you a pure Virgin vnto Chriſt: but I feare, leſt as the Serpent beguiled* EVE *through his ſubtiltie, ſo your minds ſhould be corrupted from the ſimplicitie which is in Chriſt.*

The

The ſimplicitie of faith which is in Chriſt, taketh the naked promiſe of God, his bare Word, and on that it reſteth. This ſimplicitie the Serpent laboureth continually to peruert, corrupting the mind with many imaginations of repugnancie and contrarietie betweene the promiſe of God, and thoſe things which ſenſe or experience, or ſome other fore-conceiued perſwaſion hath imprinted. The Word of the promiſe of God vnto his people, is, *I will not leaue thee, nor forſake thee*: vpon this the ſimplicitie of Faith reſteth, and it is not afraid of famine. But marke how the ſubtiltie of Satan did corrupt the minds of that rebellious generation, whoſe Spirits were not faithful vnto God. They beheld the deſolate ſtate of the Deſart in which they were, and by the wiſedome of their ſenſe, concluded the promiſe of God to be but folly: *Can God prepare a Table in the wilderneſſe?* The Word of the promiſe to *Sara* was, *Thou ſhalt beare a Sonne*. Faith is ſimple and doubteth not of it: but Satan, to corrupt this ſimplicitie of faith, entangleth the mind of the Woman with an argument, drawne from common experience to the contrarie: *A woman that is old*; SARA *now to be acquainted againe with forgotten paſſions of youth?* The Word of the promiſe of God by *Moſes* and the Prophets, made the Sauiour of the world ſo apparent vnto *Philip*, that his ſimplicitie could conceiue no other Meſſias, then Ieſus of Nazareth the Sonne of *Ioſeph*. But to ſtay *Nathaniel*, leſt being inuited to come and ſee, he ſhould alſo beleeue, and ſo be ſaued: the ſubtiltie of Satan caſteth a myſt before his eyes, putteth in his head againſt this, the common conceiued perſwaſion of all men concerning Nazareth; *Is it poſſible that a good thing ſhould come from thence?* This ſtratagem he doth vſe with ſo great dexteritie, the minds of all men are ſo ſtrangely enforceled with it, that it bereaueth them for the time of all perceiuance of that which ſhould releeue them and be their comfort, yea, it taketh all remembrance from them, euen of things wherewith they are moſt familiarly acquainted. The people of Iſrael could not be ignorant, that he which led them through the Sea, was able to feed him in the Deſart: but this was obliterated and put out by the ſenſe of their preſent want. Feeling the hand of God againſt them in their food, they remembred not his hand in the day that he deliuered them from the hand of the Oppreſſor. *Sara* was not then to learne, that *with God all things are poſſible*. Had *Nathaniel* neuer noted, how *God doth chooſe the baſe things of this world, to diſgrace them that are moſt honorably eſteemed?* The Prophet *Habakkuk* knew that the promiſes of grace, protection, and fauour, which God in the Law doth make vnto his people, do not grant them any ſuch immunitie as can free and exempt them from all chaſtiſements: he knew that as God ſaid, *I will continue my mercy for euer towards them*; ſo he likewiſe ſaid, *Their tranſgreſſions I will puniſh with a rod*: he knew that it cannot ſtand with any reaſon, we ſhould ſet the meaſure of our owne puniſhments, and preſcribe vnto God how great or how long our ſufferings ſhall be: he knew that we were blind, & altogether ignorant what is beſt for vs; that we ſue for many things very vnwiſely againſt our ſelues, thinking we aske fiſh, when indeed we craue a Serpent: he knew that when the thing we aske is good, & yet God ſeemeth ſlow to grant it, he doth not deny, but defer our petitions, to the end we might learn to deſire great things greatly: all this he knew. But beholding the Land which God had ſeuered for his owne people; and ſeeing it abandoned vnto Heathen Nations;

nations; viewing how reprochfully they did tread it downe, and wholly make hauock of it at their pleasure; beholding the Lords owne Royall Seate made an heape of stones, his Temple defiled, the carkases of his seruants cast out for the Fowles of the ayre to deuoure, and the flesh of his meeke ones for the beasts of the field to feed vpon; being conscious to himselfe how long and how earnestly he had cryed, *Succour vs, O God of our wel-fare, for the glorie of thine owne Name*, and feeling that their sore was still increased: the conceit of repugnancie betweene this which was obiect to his eyes, and that which faith vpon promise of the Law did looke for, made so deepe an impression and so strong, that hee disputeth not the matter, but without any further enquirie or search, inferreth as we see, *The Law doth faile.*

Of vs who is heere, which cannot very soberly aduise his Brother; Sir, you must learne to strengthen your faith by that experience which heretofore you haue had of Gods great goodnesse towards you, *per ea quæ agnoscas præstita discas sperare promissa*: By those things which you haue knowne performed, learne to hope for those things which are promised. Doe you acknowledge to haue receiued much? Let that make you certaine to receiue more. *Habenti dabitur*: *To him that hath, more shall be giuen.* When you doubt what you shall haue, search what you haue had at Gods hands. Make this reckoning, that the benefits which he hath bestowed, are Bils Obligatorie and sufficient Sureties that he will bestow further. His present mercie is still a warrant of his future loue, because *whom he loueth, he loueth vnto the end.* Is it not thus? Yet if wee could reckon vp as many euident, cleere, vndoubted signes of Gods reconciled loue towards vs, as there are yeeres, yea dayes, yea houres past ouer our heads; all these set together haue not such force to confirme our faith, as the losse, and sometimes the onely feare of losing a little transitorie goods, credit, honour, or fauour of men, a small calamitie, a matter of nothing to breed a conceit, and such a conceit as is not easily againe remoued; that wee are cleane crost out of Gods Booke, that he regards vs not, that he looketh vpon others, but passeth by vs like a stranger, to whom we are not knowne. Then we thinke, looking vpon others, and comparing them with our selues; their Tables are furnished day by day; earth and ashes are our bread: they sing to the Lute, and they see their children dance before them; our hearts are heauie in our bodies as lead, our sighes beat as thicke as a swift Pulse, our teares doe wash the beds wherein we lye: the Sunne shineth faire vpon their fore-heads; we are hanged vp like Bottles in the smoke, cast into corners like the sherds of a broken Pot: tell not vs of the promises of Gods fauour, tell such as doe reape the fruit of them, they belong not to vs, they are made to others: the Lord bee mercifull to our weaknes; but thus it is. Well, let the frailtie of our nature, the subtiltie of Satan, the force of our deceiuable imaginations be, as wee cannot deny but they are, things that threaten euery moment the vtter subuersion of our faith; faith notwithstanding is not hazarded by these things. That which one sometimes told the Senators of Rome, *Ego sic existimabam, P.C. vti patrem sæpe meum prædicantem audieram, qui vestram amicitiam diligenter colerent eos multum laborem suscipere, cæterùm ex omnibus maximè tutos esse*: As I haue often heard my Father acknowledge, so I my selfe did euer thinke, that the friends and fauou-

rers of this State changed beneficiers with great labour, but no mans condition so safe as theirs: the same we may say a great deale more iustly in this case: our Fathers and Prophets, our Lord and Master hath full often spoken, by long experience we haue found it true, as many as haue entred their names in the mysticall Booke of Life, *ex maximum laborem suscipere*, they haue taken vpon them a labourſome, a toyleſome, a painefull profeſſion, *sed omnium maximos tutos esse*, but no mans ſecuritie like to theirs. *Simon, Simon, Satan hath desired to winnow thee as wheat*: Here is our toyle: *but I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith faile not*, this is our ſafetie. No mans condition ſo ſure as ours: the Prayer of Chriſt is more then ſufficient both to ſtrengthen vs, be wee neuer ſo weake; and to ouerthrow all aduerſarie power, be it neuer ſo ſtrong and potent. His Prayer muſt not exclude our labour: their thoughts are vaine, who thinke that their watching can preſerue the Citie which God himſelfe is not willing to keepe. And are not theirs as vaine, who thinke that God will keepe the Citie, for which they themſelues are not carefull to watch? The Husbandman may not therefore burne his Plough, nor the Marchant forſake his Trade, becauſe God hath promiſed, *I will not forſake thee*. And doe the promiſes of God concerning our ſtabilitie, thinke you, make it a matter indifferent for vs to vſe or not to vſe the meanes whereby, to attend or not to attend to reading, to pray or not to pray that we fall not into temptation? Surely if we looke to ſtand in the faith of the Sonnes of God, we muſt hourely, continually bee prouiding and ſetting our ſelues to ſtriue. It was not the meaning of our Lord and Sauiour in ſaying, *Father, keepe them in thy Name*, that wee ſhould be careleſſe to keepe our ſelues. To our own ſafetie, our owne ſedulitie is required. And then bleſſed for euer and euer be that Mothers child, whoſe faith hath made him the child of God. The earth may ſhake, the pillars of the World may tremble vnder vs; the countenance of the Heauen may be appaled; the Sunne may loſe his light, the Moone her beautie, the Starres their glorie; but concerning the man that truſteth in God, if the fire haue proclaimed it ſelfe vnable as much as to ſindge a haire of his head; if Lyons, Beaſts rauenous by nature, and keene with hunger, being ſet to deuoure, haue as it were religiouſly adored the very fleſh of the faithfull man, what is there in the World that ſhall change his heart, ouerthrow his faith, alter his affection towards God, or the affection of God to him? If I be of this note, who ſhall make a ſeparation betweene me and my God? Shall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, or famine, or nakednes, or perill, or ſword? No; I am perſwaded that neither tribulation, nor anguiſh, nor perſecution, nor famine, nor nakednes, nor perill nor ſword, nor death, nor life, nor Angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things preſent, nor things to come, nor height nor depth, nor any other creature ſhall euer preuaile ſo far ouer me. I know in whom I haue beleeued; I am not ignorant whoſe precious bloud hath beene ſhed for me, I haue a Shepheard full of kindneſſe, full of care, and ful of power: vnto him I commit my ſelfe; his owne finger hath engrauen this ſentence in the Tables of my heart, *Satan hath deſired to winnow thee as wheat, but I haue prayed that thy faith faile not*. Therefore the aſſurance of my hope I will labor to keepe as a Iewell vnto the end, and by labor, through the gracious mediation of his Prayer, I ſhall keepe it.

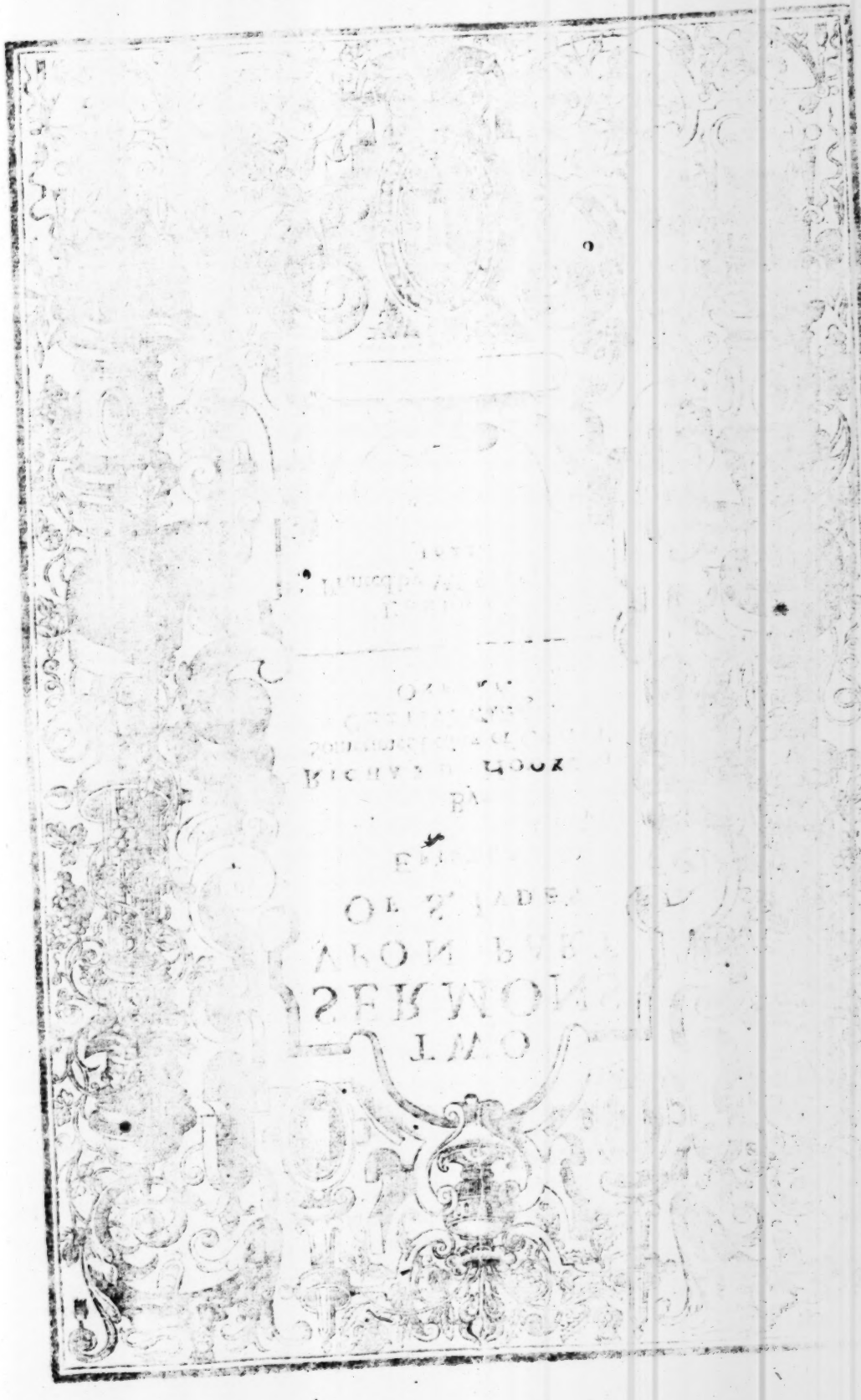
FINIS.

TWO SERMONS VPON PART OF S. IVDES EPISTLE.

By

RICHARD HOOKER,
Sometimes Fellow of CORPVS CHRISTI *Colledge in* OXFORD.

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TO THE WORSHIPFVLL M. GEORGE SVMMASTER, Principall *of* Broad-Gates Hall *in* Oxford,

HENRY IACKSON wiſheth all happineſſe.

SIR,

YOur kind acceptance of a former teſtification of that reſpect I owe you, hath made mee venture to ſhew the World theſe godly Sermons vnder your name. In which, as euerie point is worth obſeruation, ſo ſome eſpecially are to be noted. The firſt, that as the Spirit of Prophecie is from God himſelfe, who doth inwardly heat and enlighten the hearts and mindes of his holy Pen-men, (which if ſome would diligently conſider, they would not puzzle themſelues with the contentions of SCOT, *and* THOMAS, Whether God onely, or his miniſtring Spirits, doe infuſe into mens mindes Propheticall Reuelations, *per ſpecies intelligibiles*) *ſo God framed their words alſo. Whence the holy Father* [a] *Saint* AVGVSTINE *religiouſly obſerueth, That all thoſe which vnderſtand the ſacred Writers, will alſo perceiue, that they ought not to vſe other words, then they did, in expreſſing thoſe heauenly Myſteries which their hearts* conceiued, *as the* Bleſſed Virgin *did our Sauiour,* By the Holy Ghoſt. *The greater is* CASTELLIO *his offence, who hath laboured to teach the Prophets to ſpeake otherwiſe, then they haue alreadie. Much like to that impious King of Spaine,* ALPHONSVS *the tenth, who found fault with Gods Workes,* [b] *Si, inquit,* creationi affuiſſem, mundum melius ordinaſſem, *If hee had beene with God at the Creation of World, the World had gone better, then now it doth. As this man found fault with Gods Workes, ſo did the other with Gods words. But becauſe we haue a* [c] moſt ſure word

[a] *Lib. 4. cap. 6. de doct. Chr.*

[b] *Rob. Tolet. lib. 4 cap. 5.*

[c] *2. Pet. 1.*

word of the Prophets, *to which we must* take heed, *I will let his words passe with the wind, hauing* [d] *elsewhere spoken to you more largely of his Errours, whom notwithstanding, for his other excellent parts, I much respect.*

[d] *Pref. in Orat. D. Rainold.*

You shall moreouer from hence vnderstand, how Christianitie consists not in formall and seeming puritie (*vnder which, who knowes not notorious villanie to maske?*) *but in the heart-root. Whence the Authour truly teacheth, that* Mockers, *which vse Religion as a Cloake, to put off and on, as the Weather serueth, are worse then Pagans and Infidels. Where I cannot omit to shew, how iustly this kind of men hath beene reproued by that renowmed Martyr of Iesus Christ, B.* Latimer; *both because it will bee opposite to this purpose, and also free that Christian* Worthie *from the slanderous reproches of* * *him, who was, if euer any, a* Mocker *of God, Religion, and all good men. But first I must desire you, and in you all Readers, not to thinke lightly of that excellent man, for vsing of this and the like wittie Similitudes in his Sermons. For whosoeuer will call to mind, with what* riff-raff *Gods people were fedde in those dayes, when their Priests,* [e] *whose lips should haue preserued knowledge, preached nothing else but Dreames, and false Miracles of counterfeit Saints, enrolled in that* [f] *sottish* Legend, *coyned and amplified by a drowsie head, betweene sleeping and waking. Hee that will consider this, and also how the people were delighted with such toyes (God sending them strong Delusions, that they should beleeue lyes) and how hard it would haue beene for any man, wholly, and vpon the suddayne, to draw their minds to another bent; will easily perceiue, both how necessary it was to vse Symbolicall Discourse, and how wisely and moderately it was applyed by that Religious Father, to the end hee might lead their vnderstanding so farre, till it were so conuinced, informed, and setled, that it might forget the meanes and way, by which it was led, and thinke onely of that it had acquired. For in all such mysticall speeches, who knowes not, that the end for which they are vsed, is onely to bee thought vpon?*

* *Parsons in 3. Conuers.*

[e] Malac. 2. 7.

[f] *Cæsar. Iocor. lib. 11. cap. 6. Viues lib. 2. de corrupt. art. Hard. lib. 4.*

This then being first considered, let vs heare the Storie, as it is related by Master FOX; *Master* LATIMER ([g] *saith he*) in his Sermon gaue the people certaine Cards out of the fift, sixt, and seuenth Chapters of Saint *Matthew*. For the chiefe Triumph in the Cards, hee limitted the Hart; as the principall thing that they should serue God withall, whereby hee quite ouerthrew all

[g] *Pag. 1903. edit. 1570.*

all hypocriticall and externall Ceremonies, not tending to the neceſſarie furtherance of Gods holy Word and Sacraments. *By this* hee exhorted all men to ſerue the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward Ceremonies, adding moreouer to the praiſe of that Triumph, that though it were neuer ſo ſmall, yet it would take vp the beſt Coat-Card beſide in the Bunch, yea, though it were the King of Clubbes, &c. meaning thereby, how the Lord would be worſhipped and ſerued in ſimplicitie of the heart, and veritie, wherein conſiſteth true Chriſtian Religion, &c. *Thus Maſter* FOX.

By which it appeares, that the holy mans intention was to lift vp the peoples hearts to God, and not that he made a Sermon of playing at Cards, and taught them how to play at Triumph, and played (*himſelfe*) at Cards in the Pulpit, *as that baſe Companion* [h] Parſons *reports the matter, in his vonted ſcurrilous vaine of Rayling, whence hee calleth it a* [i] Chriſtmaſſe Sermon. *Now he that will thinke ill of ſuch Alluſions, may out of the abounda[n]ce of his folly, ieſt at* Demoſthenes, *for his ſtorie of the* [k] *Sheepe, Wolues, and Dogges, and at* [l] Menenius, *for his fiction of the Belly. But,* hinc illæ lachrymæ, *The good Biſhop meant, that the Romiſh Religion came not from the* heart, *but conſiſted in outward Ceremonies: Which ſorely grieued* Parſons, *who neuer had the leaſt warmth or ſparke of honeſtie. Whether Biſhop* Latimer *compared the Biſhops to the* Knaues *of* Clubbes, *as the fellow interprets him, I know not: I am ſure* Parſons, *of all others, deſerued thoſe Colours; and ſo I leaue him.*

Wee ſee then, what inward puritie *is required of all Chriſtians, which if they haue, then in* prayer, *and all other Chriſtian duties, they ſhall lift vp* pure hands, *as the* [m] *Apoſtle ſpeakes, not as* [n] Baronius *would haue it,* waſhed from ſinnes with holy water, *but* pure, *that is,* holy, *free from the pollution of ſinne, as the Greeke word* ὁσίους *doth ſignifie.*

You may alſo ſee here refuted thoſe Calumnies of the Papiſts, that wee abandon all Religious Rites, and godly Duties, as alſo the confirmation of our Doctrine touching certainetie of Faith (and ſo of Saluation) which is ſo ſtrongly denied by ſome of that Faction, that they haue told the world, [o] S. PAVL himſelfe was vncertaine of his owne ſaluation. *What then ſhall wee ſay, but pronounce a* WOE *to*

h In the third part of 3. conuerſions of England: in the Examin. of *Foxes* Saints, *cap.* 14. §. 53. 54. *p.* 215.
i *Sect.* 55.
k *Plut. in Demoſthen.*
l *Liu. Dec.* 1. *lib.* 2. *an V.C.* 60
m 1. Tim. 2. 8.
n *Annal. to.* 1. *An.* 57. *n.* 109. 110. *& to* 2. *An.* 132. *num.* 5
o S. Paulus de ſua ſalute incert'. *Richeom. Ieſuit. l.* 2. *c.* 12. *Idololat. Huguenot. pag.* 119. *in marg. edit. lat. Mogunt.* 1613. *interpret. Marcel. Bomſar. Ieſuita.*

to the most strict obseruers of Saint Francis *Rule, and his Canonicall Discipline (though they make him euen* p *equall with Christ) and the most meritorious Monke that euer was registred in their Kalender of Saints? But wee for our comfort are otherwise taught out of the holy Scripture, and therefore exhorted to* build *our selues in our most* holy faith, *that so, when* our q earthly house of this Tabernacle *shall be* destroyed, *we may haue a* building giuen of God, a house not made with hands, but eternall in the Heauens.

This is that, which is most piously and feelingly taught in these few leaues, so that you shall read nothing here, but what, I perswade my selfe, you haue long practised in the constant course of your life.

It remaineth onely, that you accept of these Labours tendered to you by him, who wisheth you the long ioyes of this world, and the eternall of that which is to come.

Oxon. from Corp. Christi Colledge, this 13. of Ianuarie, 1613.

p *Witnesse the verses of* Horatius *a Iesuite, recited by Possev. Biblioth. Select. part. 2. l. 17. c. 19* Exue Franciscum tunicâ, laceroq; cucullo, Qui Franciscus erat, iam tibi Christus erit. Francisci exuvijs (si qua licet) induc Christum, Iam Franciscus erit, qui modo Christus erat. *The like hath* Bencius, *another Iesuite.*

q 2. Cor. 5. 1.

TWO SERMONS VPON PART OF S. IVDES EPISTLE.

The First Sermon.

EPIST. IVDE, VERS. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

But yee, beloued, remember the words which were spoken before of the Apostles of our Lord Iesus Christ,

How that they told you, that there should be mockers in the last time, which should walke after their owne vngodly lusts.

These are makers of Sects, sensuall, hauing not the Spirit.

But yee, beloued, edifie your selues in your most holy faith, praying in the holy Ghost,

And keepe your selues in the loue of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Iesus Christ, vnto eternall life.

THe occasions whereupon, together with the end wherefore, this Epistle was written, is opened in the front and entrie of the same. There were then, as there are now, many euill and wickedly disposed persons, not of the mysticall body, yet within the visible bounds of the Church, men which were of old ordained to condemnation, vngodly men, which turned the grace of our God into wantonnesse, and denied the Lord Iesus. For this cause the Spirit of the Lord is in the hand of *Iude*, the seruant of Iesus, and brother of *Iames*, to exhort them that are called, and sanctified of God the Father, that they would earnestly contend to maintaine the faith, which was once deliuered vnto the Saints. Which faith because we cannot maintaine, except we know perfectly, first, against whom, secondly, in what sort it must be maintained; therefore in the former three verses of that parcell of Scripture which I haue read, the enemies of the Crosse of Christ are plainely described; and in the later two, they that loue the Lord Iesus, haue a sweet Lesson giuen them, how to strengthen and stablish themselues in the faith. Let vs first therefore examine the description of these reprobates, concerning faith;

faith; and afterwards come to the words of the exhortation; wherein Christians are taught how to set their hearts on Gods eternall and euerlasting Truth. The description of these godlesse persons is two-fold, *Generall* and *Speciall*. The *generall* doth point them out, and shew what manner of men they should be. The *particular* pointeth at them, and saith plainly, These are they. In the *generall* description we haue to consider of these things. *First*, when they were described, *they were told of before*. *Secondly*, the men by whom they were described, *They were spoken of by the Apostles of our Lord Iesus Christ*. *Thirdly*, the dayes when they should be manifested vnto the world, they told you they *should be in the last time*. *Fourthly*, their disposition and whole demeanure, *mockers and walkers after their owne vngodly lusts*.

2 In the third to the Philippians, the Apostle describeth certaine. *They are men* (saith he) *of whom I haue told you often, and now with teares I tell you of them, their God is their belly, their glorying and reioycing is in their owne shame, they mind earthly things*.

These were enemies of the Crosse of Christ, enemies whom he saw, and his eyes gushed out with teares to behold them. But we are taught in this place how the Apostles spake also of enemies, whom as yet they had not seene, described a family of men as yet vnheard of, a generation reserued for the end of the world, and for the last time, they had not onely declared what they heard and saw in the dayes wherein they liued, but they haue prophecied also of men in time to come. And *you doe well* (saith S. PETER) *in that yee take heed to the words of Prophecie, so that yee first know this, that no Prophecie in the Scripture commeth of any mans owne resolution*. No prophecie in Scripture commeth of any mans owne resolution. For all prophecie, which is in Scripture, came by the secret inspiration of God. But there are prophecies which are no Scripture, yea, there are prophecies against the Scripture: by brethren, beware of such prophecies, and take heed you heed them not. Remember the things that were spoken of before, but spoken of before by the Apostles of our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ. Take heed to prophecies, but to prophecies which are in Scripture: For both the manner and the matter of those prophecies doe shew plainely, that they are of God.

Of the spirit of Prophecie receiued from God himselfe.

3 Touching the manner, how men by the spirit of prophecie in holy Scripture haue spoken and written of things to come, we must vnderstand, that as the knowledge of that they spake, so likewise the vtterance of that they knew, came not by these vsuall and ordinarie meanes, whereby wee are brought to vnderstand the mysteries of our saluation, and are wont to instruct others in the same. For whatsoeuer we know, we haue it by the hands and ministerie of men, which lead vs along like children, from a letter to a syllable, from a syllable to a word, from a word to a line, from a line to a sentence, from a sentence to a side, and so turne ouer. But God himselfe was their instructor, he himselfe taught them; partly by Dreames and Visions in the night, partly by Reuelations in the day, taking them aside from amongst their brethren, and talking with them, as a man would talke with his neighbour in the way. Thus they became acquainted euen with the secret and hidden counsels of God. They saw things, which themselues were not able

able to vtter, they beheld that whereat men and Angels are astonished. They vnderstood in the beginning, what should come to passe in the last dayes.

God, which lightned thus the eyes of their vnderstanding, giuing them knowledge by vnusuall and extraordinarie meanes, did also miraculously himselfe frame and fashion their words and writings; in so much that a greater difference there seemeth not to be betweene the manner of their knowledge, then there is betweene the manner of their speech and ours. When we haue conceiued a thing in our hearts, and throughly vnderstand it, as we thinke within our selues, ere we can vtter it in such sort that our brethren may receiue instruction or comfort at our mouthes, how great, how long, how earnest meditation are we forced to vse? And after much trauaile, and much paines, when we open our lips to speake of the wonderfull works of God, our tongues doe sauter within our mouthes, yea many times we disgrace the dreadfull mysteries of our faith, and grieue the spirit of our hearers by words vnsauory, and vnseemely speeches. *Shall a wise man fill his belly with the Easterne wind,* saith *Eliphaz, shall a wise man dispute with words not conuenient with talke that is not profitable?* Yet behold, euen they that are wisest amongest vs liuing, compared with the Prophets, seeme no other wise to talke of God, then as if the children which are carried in armes, should speake of the greatest matters of state. They whose words doe most shew forth their wise vnderstanding, and whose lips doe vtter the purest knowledge, so long as they vnderstand and speake as men, are they not faine, sundrie wayes to excuse themselues? Sometimes acknowledging with the wise man, *Hardly can we discern the things that are on earth, and with great labour find we out the things that are before vs, who can then seeke out the things that are in heauen?* Sometimes confessing with *Iob* the righteous, intreating of things too wonderfull for vs, we haue spoken we wist not what. Sometimes ending their talke, as doth the Historie of the Macchabees, If we haue done well, and as the cause required, it is that we desire, if we haue spoken slenderly and barely, we haue done what we could. But *God hath made my mouth like a sword,* saith *Esay*. And *we haue receiued,* saith the Apostle, *not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God, that we might know the things which are giuen to vs of God, which things also we speake, not in words, which mans wisdome teacheth, but which the holy Ghost doth teach.* This is that which the Prophets meane by those bookes written full within, and without; which bookes were so often deliuered them to eate, not because God fed them with inke, and paper, but to teach vs, that so oft as he imployed them in this heauenly worke, they neither spake nor wrote any word of their owne, but vttered sillable by sillable as the Spirit put it into their mouthes, no otherwise then the Harpe or the Lute doth giue a sound according to the discretion of his hands that holdeth and striketh it with skill. The difference is onely this: An Instrument, whether it be a Pipe or Harpe, maketh a distinction in the Times and Sounds, which distinction is well perceiued of the hearer, the Instrument it selfe vnderstanding not what is Piped or Harped. The Prophets and holy men of God not so. *I opened my mouth,* saith *Ezechiel,* and *God reached me a scroule, saying, Sonne of man, cause thy belly to eat, and fill thy bowels with this I giue thee. I ate it, & it was sweet in my mouth as honey,*

Of the Prophets manner of speech. *Iob* 15.2,3.

Wisd. 9.16.

Esay 49.2.

Ezechiel 3.

saith

ſaith the Prophet. Yea ſweeter, I am perſwaded, then either hony, or the hony-combe. For herein they were not like Harps or Lutes, but they felt, they felt the power and ſtrength of their owne words. When they ſpake of our peace, euery corner of their hearts, was filled with ioy. When they prophecied of mournings, lamentations, and woes, to fall vpon vs, they wept in the bitternesse and indignation of ſpirit, the arme of the Lord being mighty and ſtrong vpon them.

5 On this manner were all the prophecies of holy Scripture. Which Prophecies, although they containe nothing which is not profitable for our inſtruction, yet as one ſtarre differeth from another in glory, ſo euery word of prophecie hath a treaſure of matter in it, but all matters are not of like importance, as all treaſures are not of equall price. The chiefe and principall matter of prophecie is the promiſe of righteouſneſſe, peace, holineſſe, glory, victory, immortalitie, vnto euery Soule which beleeueth that Ieſus is Chriſt, of the *Iew* firſt, and of the *Gentile*. Now becauſe the doctrine of Saluation to be looked for by Faith in him, who was in outward appearance as it had beene a man forſaken of God, in him who was numbred, iudged, and condemned with the wicked, in him whom men did ſee buffetted on the face, ſcoft at by Souldiers, ſcourged by tormentors, hanged on the Croſſe, pearced to the heart, in him whom the eyes of many witneſſes did behold, when the anguiſh of his ſoule enforced him to roare as if his heart had rent in ſunder, *O my God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* I ſay, becauſe the doctrine of ſaluation by Him, is a thing improbable to a naturall man, that whether wee preach it to the Gentile, or to the Iew, the one condemneth our faith as madnes, the other as blaſphemie, therefore to eſtabliſh and confirme the certaintie of this ſaving Truth in the hearts of men; the Lord together, with their preachings, whom hee ſent immediately from himſelfe, to reueale theſe things vnto the world, mingled prophecies of things both Ciuill and Eccleſiaſticall, which were to come in euery age from time to time, till the very laſt of the latter dayes, that by thoſe things, wherein wee ſee daily their words fulfilled and done, wee might haue ſtrong conſolation in the hope of things which are not ſeene, becauſe they haue reuealed as well the one as the other. For when many things are ſpoken of before in Scripture, whereof we ſee firſt one thing accompliſhed, and then another, and ſo a third, perceiue we not plainely, that God doth nothing elſe but lead vs along by the hand, till hee haue ſettled vs vpon the Rocke of an aſſured hope, that no one iot or tittle of his Word ſhall paſſe till all be fulfilled? It is not therefore ſaid in vaine, that theſe godleſſe wicked ones *were ſpoken of before*.

6 But by whom? By them whoſe words, if men or Angels from heauen gainſay, they are accurſed; by them, whom whoſoeuer deſpiſeth, deſpiſeth not them, but me, ſaith Chriſt. If any man therefore doth loue the Lord Ieſus (and woe worth him that loueth not the Lord Ieſus!) hereby we may know that he loueth him indeed, if he deſpiſe not the things that are ſpoken of by his Apoſtles; whom many haue deſpiſed euen for the baſeneſſe and ſimpleneſſe of their perſons. For it is the propertie of fleſhly and carnall men, to honour, and diſhonour, credit, and diſcredit the words and deeds of euery man,

A naturall man perceiueth not heauenly things.

man according to that he wanteth or hath without. If a man with gorgeous apparell come amongſt vs, although he be a Thiefe or a Murtherer (for there are Theeues and Murtherers in gorgeous apparell) bee his heart whatſoeuer, if his Coat be of Purple, or Veluet, or Tiſſue, euery one riſeth vp, and all the reuerent Solemnities we can vſe, are too little. But the man that ſerueth God, is contemned and deſpiſed amongſt vs for his pouertie. *Herod* ſpeaketh in Iudgement, and the people cry out, *The voice of God, and not of man. Paul* preacheth Chriſt, they tearme him a trifler. Hearken, beloued; hath not God choſen the poore of this World, that they ſhould be rich in faith? Hath hee not choſen the refuſe of the World to bee heires of his Kingdome, which hee hath promiſed to them that loue him? Hath he not choſen the off-ſcowrings of men to be the Lights of the World, and the Apoſtles of Ieſus Chriſt? Men vnlearned, yet how fully repleniſhed with vnderſtanding? few in number, yet how great in power? contemptible in ſhew, yet in Spirit how ſtrong? how wonderfull? *I would faine learne the myſterie of the eternall generation of the Sonne of God*, ſaith *Hilarie*. Whom ſhall I ſeeke? Shall I get me to the Schooles of the *Gracians*? Why? I haue read, *Vbi ſapiens? vbi Scriba? vbi Conquiſitor huius ſeculi?* Theſe Wiſemen in the World muſt needs be dumbe in this, becauſe they haue reiected the Wiſdome of God. Shall I beſeech the Scribes and Interpreters of the Law, to become my Teachers? how can they know this, ſith they are offended at the Croſſe of Chriſt? It is death for me to be ignorant of the vnſearchable myſterie of the Sonne of God: of which myſterie notwithſtanding I ſhould haue beene ignorant, but that a poore Fiſherman, vnknowne, vnlearned, new come from his Boat with his clothes wringing wet, hath opened his mouth and taught me, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* Theſe poore ſillie creatures haue made vs rich in the knowledge of the myſteries of Chriſt.

Iam. 2. *Acts* 12. *Acts* 17.

7 Remember therefore that which is ſpoken of by the Apoſtles. Whoſe words if the Children of this World doe not regard, is it any maruaile? They are the Apoſtles of our Lord Ieſus; not of their Lord, but of our. It is true which one hath ſaid in a certaine place, *Apoſtolicam fidem ſeculi homo non capit*, A man ſworne to the World, is not capeable of that Faith which the Apoſtles doe teach. What meane the Children of this World then to tread in the courts of our God? What ſhould your bodies doe at *Bethel*, whoſe hearts are at *Bethauen*? The god of this World, whom ye ſerue, hath prouided apoſtles and teachers for you, *Chaldeans*, *Wiſards*, *Southſayers*, *Aſtrologers*, and ſuch like: Heare them. Tell not vs that yee will ſacrifice to the Lord our God, if wee will ſacrifice to *Aſhteroth* or *Melcom*; that ye will reade our Scriptures, if wee will liſten to your Traditions; that if yee may haue a Maſſe by permiſſion, wee ſhall haue a Communion with good leaue and liking; that yee will admit the things that are ſpoken of by the Apoſtles of our Lord Ieſus, if your Lord and Maſter may haue his ordinances obſerued, and his Statutes kept. *Salomon* tooke it (as well he might) for an euident proofe, that ſhe did not beare a motherly affection to her Child, which yeelded to haue it cut in diuers parts. Hee cannot loue the Lord Ieſus with his heart, which lendeth one eare to his Apoſtles, and another to falſe apoſtles; which can brooke to ſee a mingle-

We muſt not halt betweene two Opinions.

mangle of Religion and Superſtition, Miniſters and Maſſing Prieſts, Light and Darkneſſe, Truth and Error, Traditions and Scriptures. No, we haue no Lord but Ieſus; no Doctrine, but the Goſpell; no Teachers, but his Apoſtles. Were it reaſon to require at the hands of an Engliſh ſubiect, obedience to the Lawes and Edicts of the Spaniard? I doe maruell, that any man bearing the name of a Seruant of the Seruants of Ieſus Chriſt, will goe about to draw vs from our Allegeance. We are His ſworne Subiects; it is not lawfull for vs to heare the things that are not told vs by his Apoſtles. They haue told vs, that in the laſt dayes there ſhall be Mockers; therefore we beleeue it; *Credimus quia legimus*, We are ſo perſwaded, becauſe we reade it muſt be ſo. If we did not reade it, we would not teach it: *Nam quæ libro Legis non continentur, ea nec noſſe debemus*, ſaith *Hilarie*: Thoſe things that are not written in the Booke of the Law, wee ought not ſo much as to be acquainted with them. *Remember the words which were ſpoken of before of the Apoſtles of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.*

Mockers in the laſt time.

8 The third thing to bee conſidered in the deſcription of theſe men of whom we ſpeake, is the time, wherein they ſhould be manifeſted to the World. They told you, there ſhould be mockers in the laſt time. *Noah* at the commandement of God, built an Arke, and there were in it beaſts of all ſorts, cleane and vncleane. A Huſbandman planteth a Vineyard, and looketh for Grapes, but when they come to the gathering, behold, together with Grapes there are found alſo wilde Grapes. A rich man prepareth a great Supper, and biddeth many, but when he ſitteth him downe, he findeth amongſt his friends here and there a man whom he knoweth not. This hath beene the ſtate of the Church fithence the beginning. God alwayes hath mingled his Saints with faithleſſe and godleſſe perſons; as it were the cleane with the vncleane, Grapes with ſowre Grapes, his friends and children with aliens and ſtrangers. Maruell not then, if in the laſt dayes alſo yee ſee the men, with whom you liue & walke arme in arme, laugh at your Religion, and blaſpheme that glorious Name, whereof you are called. Thus it was in the dayes of the Patriarkes and Prophets; and are we better then our Fathers? Albeit we ſuppoſe, that the bleſſed Apoſtles, in foreſhewing what manner of men were ſet out for the laſt dayes, meant to note a calamitie ſpeciall and peculiar to the Ages and Generations which were to come. As if he ſhould haue ſaid; As God hath appointed a time of Seed for the Sower, and a time of harueſt for him that reapeth, as he hath giuen vnto euery herbe and euery tree his owne fruit, and his owne ſeaſon, not the ſeaſon nor the fruit of another (for no man looketh to gather figges in the Winter, becauſe the Summer is the ſeaſon for them, nor Grapes of Thiſtles, becauſe Grapes are the fruit of the Vine) ſo the ſame God hath appointed ſundry for euery Generation of men, other men for other times, and for the laſt times the worſt men, as may appeare by their properties, which is the fourth point to be conſidered of in this deſcription.

Mockers.

9 They told you, that there ſhould be *Mockers*. He meaneth men that ſhal vſe Religion as a cloke, to put off, and on, as the weather ſerueth; ſuch as ſhall with *Herod* heare the preaching of *Iohn Baptiſt* to day, and to morrow condeſcend to haue him beheaded; or with the other *Herod* ſay, they will worſhip Chriſt, when they purpoſe a maſſacre in their hearts; kiſſe Chriſt with *Iudas*,

and

and betray Christ with *Iudas*. These are Mockers. For as *Ishmael* the sonne of *Hagar* laughed at *Isaak*, which was heire of the promise; so shall these men laugh at you as the maddest people vnder the Sunne, if yee be like *Moses*, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, then to enioy the pleasures of sinne for a season. And why? God hath not giuen them eyes to see, nor hearts to conceiue that exceeding recompence of your reward. The promises of saluation made to you are matters wherein they can take no pleasure, euen as *Ishmael* tooke no pleasure in that promise, wherein God hath said vnto *Abraham*, *In Isaak shall thy seed be called*, because the promise concerned not him, but *Isaak*. They are tearmed for their impietie towards God, *mockers*, and for the impuritie of their life and conuersation, *walkers after their own vngodly lusts*. S. *Peter* in his second Epistle and third Chapter soundeth the verie depth of their impietie: shewing *first*, how they shall not shame at the length to professe themselues prophane, and irreligious, by flat denying the Gospell of Iesus Christ, and deriding the sweet and comfortable promises of his appearing: *secondly*, that they shall not be only deriders of all religion, but also Disputers against God, vsing Truth to subuert the Truth; yea Scriptures themselues to disproue Scriptures. Being in this sort *mockers*, they must needes bee also followers of *their owne vngodly lusts*. Being Atheists in perswasion, can they choose but be beasts in conuersation? For why remooue they quite from them the feare of God? Why take they such paines to abandon and put out from their hearts all sense, all taste, all feeling of Religion? but only to this end and purpose, that they may without inward remorse and grudging of conscience giue ouer themselues to all vncleannesse. Surely the state of these men is more lamentable, then is the condition of Pagans and Turkes. For at the bare beholding of Heauen and Earth, the Infidels heart by and by doth giue him, that there is an eternall, infinite, immortall, and euer-liuing God; whose hands haue fashioned and framed the World; hee knoweth that euery house is builded of some man, though hee see not the man which built the house, and hee considereth, that it must bee God which hath built and created all things; although because the number of his dayes bee few, hee could not see when God disposed his workes of old, when he caused the light of his cloudes first to shine, when he laid the corner stone of the earth, and swadled it with bands of water and darkenesse; when he caused the morning starre to know his place, and made barres and doores to shut vp the Sea within his house, saying, *Hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther*: he hath no eye-witnesse of these things. Yet the light of naturall reason hath put this wisedome in his reines, and hath giuen his heart thus much vnderstanding. Bring a Pagan to the Schooles of the Prophets of God; propheſie to an Infidell, rebuke him, lay the iudgements of God before him, make the secret sinnes of his heart manifest, and he shall fall downe and worship God. They that crucified the Lord of Glorie, were not so far past recouery, but that the preaching of the Apostles was able to moue their hearts and to bring them to this, *Men and brethren, what shall we doe?* Acts 2. *Agrippa*, that sate in iudgement against *Paul* for preaching, yeelded notwithstanding thus farre vnto him, *Almost thou perswadest me to become a Christian*. Acts 26. Although the Iewes for want of knowledge haue not submitted themselues

Mockers worse then Pagans, and Infidels.

ſelues to the righteouſneſſe of God; yet I beare them record, ſaith the Apoſtle, *that they haue a zeale.* The *Athenians*, a people hauing neither Zeale, nor knowledge, yet of them alſo the ſame Apoſtle beareth witneſſe, *Yee men of Athens, I perceiue yee are δεισιδαιμονεστεροι*, ſome way religious, but Mockers, walking after their owne vngodly luſts, they haue ſmothered euery ſparke of that heauenly Light, they haue ſtifled euen their very naturall vnderſtanding. O Lord, thy mercie is ouer all thy workes, thou ſaueſt Man and Beaſt! yet a happie caſe it had beene for theſe men if they had neuer beene borne: and ſo I leaue them.

Rom. 10.

10 S. *Iude* hauing his minde exerciſed in the doctrine of the Apoſtles of Ieſus Chriſt, concerning things to come in the laſt time, became a man of a wiſe and ſtaid iudgement. *Grieued* he was, to ſee the departure of many, and their falling away from the faith, which before they did profeſſe: *grieued*, but not *diſmayed*. With the ſimpler and weaker ſort it was otherwiſe: Their countenance began by and by to change, they were halfe in doubt they had deceiued themſelues in giuing credit to the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt. S. *Iude*, to comfort and refreſh theſe ſilly Lambes, taketh them vp in his armes, and ſheweth them the men at whom they were offended. Looke vpon them that forſake this bleſſed Profeſſion wherein you ſtand: They are now before your eyes; view them, marke them, are they not carnall? are they not like to noyſome carrion caſt out vpon the earth? is there that Spirit in them which cryeth *Abba* Father in your boſomes? Why ſhould any man be diſcomforted? Haue you not heard that there ſhould be *mockers* in the laſt time? Theſe verily are they, that now doe ſeparate themſelues.

Iudas *vir ſapiens & certi iudicy.*

11 For your better vnderſtanding, what this ſeuering and ſeparating of themſelues doth meane, wee muſt know, that the multitude of them which truly beleeue (howſoeuer they bee diſperſed farre and wide each from other) is all *one bodie*, whereof the Head is Chriſt, *one building*, whereof he is the Corner Stone, in whom they as the members of the bodie being knit, and as the ſtones of the building, being coupled, grow vp to a man of perfect ſtature, and riſe to an holy Temple in the Lord. That which linketh Chriſt to vs, is his meere mercie and loue towards vs. That which tyeth vs to him, is our faith in the promiſed ſaluation reuealed in the Word of truth. That which vniteth and ioyneth vs amongſt our ſelues, in ſuch ſort that wee are now as if wee had but one heart and one ſoule, is our loue. Who bee inwardly in heart the liuely members of this body, and the poliſhed ſtones of this building, coupled and ioyned to Chriſt, as fleſh of his fleſh, and bones of his bones, by the mutuall bond of his vnſpeakeable loue towards them, and their vnfayned faith in him, thus linked and faſtned each to other by a ſpirituall, ſincere, and hearty affection of loue, without any manner of ſimulation, who be Iewes within, and what their names be, none can tell, ſaue he whoſe eyes doe behold the ſecret diſpoſition of all mens hearts. Wee, whoſe eyes are too dimme to behold the inward man, muſt leaue the ſecret iudgement of euery ſeruant to his owne Lord, accounting and vſing all men as brethren both neere and deare vnto vs, ſuppoſing Chriſt to loue them tenderly, ſo as they keepe the profeſſion of the Goſpell, and ioyne in the outward Communion of Saints. Whereof the one

doth

doth warrantize vnto vs their faith, the other their loue, till they fall away, and forsake either the one, or the other, or both; and then it is no iniurie to terme them as they are. When they separate themselues, they are ἀποτοποιοῦντες not iudged by vs, but by their owne doings. Men doe separate themselues eyther by Heresie, Schisme, or Apostasie. If they loose the bond of faith, which then they are iustly supposed to doe, when they frowardly oppugne any principall point of Christian doctrine, this is to separate themselues by *Heresie*. If they breake the bond of vnitie, whereby the bodie of the Church is coupled and knit in one, as they doe, which wilfully forsake all externall communion with Saints in holy exercises purely and orderly established in the Church, this is to separate themselues by *Schisme*. If they willingly cast off, and vtterly forsake both profession of Christ, and communion with Christians, taking their leaue of all Religion, this is to separate themselues by plaine *Apostasie*. And Saint *Iude*, to expresse the manner of their departure, which by *Apostasie* fell away from the Faith of Christ, saith, they separated themselues: noting thereby, that it was not constraint of others, which forced them to depart, it was not infirmitie and weakenesse in themselues, it was not feare of persecution to come vpon them, whereat their hearts did faile; it was not griefe of torments, whereof they had tasted, and were not able any longer to endure them. No, they voluntarily did separate themselues with a fully settled and altogether determined purpose neuer to name the Lord Iesus any more, nor to haue any fellowship with his Saints, but to bend all their counsell and all their strength to raze out their memoriall from amongst men.

Three-fold Separation.
1. Heresie.
2. Schisme.
3. Apostasie.

12 Now because that by such examples, not only the hearts of Infidels were hardened against the Truth, but the minds of weake Brethren also much troubled, the Holy Ghost hath giuen sentence of these back-sliders, that they were carnall men, and had not the Spirit of Christ Iesus, lest any man hauing an ouer-weening of their persons, should be ouer-much amazed and offended at their fall. For simple men not able to discerne their spirits, were brought by their Apostasie thus to reason with themselues. If Christ be the Sonne of the liuing God, if he haue the words of eternall life, if he be able to bring saluation to all men that come vnto him, what meaneth this Apostasie, and vnconstrayned departure? Why doe his seruants so willingly forsake him? Babes be not deceiued, his Seruants forsake him not. They that separate themselues, were amongst his Seruants, but if they had beene of his Seruants, they had not separated themselues. They were amongst vs, not of vs, saith S. *Iohn*: and S. *Iude* proueth it, because they were carnall, and had not the Spirit. Will you iudge of Wheate by Chaffe which the winde hath scattered from amongst it? Haue the children no bread because the Dogs haue not tasted it? Are Christians deceiued of that saluation they looked for, because they denyed the ioyes of the life to come which were no Christians? What if they seemed to be Pillers and principall vpholders of our faith? What is that to vs, which know that Angels hath falne from Heauen? Although if these men had beene of vs indeede, (O the blessednesse of a Christian mans estate!) they had stood surer then the Angels, they had neuer departed from their place. Whereas now wee maruaile not at their departure at all, neither are wee preiudiced by their falling away;

becauſe they were not of vs, ſith they are fleſhly, and haue not the Spirit. Children abide in the houſe for euer; they are bond-men and bond-women which are caſt out.

13 It behoueth you therefore greatly euery man to examine his owne eſtate, and to try whether you be bond or free, children or no children. I haue told you already, that we muſt beware we preſume not to ſit as Gods in iudgement vpon others, and raſhly, as our conceit and fancie doth lead vs, ſo to determine of this man, he is ſincere, or of that man, He is an hypocrite, except by their falling away they make it manifeſt and knowne what they are. For who art thou that takeſt vpon thee to iudge another before the time? Iudge thy ſelfe. God hath left vs infallible euidence, whereby wee may at any time giue true and righteous ſentence vpon our ſelues. We cannot examine the hearts of other men, we may our own. That we haue paſſed from death to life, we know it, ſaith Saint *Iohn*, becauſe wee loue our Brethren: and know yee not your owne ſelues, how that Ieſus Chriſt is in you, except yee be Reprobates? I truſt, beloued, we know that we are not Reprobates, becauſe our Spirit doth beare vs record, that the Faith of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt is in vs.

Infallible euidence in the faithfull, that they are Gods Children.

14 It is as eaſie a matter for the Spirit within you to tell whoſe yee are, as for the eyes of your bodie to iudge where you ſit, or in what place you ſtand. For what ſaith the Scripture? Yee, which were in times paſt ſtrangers and enemies, becauſe your mindes were ſet on euill workes, Chriſt hath now reconciled in the bodie of his fleſh through death, to make you holy, and vnblameable, and without fault in his ſight: if you continue grounded and eſtabliſhed in the faith, and be not moued away from the hope of the Goſpell, *Coloſſ.* 1. And in the third to the *Coloſſians*. Yee know, that of the Lord yee ſhall receiue the reward of that Inheritance, for yee ſerue the Lord Chriſt. If we can make this account with our ſelues; I was in times paſt dead in treſpaſſes and ſinnes, I walked after the Prince that ruleth in the Ayre, and after the Spirit that worketh in the Children of diſobedience; but God, who is rich in mercie, through his great loue, wherewith hee loued mee, euen when I was dead, hath quickened me in Chriſt. I was fierce, headie, proud, high-minded; but God hath made me like the child that is newly weyned: I loued pleaſures more then God; I followed greedily the ioyes of this preſent World; I eſteemed him, that erected a Stage or Theatre, more then *Salomon* which built a Temple to the Lord; the Harpe, Viole, Timbrell, and Pipe, men ſingers and women ſingers were at my Feaſts; it was my felicitie to ſee my children dance before me. I ſaid of euery kind of vanitie, O how ſweet art thou vnto my ſoule! All which things now are crucified to me, and I to them: now I hate the pride of life, and pompe of this World; now I take as great delight in the way of thy teſtimonies, O Lord, as in all riches; now I find more ioy of heart in my Lord and Sauiour, then the worldly-minded man, when his Wheate and Oyle doe much abound: now I taſte nothing ſweet, but the Bread that came downe from Heauen, to giue life vnto the World: now mine eyes ſee nothing, but Ieſus riſing from the dead: now my eare refuſeth all kinde of melodie to heare the Song of them that haue gotten victorie of the Beaſt, and of his image, and of his marke, and of the number of his Name, that ſtand

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on the Sea of Glaſſe, hauing the Harpes of God, and ſinging the Song of *Moſes* the ſeruant of God, and the Song of the Lambe, ſaying, Great and maruelous are thy Workes, Lord God Almightie, iuſt and true are thy wayes, O King of Saints. Surely, if the Spirit haue beene thus effectuall in the ſecret worke of our Regeneration vnto newneſſe of life; if wee endeuour thus to frame our ſelues anew, then we may ſay boldly with the bleſſed Apoſtle in the tenth to the Hebrewes, *We are not of them which withdraw our ſelues to perdition, but which follow faith to the conſeruation of the ſoule.* For they that fall away from the grace of God, and ſeparate themſelues vnto perdition, they are fleſhly and carnall, they haue not Gods holy Spirit. But vnto you, becauſe yee are ſonnes, God hath ſent forth the Spirit of his Sonne into your hearts, to the end yee might know, that Chriſt hath built you vpon a Rocke vnmoueable; that he hath regiſtred your names in the Booke of Life; that hee hath bound himſelfe in a ſure and euerlaſting Couenant, to be your God, and the God of your children after you; that he hath ſuffered as much, groned as oft, prayed as heartily for you, as for *Peter: O Father, keepe them in thy Name! O righteous Father, the world hath not knowne thee, but I haue knowne thee, and theſe haue knowne that thou haſt ſent mee, I haue declared thy Name vnto them, and will declare it, that the loue wherewith thou haſt loued me, may be in them, and I in them.* The Lord of his infinite mercie giue vs hearts plentifully fraught with the treaſure of this bleſſed aſſurance of faith vnto the end.

14 Here I muſt aduertiſe all men, that haue the teſtimonie of Gods holy feare within their breſts, to conſider how vnkindly and iniuriouſly our owne country-men and brethren haue dealt with vs by the ſpace of foure and twentie yeres, from time to time, as if we were the men of whom S. *Iude* here ſpeaketh; neuer ceaſing to charge vs, ſome with Schiſme, ſome with Hereſie, ſome with plaine and manifeſt Apoſtaſie, as if wee had cleane ſeparated our ſelues from Chriſt, vtterly forſaken God, quite abiured Heauen, and trampled all Truth and all Religion vnder our feet. Againſt this third ſort, God himſelfe ſhall plead our Cauſe, in that day, when they ſhall anſwer vs for theſe words, not we them. To others, by whom we are accuſed for Schiſme and Hereſie, we haue often made our reaſonable, and in the ſight of God, I truſt, allowable anſwers. For in the way which they call *Hereſie*, we worſhip the God of our Fathers, beleeuing all things which are written in the Law & the Prophets. That which they call *Schiſme*, we know to be our reaſonable ſeruice vnto God, and obedience to his voice, which cryeth ſhrill in our eares, *Goe out of Babylon, my people, that you be not partakers of her ſins, and that yee receiue not of her plagues.* And therefore when they riſe vp againſt vs, hauing no quarrell but this, wee need not to ſeeke any farther for our Apologie, then the words of *Abiah* to *Ieroboam* and his Armie, 2. *Chron.* 13. O IEROBOAM, *and Iſrael, heare you me, ought you not to know, that the Lord God of Iſrael hath giuen the Kingdome ouer Iſrael to* DAVID, *for euer, euen to him and to his ſonnes, by a Couenant of Salt?* that is to ſay, an euerlaſting Couenant. Ieſuites and Papiſts, heare yee mee, ought you not to know, that the Father hath giuen all power vnto the Sonne, and hath made him the onely Head ouer his Church, wherein hee dwelleth as an Husband-man in the midſt of his Vineyard, manuring it with the

The Papiſts falſely accuſe vs of Hereſie and Apoſtaſie.

Act. 25.

Apoc. 18.

the ſweat of his owne browes, not letting it forth to others? For as it is in the Canticle, *Salomon* had a Vineyard in *Baalhamon*, hee gaue the Vineyard vnto Keepers, euery one bringing for the fruit thereof a thouſand pieces of Siluer; but my Vineyard, which is mine, is before mee, ſaith Chriſt. It is true, this is meant of the myſticall Head ſet ouer the body, which is not ſeene. But as he hath reſerued the myſticall adminiſtration of the Church inuiſible vnto himſelfe, ſo he hath committed the myſticall gouernment of Congregations viſible, to the ſonnes of *Dauid*, by the ſame Couenant; whoſe ſonnes they are, in the gouerning of the Flocke of Chriſt, whomſoeuer the Holy Ghoſt hath ſet ouer them, to goe before them, and to lead them in their ſeuerall Paſtures, one in this Congregation, another in that: as it is written, *Take heed vnto your ſelues, and to all the Flocke, whereof the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Ouerſeers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchaſed with his owne bloud.* Neither wil euer any Pope, or Papiſt, vnder the Cope of Heauen, be able to proue the Romiſh Biſhops vſurped Supremacie ouer all Churches, by any one word of the Couenant of Salt, which is the Scripture. For the children in our ſtreets doe now laugh them to ſcorne, when they force, *Thou art* PETER, to this purpoſe. The Pope hath no more reaſon to draw the Charter of his vniuerſall Authoritie from hence, then the Brethren had to gather by the words of Chriſt, in the laſt of *S. Iohn*, that the Diſciple, whom Ieſus loued, ſhould neuer die. *If I will that he tarrie till I come, what is that to thee?* ſaith Chriſt. Straightwayes a report was raiſed amongſt the Brethren, That this Diſciple ſhould not die. Yet Ieſus ſaid not to him, He ſhall not die; but, *If I will that he tarrie till I come, what is that to thee?* Chriſt hath ſaid in the ſixteenth of S. *Matthewes* Goſpel, to *Simon* the ſonne of *Ionas*; *I ſay to thee, Thou art* PETER. Hence an opinion is held in the world, That the Pope is vniuerſall Head of all Churches. Yet Ieſus ſaid not, The Pope is vniuerſall Head of all Churches; but, *Tu es Petrus, Thou art* PETER. Howbeit, as *Ieroboam*, the ſonne of *Nebat*, the ſeruant of *Salomon*, roſe vp and rebelled againſt his Lord, and there were gathered vnto him vaine men and wicked, which made themſelues ſtrong againſt *Ieroboam*, the ſonne of *Salomon*, becauſe *Roboam* was but a child, and tender-hearted, and could not reſiſt them: So the Sonne of Perdition, and Man of Sinne, being not able to brooke the words of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, which forbad his Diſciples to be like Princes of Nations, *They beare Rule, and are called Gracious, It ſhall not be ſo with you*, hath riſen vp and rebelled againſt his Lord, and to ſtrengthen his arme, he hath crept into the houſes almoſt of all the Nobleſt Families round about him, and taken their children from the Cradle, to be his Cardinals: He hath fawned vpon the Kings and Princes of the Earth, and by Spirituall Coozenage hath made them ſell their lawfull Authoritie and Iuriſdiction, for Titles of *Catholicus*, *Chriſtianiſſimus*, *Defenſor fidei*, and ſuch like. He hath proclaimed ſale of Pardons, to inueagle the ignorant; built Seminaries, to allure young men, deſirous of Learning; erected Stewes, to gether the diſſolute vnto him. This is the Rocke whereupon his Church is built. Heereby the Man is growne huge and ſtrong, like the Cedars, which are not ſhaken with the wind, becauſe Princes haue beene as children, ouer-tender-hearted, and could not reſiſt.

Cant. 8. 11.

Act. 20.

The Popes vſurped Supremacie.

Concil. de Lector. Cardin. Laurent. Surius Comm. de reb. geſt. à Pio 5. Franciſc. Sanſovin. de gubernat. Regnorum & Rerumpub. l. 11. cap. de Iud. Mareſcal. & Soldan.

Hereby

Hereby it is come to paſſe, as you ſee this day, that the Man of Sinne doth warre againſt vs, not by men of a Language which we cannot vnderſtand, but he commeth as *Ieroboam* againſt *Iuda*, and bringeth the fruit of our owne bodies to eat vs vp, that the bowels of the child may be made the mothers graue, that hath cauſed no ſmall number of our Brethren to forſake their Native Countrey, and with all diſloyaltie to caſt off the yoke of their Allegeance to our dread Soueraigne, whom God in mercie hath ſet ouer them; for whoſe ſafegard, if they carried not the hearts of Tygers in the boſomes of men, they would thinke the deareſt bloud in their bodies well ſpent. But now, ſaith *Abiah* to *Ieroboam*, yee thinke yee be able to reſiſt the Kingdome of the Lord, which is in the hands of the ſonnes of *Dauid*. Yee bee a great multitude, the golden Calues are with you, which *Ieroboam* made you for gods. Haue ye not driuen away the Prieſts of the Lord, the ſonnes of *Aaron*, and the Leuites, and haue made you Prieſts like the people of Nations? Whoſoeuer commeth with a young Bullocke, and ſeuen Rammes, the ſame may be a Prieſt of them that are no gods. If I ſhould follow the Compariſon, and here vncouer the Cup of thoſe deadly and ougly Abominations wherewith this IEROBOAM, of whom we ſpeake, hath made the Earth ſo drunke, that it hath reeled vnder vs, I know, your godly hearts would loath to ſee them. For my owne part, I delight not to take in ſuch filth, I had rather take a garment vpon my ſhoulders, and goe with my face from them, to couer them. The Lord open their eyes, and cauſe them, if it be poſſible, at the length to ſee, how they are wretched, and miſerable, and poore, and blind, and naked! Put it, O Lord in their hearts, to ſeeke white Rayment, and to couer themſelues, that their filthy nakedneſſe may no longer appeare! For, beloued in Chriſt, we bow our knees, and lift vp our hands to Heauen in our Chambers ſecretly, and openly in our Churches we pray heartily and hourely, euen for them alſo: though the Pope hath giuen out as a Iudge, in a ſolemne declaratorie Sentence of *Excommunication* againſt this Land, That our gracious Ladie hath quite aboliſhed *Prayers* within her Realme; and his Schollers, whom he hath taken from the midſt of vs, haue in their publiſhed Writings charged vs not onely not to haue any holy Aſſemblies vnto the Lord for Prayer, but to hold a common Schoole of Sinne and Flatterie; to hold Sacriledge to be Gods ſeruice; Vnfaithfulneſſe, and breach of promiſe to God, to giue it to a ſtrumpet, to be a vertue; to abandon Faſting; to abhorre Confeſſion; to miſlike with Penance; to like well of Vſurie; to charge none with Reſtitution; to find no good before God in ſingle life, nor in no well-working; that all men, as they fall to vs, are much worſed, and more, then afore, corrupted. I doe not adde one word, or ſyllable, vnto that, which Maſter *Briſtow*, a man both borne and ſworne amongſt vs, hath taught his hand to deliuer to the view of all. I appeale to the conſcience of euery ſoule, that hath beene truely conuerted by vs; Whether his heart were neuer raiſed vp to God by our Preaching; whether the words of our exhortation neuer wrung any teare of a penitent heart from his eyes; whether his ſoule neuer reaped any ioy, any comfort, any conſolation in Chriſt Ieſus, by our Sacraments, and Prayers, and Pſalmes, and Thanſgiuing; whether hee were neuer bettered, but alwayes worſed by vs.

O mercifull God! If Heauen and Earth in this case doe not witnesse with vs, and against them, let vs be razed out from the Land of the Liuing! Let the Earth, on which wee stand, swallow vs quicke, as it hath done *Corah, Dathan,* and *Abiram!* But if we belong vnto the Lord our God, and haue not forsaken him; if our Priests, the sonnes of *Aaron*, minister vnto the Lord, and the Leuites in their Office; if we offer vnto the Lord euery morning and euery euening the burnt Offerings, and sweet Incense of Prayers, and Thanksgiuings; 2. Chr. cap. 13. if the Bread be set in order vpon the pure Table, and the Candlestick of Gold, with the Lamps thereof, to burne euery morning; that is to say, if amongst vs Gods blessed Sacraments bee duely administred, his holy Word sincerely and daily preached; if we keepe the Watch of the Lord our God, and if yee haue forsaken him: then doubt yee not, this God is with vs as a Captaine, his Priests with sounding Trumpets must crie alarme against you; *O yee children of Israel, fight not against the Lord God of your Fathers, for yee shall not prosper.* Ver. 12.

THE

THE SECOND SERMON.

EPIST. IVDE, VERS. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

But yee, beloued, remember the words which were ſpoken before of the Apoſtles of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt,

How that they told you, that there ſhould be mockers in the laſt time, which ſhould walke after their owne vngodly luſts.

Theſe are makers of Sects, ſenſuall, hauing not the Spirit.

But yee, beloued, edifie your ſelues in your moſt holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghoſt,

And keepe your ſelues in the loue of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, vnto eternall life.

HAuing otherwhere ſpoken of the words of Saint *Iude*, going next before, concerning *Mockers*, which ſhould come in the laſt time, and back-ſliders, which euen then fell away from the faith of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt; I am now, by the aid of Almighty God, and through the aſſiſtance of his good Spirit, to lay before you the words of Exhortation, which I haue read.

2 Wherein firſt of all, whoſoeuer hath an eye to ſee, let him open it, and he ſhall well perceiue, how carefull the Lord is for his children, how deſirous to ſee them profit and grow vp to a manly ſtature in Chriſt, how loth to haue them any way miſ-led, either by examples of the wicked, or by enticements of the world, and by prouocation of the fleſh, or by any other meanes forcible to deceiue them, and likely to eſtrange their hearts from God. For God is not at that point with vs, that he careth not whether we ſinke or ſwimme. No, hee hath written our names in the Palme of his hand, in the Signet vpon his finger are we grauen, in ſentences not onely of Mercie, but of Iudgement alſo, we are remembred. Hee neuer denounceth Iudgements againſt the wicked, but hee maketh ſome *Prouiſo* for his children, as it were for ſome certaine priuiledged perſons, *Touch not mine Anointed, doe my Prophets no harme, hurt not the Earth, nor the Sea, nor the Trees, till we haue ſealed the ſeruants of God in their foreheads.* He neuer ſpeaketh of godleſſe men, but he adioyneth words of comfort, or admonition, or exhortation, whereby we are moued to reſt and ſettle our hearts on him. In the ſecond to *Timothy*, the 3. Chapter, *Euill men* (ſaith the Apoſtle)

and

and deceiuers shall waxe worse and worse, deceiuing, and being deceiued. But continue thou in the things which thou hast learned. And in the first to *Timothy*, the sixt Chapter, *Some men lusting after money, haue erred from the faith, and pierced themselues thorow with many sorrowes. But thou, O man of God, flie these things, and follow after righteousnesse, godlinesse, faith, loue, patience, meekenesse.* In the second to the Thessalonians, the second Chapter, *They haue not receiued the loue of the Truth, that they might be saued, God shall send them strong delusions, that they may beleeue lyes. But we ought to giue thankes alway to God for you, brethren, beloued of the Lord, because God hath from the beginning chosen you to saluation, through sanctification of the Spirit, and faith in the Truth.* And in this epistle of S. *Iude*, *There shal come mockers in the last time, walking after their owne vngodly lusts. But, beloued, edifie yee your selues in your most holy faith.*

3 These sweet Exhortations, which God putteth euery where in the mouthes of the Prophets and Apostles of Iesus Christ, are euident tokens, that God sitteth not in Heauen careleſse and vnmindful of our estate. Can a mother forget her child? Surely, a mother will hardly forget her child. But if a mother be haply found vnnaturall, and doe forget the fruit of her owne Wombe, yet Gods iudgements shew plainely, that hee cannot forget the man whose heart he hath framed and fashioned anew, in simplicitie and truth to serue and feare him. For when the wickednesse of man was so great, & the earth so filled with crueltie, that it could not stand with the righteousnesse of God any longer to forbeare, wrathfull sentences brake out from him, like Wine from a vessell
Gen. 6. 3. & 13. that hath no vent: *My Spirit* (saith he) *can struggle and striue no longer, an end of all flesh is come before mee.* Yet then did *Noah* find grace in the eyes of the
Gen. 6. 8. & 18. Lord; *I will establish my Couenant with thee* (saith God) *thou shalt goe into the Arke, thou, and thy sonnes, and thy wife, and thy sonnes wiues with thee.*

4 Doe we not see what shift God doth make for *Lot* and for his family, in the nineteenth of Genesis, lest the fierie destruction of the wicked should ouertake him? Ouer-night the Angels make enquirie, what sonnes or daughters, or sonnes in law, what wealth and substance hee had. They charge him to carrie
Gen. 19. 12. out all, *What soeuer thou hast in the Citie, bring it out.* God seemeth to stand in a kind of feare, lest some thing or other would be left behind. And his will was, that nothing of that which he had, not an hoofe of any beast, not a thred of any garment, should be sindged with that fire. In the morning the Angels faile
Gen. 19. 15. not to call him vp, and to hasten him forward, *Arise, take thy wife, and thy daughters which are heere, that they be not destroyed in the punishment of the Citie.* The Angels hauing spoken againe and againe, *Lot* for all this lingereth out the time still, till at the length they were forced to take *both him, and his wife,*
Verse 16. *and his daughters, by the armes (the Lord being mercifull vnto him)* and to carrie them forth, and set them without the Citie.

5 Was there euer any father thus carefull to saue his child from the flame? A man would thinke, that now being spoken vnto to escape for his life, and not to looke behind him, nor to tarrie in the plaine, but to hasten to the mountaine, and there to saue himselfe, he should doe it gladly. Yet behold, now he is so farre off from a cheerefull and willing heart to do whatsoeuer is commanded him for his owne weale, that he beginneth to reason the matter, as if God had

had miſtaken one place for another, ſending him to the Hill, when ſaluation was in the Citie. *Not ſo, my Lord, I beſeech thee, Behold, thy ſeruant hath found grace in thy ſight, and thou haſt magnified thy mercie which thou haſt ſhewed vnto me in ſauing my life. I cannot eſcape in the mountaine, leſt ſome euill take mee and I die. Here is a Citie hard by, a ſmall thing, O let me eſcape thither (is it not a ſmall thing?) and my ſoule ſhall liue.* Well, God is contented to yeeld to any conditions. *Behold, I haue receiued thy requeſt concerning this thing alſo, I will ſpare this Citie, for which thou haſt ſpoken; haſte thee, ſaue thee there. For I can doe nothing till thou come thither.* Vers. 18.

6 Hee could doe nothing! Not becauſe of the weakneſſe of his ſtrength (for who is like vnto the Lord in power?) but becauſe of the greatneſſe of his mercie, which would not ſuffer him to liſt vp his arme againſt that Citie, nor to powre out his wrath vpon that place, where his righteous ſeruant had a fancie to remaine, and a deſire to dwell. O the depth of the riches of the mercie and loue of God! God is afraid to offend vs, which are not afraid to diſpleaſe him! God can doe nothing till he haue ſaued vs, which can find in our hearts rather to doe any thing then to ſerue him. It contenteth him not to exempt vs, when the pit is digged for the wicked; to comfort vs at euery mention which is made of reprobates and godleſſe men; to ſaue vs as the apple of his owne eye when fire commeth downe from heauen to conſume the inhabitants of the earth, except euery Prophet, and euery Apoſtle, and euery ſeruant, whom he ſendeth forth, doe come loaden with theſe and the like exhortations, *O beloued, edifie your ſelues in your moſt holy faith. Giue your ſelues to prayer in the Spirit, keepe your ſelues in the loue of God. Looke for the mercie of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt vnto eternall life.*

7 *Edifie your ſelues.* The ſpeech is borrowed from materiall builders, and muſt bee ſpiritually vnderſtood. It appeareth in the 6. of S. *Iohn* Goſpell by the Iewes, that their mouthes did water too much for bodily food, *Our fathers*, ſay they, *did eate Manna in the Deſart, as it is written, He gaue them bread from heauen to eate, Lord, euermore giue vs of this bread!* Our Sauiour, to turne their appetite another way, maketh them this anſwere, *I am the Bread of life, he that commeth to me, ſhall not hunger, and he that beleeueth in mee, ſhall neuer thirſt.*

8 An vſuall practice it is of Satan, to caſt heapes of worldly baggage in our way, that whileſt wee deſire to heape vp gold as duſt, wee may be brought at the length to eſteeme vilely that ſpirituall bliſſe. Chriſt, in the 6. of *Matthew*, to correct this euill affection, putteth vs in minde to lay vp treaſure for our ſelues in heauen. The Apoſtle, 1. *Tim.* 3. *chapt.* miſliking the vanitie of thoſe women, which attired themſelues more coſtly, then beſeemed the heauenly calling of ſuch as profeſſed the feare of God, willeth them to cloath themſelues with ſhamefaſtneſſe and modeſtie, and to put on the apparell of good workes. *Taliter pigmentate Deum habebitis amatorem*, ſayth, *Tertullian.* Put on righteouſneſſe as a garment: inſtead of Ciuit, haue Faith, which may cauſe a ſauour of life to iſſue from you, and God ſhall be enamoured, he ſhall be raviſhed with your beautie. Theſe are the ornaments, and bracelets, and iewels, which inflame the loue of Chriſt, and ſet his heart on fire vpon his Sponſe.

Wee see, how hee breaketh out in the Canticles at the beholding of this attire, How faire art thou, and how pleasant art thou, O my loue, in these pleasures!

9 And perhaps S. *Iude* exhorteth vs here not to build our houses, but our selues, foreseeing by the Spirit of the Almightie, which was with him, that there should bee men in the last dayes like to those in the first, which should encourage and stirre vp each other to make Bricke, and to burne it in the fire, to build Houses huge as Cities, and Towers as high as Heauen, thereby to get them a name vpon earth; men that should turne out the poore, and the fatherlesse, and the Widdow, to build places of rest for Dogs and Swine in their roomes; men that should lay Houses of prayer euen with the ground, and make them stables where Gods people haue worshipped before the Lord. Surely this is a vanitie of all vanities, and it is much amongst men: a speciall sickenesse of this age. What it should meane, I know not, except God haue stirred them on worke to prouide fewell against that day, when the Lord Iesus shall shew himselfe from Heauen with his mightie Angels in flaming fire. What good commeth vnto the owners of these things, sayth *Salomon*, but only the beholding thereof with their eyes? *Martha, Martha, thou busiest thy selfe about many things, One thing is necessarie.* Yee are too busie, my brethren, with Timber, and Bricke; They haue chosen the better part, they haue taken a better course, that build themselues. Yee are the Temples of the liuing God; as God hath said, I will dwell in them, and will walke in them, and they shall be my people, and I will be their God.

Eccles.5.

10 Which of you will gladly remaine, or abide in a mis-shapen, a ruinous, or a broken house? And shall we suffer sinne, and vanitie to drop in at our eyes, and at our eares, at euery corner of our bodies, and of our soules, knowing that wee are the Temples of the holy Ghost? Which of you receiueth a Guest, whom he honoureth, or whom he loueth, and doth not sweepe his Chamber against his comming? And shall wee suffer the chamber of our hearts and consciences to lie full of vomiting, full of filth, full of garbidge, knowing that Christ hath said, I, and my Father will come, and dwell with you? Is it meete for your Oxen to lie in Parlours, and your selues to lodge in Cribs? Or is it seemely for your selues to dwell in your setled houses, and the house of the Almightie to lie waste, whose house yee are your selues? Doe not our eyes behold, how God euery day ouertaketh the wicked in their iourneyes, how suddenly they pop downe into the pit? how Gods iudgements for their times come so swiftly vpon them, that they haue not the leasure to so crie, Alas? how their life is cut off like a threed in a moment? how they passe like a shadow? how they open their mouthes to speake, and God taketh them euen in the midst of a vaine or an idle word? And dare wee for all this lie downe, take our rest, eate our meate securely and carelesly in the midst of so great and so many ruines? Blessed and praised for euer and euer be his name, who perceiuing of how senseless and heauie mettall wee are made, hath instituted in his Church a spirituall Supper, and an holy Communion, to bee celebrated often, that wee might thereby bee occasioned often to examine these buildings of ours, in what case they stand. For sith God doth not

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

dwell

dwell in, Temples which are vncleane, ſith a Shrine cannot bee a Sanctuarie vnto him; and this Supper is receiued as a ſeale vnto vs, that wee are his Houſe and his Sanctuarie; that his Chriſt is as truly vnited to mee, and I to him, as my arme is vnited and knit vnto my ſhoulder; that Hee dwelleth in mee as verily, as the elements of Bread and Wine abide within mee; which perſwaſion, by receiuing theſe dreadfull myſteries, wee profeſſe our ſelues to haue a due comfort, if truly; and if in hypocriſie, then woe worth vs. Therefore ere wee put forth our hands to take this bleſſed Sacrament, wee are charged to examine and to trie our hearts, whether God bee in vs of a truth, or no: and if by faith and loue vnfained wee be found the Temples of the holy Ghoſt, then to iudge, whether we haue had ſuch regard euery one to our building, that the Spirit which dwelleth in vs hath no way beene vexed, moleſted, and grieued: or if it haue, as no doubt ſometimes it hath by incredulitie, ſometimes by breach of charitie, ſometimes by want of zeale, ſometimes by ſpots of life, euen in the beſt and moſt perfect amongſt vs (for who can ſay, his heart is cleane?) O then, to flye vnto God by vnfained repentance, to fall downe before him in the humilitie of our ſoules, begging of him whatſoeuer is needfull to repaire our decayes, before wee fall into that deſolation whereof the Prophet ſpeaketh, ſaying, *Thy breach is great like the Sea, who can heale thee?* Lam. 2. 13.

11 Receiuing the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord after this ſort, (you that are Spirituall, iudge what I ſpeake) is not all other Wine like the Water of *Marah*, being compared to the Cup, which we bleſſe? Is not *Manna* like to gall, and our bread like to *Manna*? Is there not a taſt, a taſt of Chriſt Ieſus, in the heart of him that eateth? Doth not hee which drinketh, behold plainely in this Cup, that his ſoule is bathed in the bloud of the Lambe? O beloued in our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, if yee will taſt how ſweet the Lord is, if ye will receiue the King of Glorie, *Build your ſelues.*

12 *Young men*, I ſpeake this to you; for yee are his Houſe, becauſe by faith ye are Conquerors ouer *Satan*, and haue ouercome that euill. *Fathers*, I ſpeake it alſo to you; yee are his Houſe, becauſe yee haue knowne him, which is from the beginning. Sweet *Babes*, I ſpeake it euen to you alſo; yee are his Houſe, becauſe your ſinnes are forgiuen you for his Names ſake. *Matrons* and *Siſters*, I may not hold it from you; yee are alſo the Lords building, and, as S. *Peter* ſpeaketh, heires of the grace of life as well as wee. Though it be forbidden you to open your mouthes in publike Aſſemblies, yet yee muſt be inquiſitiue in things concerning this building, which is of God, with your huſbands and friends at home; not as *Dalila* with *Samſon*, but as *Sara* with *Abraham*, whoſe daughters yee are, whileſt yee doe well, and build your ſelues.

13 Hauing ſpoken thus farre of the Exhortation, as whereby wee are called vpon to edifie and build our ſelues; it remayneth now, that wee conſider the thing preſcribed, namely, wherein wee muſt bee built. This preſcription ſtandeth alſo vpon two points, the *thing* preſcribed, and the *adiuncts* of the *thing*. And that is our moſt pure and *holy faith*.

14 The thing preſcribed is *Faith*. For as in a chaine, which is made of many linkes, if you pull the firſt, you draw the reſt; and as in a Ladder of many

ſtaues, if you take away the loweſt, all hope of aſcending to the higheſt, will be remooued: So, becauſe all the Precepts and Promiſes in the Law and in the Goſpell doe hang vpon this, *Beleeue*; and becauſe the laſt of the graces of God doth ſo follow the firſt, that hee glorifieth none, but whom hee hath iuſtified, nor iuſtifieth any, but whom he hath called to a true, effectuall, and liuely faith in Chriſt Ieſus; therefore S. *Iude* exhorting vs to *build our ſelues*, mentioneth here expreſly onely faith, as the thing wherein we muſt be edified, for that faith is the ground and the glorie of all the welfare of this building.

15 *Yee are not ſtrangers and forainers, but Citizens with the Saints, and of the houſhold of God* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *and are built vpon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles, Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe being the chiefe corner Stone, in whom all the building being coupled together, groweth vnto an holy Temple in the Lord, in whom yee alſo are built together to be the habitation of God by the Spirit.* And wee are the habitation of God by the Spirit, if wee beleeue. For it is written, Whoſoeuer confeſſeth, that Ieſus is the Sonne of God, in him God dwelleth, and he in God. The ſtrength of this habitation is great; it preuaileth againſt Satan; it conquereth Sinne; it hath Death in deriſion; neyther Principalities, nor Powers, can throw it downe; it leadeth the World captiue, and bringeth euery enemie, that riſeth vp againſt it, to confuſion and ſhame, and all by faith; for this is the victorie that ouercommeth the World, euen oue faith. Who is it that ouercommeth the World, but he which beleeueth, that Ieſus is the Sonne of God? *Ephes.2.*

16 The ſtrength of euery Building, which is of God, ſtandeth not in any mans armes, or legges; it is onely in our faith, as the valour of *Samſon* lay onely in his haire. This is the reaſon, why we are ſo earneſtly called vpon to *edifie our ſelues in faith*. Not as if this bare action of our minds, whereby we beleeue the Goſpel of Chriſt, were able in it ſelfe, as of it ſelfe, to make vs vnconquerable, and inuincible, like ſtones, which abide in the building for euer, and fall not out. No, it is not the worthineſſe of our beleeuing, it is the vertue of him in whom we beleeue, by which we ſtand ſure, as houſes that are builded vpon a Rocke. He is a Wiſeman, which hath builded his houſe vpon a Rocke; for hee hath choſen a good foundation, and no doubt his houſe will ſtand. But how ſhall it ſtand? Verily, by the ſtrength of the Rocke which beareth it, and by nothing elſe. Our fathers, whom God deliuered out of the Land of Ægypt, were a people that had no Peeres amongſt the Nations of the Earth, becauſe they were built by faith vpon the Rocke, which Rocke is Chriſt. *And the Rock* (ſaith the Apoſtle in the firſt to the Corinthians, the tenth Chapter) *did follow him.* Whereby we learne not onely this, that being built by faith on Chriſt as on a Rocke, and graſted into him as into an Oliue, wee receiue all our ſtrength and fatneſſe from him; but alſo, that this ſtrength and fatneſſe of ours ought to be no cauſe why we ſhould be high-minded, and not worke out our ſaluation with a reuerent trembling, and holy feare. For if thou boaſteſt thy ſelfe of thy faith, know this, That Chriſt choſe his Apoſtles, his Apoſtles choſe not him; that Iſrael followed not the Rocke, but the Rocke followed Iſrael; and that thou beareſt not the Roote, but the Roote thee. So that euery heart muſt this thinke, and euery tongue muſt thus ſpeake, *Not vnto vs, O Lord, not vnto* *1.Iohn 4.* *1.Iohn 5.* *Mat.7.* *Rom.11.*

vs,

vs, nor vnto any thing which is within vs, but vnto thy Name onely, onely to thy Name, belongeth all the praiſe of all the Treaſures and Riches of euery Temple which is of God. This excludeth all boaſting and vaunting of our faith.

17 But this muſt not make vs careleſſe to edifie our ſelues in faith. It is the Lord that deliuereth mens ſoules from death, but not except they put their truſt in his mercie. It is God that hath giuen vs eternall life, but no otherwiſe then thus, If we beleeue in the name of the Sonne of God; for hee that hath not the Sonne of God, hath not life. It was the Spirit of the Lord which came vpon *Samſon*, and made him ſtrong to teare a Lyon as a man would rent a Kid: but his ſtrength forſooke him, and he became like other men when the Razor had touched his head. It is the power of God whereby the faithfull haue ſubdued kingdomes, wrought righteouſneſſe, obtayned the promiſes, ſtopped the mouthes of Lyons, quenched the violence of fire, eſcaped the edge of the ſword: But take away their faith, and doth not their ſtrength forſake them? are they not like vnto other men? 1. Iob. 5.

18 If yee deſire yet farther to know how neceſſarie and needfull it is, that wee edifie and build vp our ſelues in faith, marke the words of the bleſſed Apoſtles, *Without faith it is impoßible to pleaſe God.* If I offer vnto God all the Sheepe and Oxen that are in the world, if all the Temples that were builded ſince the dayes of *Adam* till this houre, were of my foundation, if I breake my very heart with calling vpon God, and weare out my tongue with Preaching, if I ſacrifice my bodie and my ſoule vnto him, *and haue no faith*, all this auayleth nothing. *Without faith it is impoßible to pleaſe God.* Our Lord and Sauiour therefore being asked in the ſixt of S. *Iohns* Goſpell, *What ſhall we doe that we might worke the workes of God*, maketh anſwer, *This is the worke of God, that yee beleeue in him, whom he hath ſent.* No pleaſing of God without faith.

19 That no worke of ours, no building of our ſelues in any thing can be auaileable or profitable vnto vs, except we be edified and built in faith, what need wee to ſeeke about for long proofe? Looke vpon Iſrael, once the very choſen and peculiar of God, to whom the adoption of the faithfull, and the glorie of Cherubins, and the couenants of mercie, and the law of *Moſes*, and the ſeruice of God, and the promiſes of Chriſt were made impropriate; who not onely were the off-ſpring of *Abraham*, father vnto all them which doe beleeue, but Chriſt their off-ſpring, which is God to bee bleſſed for euermore.

20 Conſider this people, and learne, what it is to *build your ſelues in faith.* They were the Lords Vine: hee brought it out of Egypt, hee threw out the Heathen from their places, that it might be planted, he made roome for it, and cauſed it to take roote, till it had filled the earth, the mountaines were couered with the ſhadow of it, and the boughs thereof were as the goodly Cedars. Shee ſtretched out her branches vnto the ſea, and her boughs vnto the riuer. But when God hauing ſent both his ſeruants and his Sonne to viſite this Vine, they neither ſpared the one, nor receiued the other, but ſtoned the Prophets, and crucified the Lord of glorie which came vnto them, then began the curſe of God to come vpon them, euen the curſe whereof the Prophet *Dauid* hath

Pſal.69. Rom 11. ſpoken, ſaying, *Let their table be made a ſnare, and a net, and a ſtumbling blocke, euen for a recompence vnto them, let their eyes be darkened, that they doe not ſee, bow downe their backes for euer*, keepe them downe. And ſithens the houre, that the meaſure of their infidelitie was firſt made vp, they haue beene ſpoyled with warres, eaten vp with plagues, ſpent with hunger and famine: they wander from place to place, and are become the moſt baſe and contemptible people that are vnder the Sunne. *Ephraim*, which before was a terrour vnto nations, and they trembled at his voice, is now by infidelitie ſo vile, that he ſeemeth as a thing caſt out, to be trampled vnder mens feet. In the midſt of theſe deſolations they cry, *Returne, wee beſeech thee, ô God of hoſts, looke downe from heauen, behold and viſit this Vine:* but their very prayers are turned into ſin, and their cryes are no better then the lowing of beaſts before him. *Well*, ſayth the Apoſtle, *By their vnbeliefe they are broken off, and thou doeſt ſtand by thy faith. Behold therefore the bountifulneſſe and ſeueritie of God, towards them ſeueritie, becauſe they haue falne, bountifulneſſe towards thee, if thou continue in his bountifulneſſe, or elſe thou ſhalt be cut off.* If they forſake their vnbeliefe, and bee grafted in againe, and wee at any time for the hardneſſe of our hearts be broken off, it will be at ſuch a iudgement as will amaze all the powers and principalities which are aboue. Who hath ſearched the counſell of God concerning this ſecret? and who doth not ſee that *infidelitie* doth threaten *Lo-ammi* vnto the Gentiles, as it hath brought *Lo-ruchama* vpon the Iewes? It may be that theſe words ſeeme darke vnto you. But the words of the Apoſtle in the eleuenth to the *Romans*, are plaine enough, *If God haue not ſpared the naturall branches, take heed*, take heed, *leſt he ſpare not thee.* Build thy ſelfe in faith. Thus much of the thing which is preſcribed, and wherein we are exhorted to edifie our ſelues. Now conſider the *conditions* and *properties*, which are in this place annexed vnto faith. The former of them (for there are but two) is this, *Edifie your ſelues in your faith.*

Pſal.18.14. Rom.11.20. Verſ.22. Hoſ.1.9.not my people. Verſ.6.not obtaining mercy.

21 A ſtrange, and a ſtrong deluſion it is wherewith the *man of ſinne* hath bewitched the world; a forcible ſpirit of errour it muſt needs be, which hath brought men to ſuch a ſenſeleſſe and vnreaſonable perſwaſion as this is, not onely that men cloathed with mortalitie and ſinne, as wee our ſelues are, can doe God ſo much ſeruice, as ſhall be able to make a full and a perfect ſatisfaction before the Tribunall ſeate of God for their owne ſinnes, yea a great deale more, then is ſufficient for themſelues; But alſo that a man at the hands of a Biſhop or a Pope, for ſuch or ſuch a price, may buy the *ouerplus* of other mens merits, purchaſe the fruits of other mens labours, and build his ſoule by another mans faith. Is not this man drowned in the gall of bitterneſſe? Is his heart right in the ſight of God? Can hee haue any part or fellowſhip with *Peter*, and with the *ſucceſſours of Peter*, which thinketh ſo vilely of building the precious Temples of the holy Ghoſt? Let his money periſh with him, and he with it, becauſe he iudgeth, that the gift of God may be ſold for money.

22 But, Beloued in the Lord, deceiue not your ſelues, neither ſuffer yee your ſelues to be deceiued: yee can receiue no more eaſe nor comfort for your ſoules by another mans faith, then warmth for your bodies by another mans clothes, or ſuſtenance by the bread which another doth eate. The iuſt ſhall liue

liue by his *owne faith*. *Let a Saint, yea a Martyr content himselfe, that he hath cleansed himselfe of his owne sinnes*, sayth *Tertullian*. No *Saint* or *Martyr* can cleanse himselfe of his owne sinnes. But if so bee a *Saint*, or a *Martyr* can cleanse himselfe of his owne sinnes, it is sufficient that hee can doe it for himselfe. Did euer any man by his death deliuer another man from death, except onely the Sonne of God? he indeed was able to *Safe-conduct* a Theefe from the Crosse to Paradise: for to this end he came, that being himselfe pure from sinne, hee might obey for sinners. Thou which thinkest to doe the like, and supposest, that thou canst iustifie another by thy righteousnesse, if thou be without sinne, then lay downe thy life for thy brother; die for mee. But if thou be a sinner, euen as I am a sinner, how can the Oyle of thy Lampe bee sufficient both for thee, and for me? *Virgins*, that are wise, get yee Oyle, while yee haue day, into your owne Lampes. For out of all peraduenture, others, though they would, can neither giue nor sell. Edifie your selues in your *owne* most holy faith. And let this be obserued for the first *propertie* of that, wherein we ought to edifie our selues.

23 Our faith being such, is that indeed which S. *Iude* doth here terme *Faith*, namely, a thing most *holy*. The reason is this; We are iustified by *Faith*. For *Abraham* beleeued, and this was imputed vnto him for righteousnesse. Being iustified, all our iniquities are couered; God beholdeth vs in the righteousnesse which is imputed, and not in the sinnes which wee haue committed.

24 It is true, wee are full of sinne, both *originall* and *actuall*; whosoeuer denyeth it, is a double sinner, for he is both a *sinner* and a *lyar*. To denie sinne, is most plainely and cleerely to prooue it, because hee that sayth, hee hath no sinne, lyeth, and by lying, prooueth that he hath sinne.

25 But *imputation* of righteousnesse hath couered the sinnes of euery soule which beleeueth; God by pardoning our sinne, hath taken it away: So that now, although our transgressions be multiplied aboue the haires of our head, yet being iustified, wee are as free, and as cleere, as if there were no one spot or staine of any vncleanneſse in vs. For it is God that iustifieth; and who shall lay any thing to the charge of Gods chosen? sayth the Apostle in the eight chapter to the Romans.

26 Now sinne being taken away, wee are made the righteousnesse of God in Christ. For *David* speaking of this righteousnesse, sayth, *Blessed is the man whose iniquities are forgiuen.* No man is blessed, but in the righteousnesse of God. Euery man whose sinne is taken away, is blessed. Therefore euery man whose sinne is couered, is made the righteousnesse of God in Christ. The righteousnesse doth make vs to appeare most holy, most pure, most vnblameable before him.

27 This then is the summe of that which I say: Faith doth iustifie; Iustification washeth away sinne; Sinne remoued, we are cloathed with the righteousnesse which is of God; the righteousnesse of God maketh vs most holy. Euery of these I haue proued by the testimonie of Gods owne mouth. Therefore I conclude, that faith is that which maketh vs most holy; in consideration whereof, it is called in this place, *Our most holy Faith.*

28 To

28 To make a wicked and a sinfull man most holy through his beleeuing, is more then to create a World of nothing. Our faith most holy? Surely, *Salomon* could not shew the Queene of *Saba* so much treasure in all his Kingdome, as is lapt vp in these words. O that our hearts were stretched out like tents, and that the eyes of our vnderstanding were as bright as the Sunne, that we might throughly know the riches of the glorious inheritance of Saints, and what is the exceeding greatnesse of his power towards vs, whom he accepteth for pure, and most holy, through our beleeuing. O that the Spirit of the Lord would giue this doctrine entrance into the stonie and brazen heart of the Iew, which followeth the Law of Righteousnesse, but cannot attaine vnto the righteousnesse of the Law! Wherefore? sayth the Apostle. They seeke righteousnesse, and not by faith. Wherefore they stumble at Christ, they are bruised, shiuered to pieces as a Ship that hath runne her selfe vpon a rocke. O that God would cast downe the eyes of the proud, and humble the soules of the high-minded, that they might at the length abhorre the garments of their owne flesh, which cannot hide their nakednesse, and put on the faith of Christ Iesus, as he did put it on, which hath said; *Doubtlesse I thinke all things but losse, for the excellent knowledge sake of Christ Iesus my Lord, for whom I haue counted all things losse, and doe iudge them to be dung, that I might winne Christ, and might be found in him, not hauing mine owne righteousnesse, which is of the Law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, euen the righteousnesse which is of God through faith.* O that God would open the Arke of mercie, wherein this doctrine lyeth, and set it wide before the eyes of poore afflicted consciences, which flie vp and downe vpon the water of their afflictions, and can see nothing but onely the gulfe and deluge of their sinnes, wherein there is no place for them to rest their feet. The God of pittie and compassion giue you all strength and courage, euery day, and euery houre, and euery moment, to build and edifie your selues in this most pure and holy faith. And thus much both of the thing prescribed in this Exhortation, and also of the properties of the thing, *Build your selues in your most holy faith.* I would come to the next branch, which is of *Prayer*, but I cannot lay this matter out of my hands, till I haue added somewhat for the applying of it both to others and to our selues.

29 For your better vnderstanding of matters contayned in this Exhortation, *Build your selues*, you must note, that euery Church and Congregation doth consist of a multitude of beleeuers; as euery house is built of many stones. And although the nature of the mysticall bodie of the Church be such, that it suffereth no distinction in the inuisible members, but whether it be *Paul* or *Apollos*, Prince or Prophet, he that is taught, or he that teacheth, all are equally Christs, and Christ is equally theirs: yet in the externall administration of the Church of God, because God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, it is necessarie, that in euery Congregation there be a distinction, if not of inward dignitie, yet of outward degree; so that all are Saints, or seeme to bee Saints, and should be as they seeme. But are all Apostles? If the whole bodie were an eye, where were then the hearing? God therefore hath giuen some to be Apostles, and some to be Pastours, &c. for the edification of the bodie of

Christ.

Christ. In which worke wee are Gods labourers (sayth the Apostle) and yee are Gods husbandrie, and Gods building.

30 The Church respected with reference vnto administration Ecclesiasticall, doth generally consist but of two sorts of men, the *Labourers*, and the *Building*; they which are ministred vnto, and they to whom the worke of the Ministerie is committed; *Pastours*, and the *Flocke*, ouer whom the holy Ghost hath made them ouerseers. If the *Guide* of a Congregation, be his name or his degree whatsoeuer, bee diligent in his vocation, feed the flocke of God which dependeth vpon him, caring for it not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthie lucre, but of a readie mind, not as though he would tyrannize ouer Gods heritage, but as a patterne vnto the flocke, wisely guiding them: if the people in their degree doe yeeld themselues frameable to the truth, not like rough stone or flint, refusing to be smoothed and squared for the building: if the Magistrate doe carefully and diligently suruey the whole order of the worke, prouiding by statutes and lawes, and bodily punishments, if need require, that all things may be done according to the rule which cannot deceiue, euen as *Moses* prouided that all things might be done according to the patterne which he saw in the Mount; there the words of this exhortation are truely and effectually heard. Of such a Congregation euery man will say, *Behold a people that are wise, a people that walke in the Statutes and Ordinances of their God, a people full of knowledge and vnderstanding, a people that haue skil in building themselues.* Where it is otherwise, there, *as by slothfulnesse, the roofe doth decay*; and as *by idlenesse of hands, the house droppeth thorow*, as it is in the 10. of Ecclesiastes, vers. 18. so first one piece, and then another of their building shall fall away, till there be not a stone left vpon a stone.

31 We see how fruitlesse this exhortation hath beene to such as bend all their trauaile only to build and manage a *Papacie* vpon earth, without any care in the world of building themselues in their most holy faith. Gods people haue enquired at their mouthes, *What shall we doe to haue eternally life?* Wherein shall wee build and edifie our selues? And they haue departed home from their Prophets, and from their Priests, laden with doctrines, which are precepts of men; they haue beene taught to tire out themselues with bodily exercise; those things are inioyned them, which God did neuer require at their hands, and the things he doth require, are kept from them; their eyes are fed with pictures, and their eares filled with melodie, but their soules doe wither, and starue, and pine away; they crye for bread, and behold, stones are offered them; they aske for fish, and see, they haue Scorpions in their hands: Thou seest, O Lord, that they build themselues, but not in faith; they feed their children, but not with food; Their Rulers say with shame, Bring, and not build. But God is righteous; their drunkennesse stinketh, their abominations are knowne, their madnesse is manifest, the wind hath bound them vp in her wings, and they shall be ashamed of their doings. *Ephraim*, sayth the Prophet, is ioyned to idols, let him alone, I will turne me therefore from the Priests, which doe minister vnto idols, and apply this exhortation to them, whom God hath appointed to feed his chosen in Israel.

32 If there bee any feeling of Christ, and drop of heauenly dew, or any sparke

sparke of Gods good Spirit within you, stirre it vp, bee carefull to build and edifie, first your selues, and then your flockes in this most holy faith.

33 I say, *first your selues*; For, hee which will set the hearts of other men on fire, with the loue of Christ, must himselfe burne with loue. It is want of faith in our selues, my Brethren, which maketh vs * retchlesse in building others: Wee forsake the Lords inheritance, and feed it not. What is the reason of this? Our owne desires are settled where they should not be. We our selues are like those women which haue a longing to eate coales, and lime, and filth; wee are fed, some with honour, some with ease, some with wealth; the Gospell waxeth lothsome and vnpleasant in our taste; how should wee then haue a care to feed others with that, which we cannot fancie our selues? If *faith* waxe cold, and slender, in the *heart* of the *Prophet*, it will soone perish from the eares of the people. The Prophet *Amos* speaketh of a famine, saying, *I will send a famine in the Land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst of water, but of hearing the Word of the Lord. Men shall wander from sea to sea, and from the North vnto the East shall they runne to and fro, to seeke the Word of the Lord, and shall not find it. Iudgement must beginne at the house of God*, sayth *Peter*. Yea, I say, at the Sanctuarie of God, this iudgement must beginne. This famine must beginne at the heart of the Prophet. Hee must haue darkenesse for a vision, hee must stumble at noone dayes, as at the twi-light, and then truth shall fall in the middest of the streets, then shall the people wander from sea to sea, and from the North, vnto the East shall they runne to and fro, to seeke the Word of the Lord.

* Careleſſe.

Amos 8. 11.

Verſ. 12.

1. *Pet.* 4. 17.

34 In the second of HAGGAI, *Speake now*, sayth God, to his Prophet, *Speake now to* Zerubbabel, *the sonne of* Shealtiel, *Prince of Iudah, and to* Iehoshua, *the sonne of* Iehozadak *the high Priest, and to the residue of the people, saying, Who is left among you, that saw this house in her first glorie, and how doe you see it now? Is not this house in your eyes, in comparison of it, as nothing?* The Prophet would haue all mens eyes turned to the view of themselues, euery sort brought to the consideration of their present state. This is no place to shew what dutie *Zerubbabel* or *Iehoshua* doth owe vnto God in this respect. They haue, I doubt not, such as put them hereof in remembrance. I aske of you, which are a part of the residue of Gods Elect and chosen people: Who is there amongst you, that hath taken a suruey of the House of God, as it was in the dayes of the blessed Apostles of Iesus Christ? Who is there amongst you, that hath seene and considered this holy Temple in her first glorie? And how doe you see it now? Is it not in comparison of the other, almost as nothing, when ye looke vpon them that haue vndertaken the charge of your soules, and know how farre these are for the most part growne out of kind, how few there bee that treade the steps of their ancient Predecessors, yee are easily filled with indignation, easily drawne vnto these complaints, wherein the difference of present, from former times, is bewailed, easily perswaded to thinke of them that liued to enioy the dayes which now are gone. Surely they were happie in comparison of vs that haue succeeded them: were not their Bishops men vnreproueable, wise, righteous, holy, temperate, well reported of, euen of those which were without? were not their Pastors, Guides, and Teachers, able and willing

willing to exhort with wholſome doctrine, and to improue which gaineſaid the Truth? had they Prieſts made of the refuſe of the people? were men, like to the children which were in *Niniueh*, vnable to diſcerne betweene the right hand and the left, preſented to the charge of their Congregation? did their Teachers leaue their flockes ouer which the holy Ghoſt had made them ouerſeers? did their Prophets enter vpon holy things as ſpoiles, without a reuerend calling? were their Leaders ſo vnkindly affected towards them, that they could find in their hearts to ſell them as ſheepe or Oxen, not caring how they made them away? But beloued, deceiue not your ſelues. Doe the faults of your Guides and Paſtors offend you? It is your fault if they bee thus faultie. *Nullus qui malum rectorem patitur, eum accuſet, quia ſui fuit meriti peruerſi Paſtoris ſubiacere ditioni*, ſayth S. *Gregorie*, whoſoeuer thou art whom the inconuenience of an euill Gouernour doth preſſe, accuſe thy ſelfe, and not him. His being ſuch, is thy deſeruing. *O yee diſobedient children, turne againe*, ſayth the Lord, *and then will I giue you Paſtors according to mine owne heart, which ſhall feed you with knowledge and vnderſtanding*. So that the onely way to repaire all ruines, breaches, and offenſiue decayes in others, is to beginne reformation at your ſelues. Which that we may all ſincerely, ſeriouſly, and ſpeedily doe, God the Father grant for his Sonne our Sauiour Ieſus ſake, vnto whom with the holy Ghoſt, three Perſons, one Eternall and Euerlaſting God, be honor, and glorie, and praiſe for euer.

Ier. 3. 14, 15.

AMEN.

FINIS.

AN ALPHABETICALL TABLE, CONTAINING ALL THE PRINCIPALL MATTERS *HANDLED IN THE FIRST* FOVRE BOOKES, OF THE *ECCLESIASTICALL Politie.*

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